Current HISTORY

ober 1936 Price 25 Cents

JHN L. LEWIS — WILLIAM GREEN

id others in a symposium on labor unions

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES:

Father Coughlin—William Lemke—Rev. Smith

Doctor Townsend—Norman Thomas—Earl Browder

NCE OUTBLUFFED—BY W. WALTER CROTCH

ER ARTICLES—LOG OF MAJOR CURRENTS

THEY SAY—CHRONOLOGY

LISHED BY CURRENT HISTORY, INCORPORATED



Is YOUR HOUSE Also a Museum Specimen?

NOT from the outside, perhaps but what of the inside? You would not drive a 1920 automobile, it would be obsolete and inadequate for modern service Houses become obsolete, too. Your house, if it is more than 15 years old, is probably almost as inconvenient inside, compared with "New American" standards, as this outmoded museum specimen.

Now, in 1936, your family should be living in a truly modern, a "New American," home. Scientific planning of rooms saves steps and lightens housework. Electric servants work for better health and greater comfort for the whole family. "New American" living costs are even lower than in your present home. This is not a dream house, but a home you can own—one to be proud of. General Electric, by fostering "New American" demonstration homes, opens the door to new living comforts for you.

"New American" is not an architectural style it is a new conception of living. For information on how to obtain "New American" comfort, convenience, and economy—in your present home or in a new house—write to the General Electric Home Bureau, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Labor-saving appliances, developed by General Electric research and engineering, are brightening the home life of America

GENERAL ELECTRIC

Current HISTORY

For October

M. E. TRACY
Publisher

LEONARD M. LEONARD
Assistant to the Publisher

JOHN C. CASMAN
General Manager

SPECIAL ARTICLES

REGULAR FEATURES

Current History, Volume XLV, No. 1, October 1936. Published Monthly by Current History, Inc., at 6 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy; $3 a year; two years $5; three years $7; Canada [illegible] a year additional; foreign $1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new address. Entered as second class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Entered in Canada as second class matter. Printed in U. S. A.

THE WORLD IN BOOKS

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Half Way With Roosevelt	Ernest K. Lindley	Viking	$2.75
After the New Deal, What?	Norman Thomas	Macmillan	$2
The Rise of Liberalism	Harold J. Laski	Harpers	$3
Neither Purse Nor Sword	James M. Beck Merle Thorpe	Macmillan	$2
Can Industry Govern Itself	O. W. Wilcox	Norton	$2.75
Glory Roads	Luther H. Whiteman Samuel L. Lewis	Crowell	$2
Pacific Adventure	Willard Price	Reynal & Hitchcock	$3
The Far Eastern Crisis	Henry L. Stimson	Harpers	$3.75
Haig	Duff Cooper	Doubleday, Doran	$4
Seventy Years of It	Edward Alsworth Ross	Appleton-Century	$3
History of Florence	Ferdinand Schevill	Harcourt, Brace	$5
History of the Russian Revolution	Leon Trotsky	Simon and Schuster	$2.98
Documents on International Affairs, 1935	Stephen Heald John W. Wheeler Bennett	Oxford	$6

THE rainy season in campaign literature is at hand. There will be no let-up and political propaganda will continue to pour heavily until election time. Out of the resultant flood, there is little worth salvaging. Most of the books are custom-built to fit prescribed partisan patterns, and little can be expected from anything written in the ink of bias and in the shadow of a grinding axe.

There are several books, however, which aptly lend themselves to the current Presidential campaign but which cannot be justly classified as typical campaign literature. A list of these books would include *Half Way With Roosevelt* by Ernest K. Lindley (Viking, $2.75); *After the New Deal, What?* by Norman Thomas (Macmillan, $2); *The Rise of Liberalism* by Harold J. Laski, (Harpers, $3), and *Neither Purse Nor Sword* by James M. Beck and Merle Thorpe (Macmillan, $2). Each provides sound material for a background study of the issues confronting, not only the political candidates, but present-day civilization as well. Their value is enhanced by, and is not dependent upon, the current campaign.

Half Way With Roosevelt written by the Washington correspondent of one of the nation's most bitterly anti-New Deal newspapers, is a clear-thinking, logical, and honest appraisal of the Roosevelt Administration. Mr. Lindley has little patience with those who hurl accusations of various "isms" at the President. He is out of sympathy, too, with those who snipe at the New Deal from under the silk high hat. For the Roosevelt Administration is neither an offshoot of Moscow nor a relative from Rome. Roosevelt has saved democracy, not de-

Free!

If you haven't read "Three Years of Dr. Roosevelt," by H. L. Mencken, the most exciting and sensational article published in many a moon, send 3¢ in postage today for your free copy. No article printed in our generation has created such a stir in government, business, and social circles.

Not Free!

Go quickly to your newsdealer, buy a copy of the *American Mercury* for October (reduced from 50¢ to 25¢) and read "The Case for Dr. Landon" Mencken's latest. Unless you hurry you may miss the article that every intelligent American will soon be discussing and quoting. On sale September 25th.

To Modern Readers

***The American Mercury*—America's most famous magazine of independent opinion—is now printed in the handy pocket size made popular by The Reader's Digest. 128 pages of grand reading, famous writers, news of all the worthwhile books, the best on politics, government, the arts and sciences—brief yet comprehensive, fearless, realistic, never dull—and now only 25¢.**



$1 SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER $1

If you have any difficulty in finding the new popular size *American Mercury* at your newsdealer—send 25¢ for the October issue or $1 for the next 6 issues. *Do what America's most intelligent people do—read The American Mercury.*

- ☐ **Enclosed is 3¢ postage. Send "Three Years of Dr. Roosevelt."**
- ☐ **Enclosed is $1. Send *The American Mercury* for the next six months.**
- ☐ **Enclosed is 25¢. Send October issue.**

*NAME*________________________

*ADDRESS*________________________

CH-10

Mail to 570 Lexington Avenue, New York

THE AMERICAN MERCURY

570 LEXINGTON AVENUE · NEW YORK

stroyed it, the author believes. And the tuxedo troupe which has been crying out against the Administration should be thankful, Mr. Lindley seems to believe, for having any clothes at all.

Mr. Lindley contends that the New Deal checked America's gravest crisis in many years and proceeded to steer the country back to a condition approaching, if not actually reaching, economic health. From its handling of the banking emergency to its subsequent acts and policies on the questions of relief, money, unemployment, collective bargaining, conservation, social insurance, agriculture, taxation, electricity and power, securities market, and the mortgage market, the Administration has acted, on the whole, forcibly and sensibly, he asserts. One of the most significant accomplishments of the Administration, the author adds, has been the liberalization of the Republican Party.

On the debit side, the New Deal has enough blunders to "fill many pages," but Mr. Lindley is quick to point out that many of them are excusable because of the rapidity with which measures were drafted to meet the many emergencies. One of Mr. Roosevelt's chief faults is "timidity"; "the country would be much further along if he had done something about the Supreme Court in 1933," the author declares. Further, he does not believe the President was sufficiently aggressive in his spending policies.

Mr. Lindley avoids conclusions; he feels, however, that the New Deal has laid the foundation for a sensible structure on which recovery can be built, and cautions those who would tear down the entire structure, lest they themselves be destroyed in the process.

Mr. Thomas and the New Deal

This would seem to pose the question, as Norman Thomas phrases it in the title of his new book, *After the New Deal, What?* There are two answers, according to Mr. Thomas. The first and most probable: fascism. The second, more desirable, but less likely: socialism. Fascism will come to America, he asserts, as soon as the forces of war or catastrophic depression are again loosed in this country. That these forces will be loosed again Mr. Thomas does not doubt There is no escape, he says, unless there should develop in the meantime a sufficient force to build the cooperative commonwealth of socialism. Yet a socialist victory at the polls would probably be declared unconstitutional, even Mr. Thomas realizes. So that if fascism appears to be inevitable, just what will the American form of it take? Defining fascism as an extra-legal attempt by force and violence to maintain the class division of income under a dictatorship devoted to a totalitarian national state, Mr. Thomas says it will adopt an appeal for power similar to that being exploited now by the somewhat incoherent combine of Townsend, Coughlin, Lemke, and Smith. Huey Long, had he lived, would have made the ideal man on horseback, the author writes; the Great Louisiana Lung, with his chimerical promises of pie-in-the-sky, would have suited the specifications of the fascist formula without question. But Huey Long has as yet no true successor. The third-party combine is helping to prepare the way for another Kingfish, but its own leaders do not quite measure up to the required specifications themselves

When the demagogue becomes dictator, he may not necessarily follow the exact patterns of the Hitlers or Mussolinis, but may even work out his routine without destroying the Constitution, and, as Mr. Thomas points out, still keep the forms of the Republic as did Emperor Augustus two thousand years ago.

Capitalism will invoke fascism, but only with the greatest reluctance, Mr. Thomas believes, to preserve whatever it can of the status quo. In this respect, he is in agreement with Dr. Laski's *The Rise of Liberalism*, subtitled "The Philosophy of a Business Civilization." Dr. Laski, in recording the history of liberalism in the world, contends that fascism is the destruction of liberal ideas and institutions in the interest of those who own the instruments of economic power.

The story of liberalism provides one of the most fascinating chapters of world history. Liberalism was born with the birth of a new economic society, or middle class, at the end of the middle ages as the result of the oppressive power of the monopolistic land owners. This new economic society, founded upon the doctrines of liberty and freedom of enterprise, took the form of a new business civilization, establishing the rights and privileges of private property.

This business civilization, synonymous with liberalism, has had a phenomenal growth. But its rapid expansion has not been too wisely controlled. Its failure to strike a balance between distribution and production; its by-products of imperialism and war; and its palpable incapacity for self-control, have all contributed to the impasse it has already faced in many European countries and which Dr. Laski believes it will face here. Thus liberalism has given way to reaction; soon reaction will, in turn, give way to fascism, as a means of consolidating its gains.

The decline of liberalism, Dr. Laski writes, is also manifest in the failure of the Supreme Court to cooperate with President Roosevelt. The author seems to believe that the highest court is America's greatest stumbling block to the pursuit of social welfare. The court, he contends, is blind to social progress, and when it does open its lids it can see only out of the right eye.

Neither Purse Nor Sword

Dr. Laski could find no more severe argument on the question of the Supreme Court than that advanced in Messrs. Beck and Thrope's *Neither Purse Nor Sword*. The late Mr. Beck, former Solicitor General of the United States, and Mr. Thorpe, editor of *Nation's Business*, view the Supreme Court as one of the few remaining American institutions which have not discarded our

national traditions. Free men are forging their own chains, they warn, while liberties given birth by the Constitution are being whittled away by regimentation, subversive doctrines, and high Federal taxes. Thirty-five cents out of every income dollar goes for Government expenses.

The most serious peril of all to the union, the authors say, is that patriotism has given way to complacency and indifference. Where are the teachers, they ask, to reject foreign doctrines? Where are the members of the Fourth Estate, to warn the people of the dangers of the ways they are pursuing? Where, in fact, are the real Americans?

Neither Purse Nor Sword makes a strong case for democratic liberties, initiative, individualism, and low taxes. Few are opposed to these concepts in principle. It is when the authors seem to ask for them in a degree approaching that which caused the economic holocaust following 1929 that one has a suspicion that the authors are blowing through rusty bugles.

Can Industry Govern Itself?

It would seem from *Neither Purse Nor Sword* that industry is capable of governing itself To which O. O. Wilcox adds in *Can Industry Govern Itself* (Norton, $2.75): Industry can put its own house in order "with only the assistance that any wise democratic government can give." Mr. Wilcox is convinced that it is far better for members of an industry to sink their characters as rugged individualists and accept the benefits of collectivity than accept the perils individualism would bring.

Taking the world sugar industry as his laboratory, Mr. Wilcox studied conditions in Australia, Brazil, Argentina, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, and the United States. He has nothing but praise for the practical unanimity with which sugar producers the world over have come together, burying their economic hatchets, agreeing to exist side by side, and willing to live and let live.

Glory Roads

An interesting commentary on the recurrent fantastic security schemes, advanced by what Mark Twain once termed the "lunatic fringe", is given in *Glory Roads The Psychological State of California*, by Luther Whiteman and Samuel L. Lewis, published by Crowell ($2)

Native Californians, the authors have concerned themselves with the multitude of get-rich-quick schemes, not the least of which is the Townsend Plan, originating in their own State. Can it be the California air which has given germ to the ideas born by Kearny, Walker, and, more recently, Sinclair and Townsend? Or is it the atmosphere of the deserts, mountains, and the sunset over the Pacific?

Whatever the answer, say the authors, California has always been characteristically receptive to prophets, promises, and Utopias The people are unlike any other· Californians are simply different, and they secretly enjoy the sneers of scoffers as much as the encomiums of enthusiasts: "We are a little proud of our State's idiosyncrasies . . . Californians are endowed by nature with sunlight; by disposition they are not averse to the limelight."

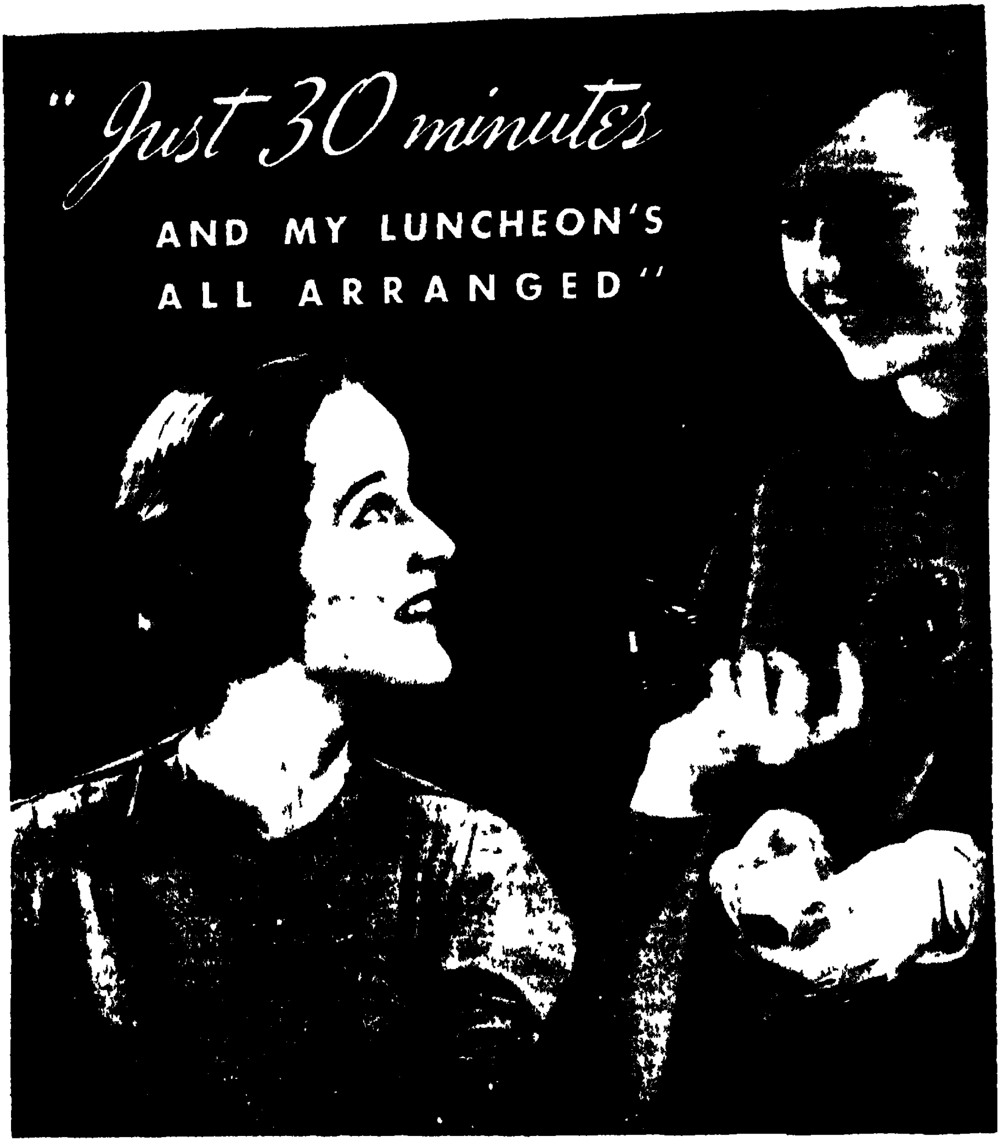
Clearly and entertainingly, *Glory Roads* takes the reader through many of the economic fads which have claimed attention on a national scale. The authors credit Upton Sinclair with being the "Governor of Psychological California." They add that had EPIC succeeded, it would have failed in the same manner as much of the New Deal, because of its obvious unconstitutionality Messrs. Whiteman and Lewis draw a parallel between the ascension of the Townsend movement and the rise of Hitler. Townsend and Der Fuehrer, they point out, both began with a handful of converts. Both are loud-mouthed with messianic complexes.

Books on the Far East

Two new books on the Far East which can be read together to mutual advantage are *The Far Eastern Crisis* by Henry L. Stimson (Harpers, $3.75) and *Pacific Adventure* by Willard Price (Reynal and Hitchcock, $3). Mr. Stimson, Secretary of State during the Hoover Administration, discusses past, present, and prospective relations between the United States and the League of Nations as viewed in the light of past developments in the Far East. Mr Price has concerned himself with a first-hand study of Japan as a mandatory power in the Micronesian Islands and as a voluntary exile from the League of Nations.

The Far Eastern Crisis, published for the Council of Foreign Relations, is a highly valuable record of the part played by the

(*Continued on page 126*)


"Just 30 minutes
AND MY LUNCHEON'S
ALL ARRANGED"

Current
HISTORY
OCTOBER 1936

LOG *of* MAJOR CURRENTS

AT HOME:

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist candidate for President, predicts that Landon will get fewer votes than Hoover did in 1932. If he is right, it will be because of satisfaction with the Roosevelt Administration. That satisfaction might easily have the same effect on his own showing.

Father Coughlin predicts that Lemke will poll more votes than Landon in Rhode Island. Five hundred astrologers, meeting in Chicago, seek to forecast the result by consulting the stars. Other people seek the same thing by following the various polls now being taken. Trying to find out the result beforehand divides interest with trying to shape it. Whether this helps or hurts, it suggests an attitude of mind which is more objective than active.

Though characterized by some startling sidelights and sideshows, this campaign is far different from what people expected two years ago. It is not in the least revolutionary, or even unique. Ample precedent exists for all the digressions and diversions, including a three-legged third party.

Three Republican Senators—Norris of Nebraska, Nye of North Dakota, and Couzens of Michigan, have come out for Roosevelt. So has Mayor La Guardia of New York and the La Follettes of Wisconsin. Democratic ex-Senator Reed of Missouri, Democratic ex-Governor Ely of Massachusetts, and Democratic ex-Secretary of State Colby have come out for Landon. So, too, has the Liberty League with its blue-book roster, as well as many other prominent Democrats. Democratic Senator Holt of West Virginia is throwing his strength to Lemke. This is only to mention a few of the prominent dissenters whose example is being followed by thousands upon thousands of rank-and-file voters.

As thus far tabulated, the *Literary Digest* poll indicates that more Democrats are swinging to Landon than Republicans are swinging to Roosevelt. It also indicates that the Lemke vote will be largely at Roosevelt's expense. But whether these two factors will be sufficient to cut down the tremendous majority the President rolled

up in 1932 is still a debatable question.

Meanwhile, the two major parties not only continue to hold the commanding lead, but they are nearer together on some of the more important issues than their campaign managers would like to admit. Both are for enlightened isolation and strict neutrality; both promise to continue relief; both are in favor of land conservation.

Republicans denounce the policy of curtailed production, but the drought has practically forced the Democrats to abandon it, which sort of neutralizes the situation. Republicans criticize the failure to put more Federal jobs under the Civil Service, and President Roosevelt replies by putting more of them under it. Organized labor is patted on the back by both groups; business is promised help and protection, and, of course, the "dear peepul" are guaranteed against every kind of discomfort or inconvenience.

Nominally, the New Deal is an issue, but the Supreme Court pulled too many of its teeth for it to become a "holy cause" or an awe-inspiring bugaboo. Progress toward recovery, even after the Supreme Court got through with its dental work on the New Deal, persuaded the Democratic Party not to go against the Supreme Court or to favor a constitutional amendment as some leaders wanted it to at one time. Progress toward recovery also persuaded the Republican Party not to take a too anti-liberal stand.

By and large, we come back to those traditional arguments which have served us for a century. The "outs" denounce usurpation of power, extravagance, waste, etc., as they always have, while the "ins" justify the record. The Republicans assail bureaucracy, while President Roosevelt promises to consolidate, coordinate, or eliminate unnecessary boards and bureaus. The talk grows technical rather than flamboyant, as other issues give way to our favorite indoor sport of analyzing the record.

Tax Consciousness

August 11 found Landon's "idea men" mapping out a program to "humanize" the tax issue, an advertising campaign to make the average voter conscious of just how much revenue was baked into a loaf of bread or woven into a suit of clothes. The very next day found President Roosevelt calling Chairman Harrison of the Senate Finance Committee, Representative Doughton of the House Ways and Means Committee, and Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau into conference. The following day found this conference assuring the American people that no new taxes would be sought. Also, it found Secretary Morgenthau declaring that:

"We have reached the conclusion that no new taxes and no new increases in present rates are necessary. * * * With continued recovery we are steadily approaching a revenue yield which will be entirely adequate to cover the expenditures of Government and reduce the public debt."

In addition, Secretary Morgenthau suggested "revision of the tax laws, with the purpose of removing any inequalities or unnecessary administrative difficulty that may be inherent in the law, and abating or modifying taxes that create interference to consumers or to trade, or have other disadvantages which outweigh their revenue yield."

Even more promising was the Treasury Report of Receipts and Expenditures for the first six weeks of this fiscal year, beginning June 30, compared with those for the similar period last year. The report showed

that revenue from income taxes was up 68.4 percent; from miscellaneous taxes, 22.6 percent; and from customs, 6.2 percent, while expenditures for recovery and relief had gone down 31.5 percent.

Landon-Robinson Debate

Said Governor Landon in his speech at Buffalo on August 26:

"The Government must guard and preserve its sources of revenue. The Government must make sure that it gets a dollar's worth for every dollar it spends. The Government must not get in the habit of spending more than it receives. Finally, the Government must prepare for the rainy day."

"The Government," he continued, "should raise the major portion of its revenue from direct taxes levied on the net incomes of individuals and corporations."

He charged that the Democrats have increased hidden or indirect taxes until "the share of the cost of government falling mainly on those with incomes of $25 a week or less has increased 25 percent during the three years of the present Administration." Criticizing last spring's tax bill which levied surtaxes on the undistributed net incomes of corporations, he said, "What it does is to protect the big fellow who still has a reserve, and tie the millstone around the neck of the little fellow. * * * This is the most cockeyed piece of legislation ever imposed on a modern country."

In replying to Governor Landon two days later (August 28), Senator Robinson declared:

"The revenues from both direct and indirect taxation have increased measurably because of better business conditions. It is also true that liquor taxes * * * are yielding $500,000,000 per annum and, of course, such taxes did not constitute a source of revenue in 1932."

Referring to the 1936 corporation tax, Senator Robinson said:

"Business and industry have gone forward with amazing rapidity since the enactment of the 1936 tax bill which he [Governor Landon] claims is holding up recovery. If he would read the bill itself, Governor Landon would discover that it provides a cushion for small business corporations; enables them to build up capital reserves; and that the measure is specifically designed to impose the burden of taxes on those having the ability to pay."

Senator Robinson criticized Governor Landon for "lumping" Federal and State taxes together to intimidate the lower-income classes. By way of illustration, he offered bread on which he said the Federal Government imposes no taxes.

Answering Republican claims that the national debt had increased alarmingly and unnecessarily, Senator Robinson pointed out that, while it equaled 62 percent of the national income in 1932, it equals only 55 percent at this time.

The Budgetary Puzzle

With seventy or eighty bureaus spending the money; with revenue derived from varied and often obscure sources; with credits, loans, and short-term certificates complicating the balance-sheet, no one but an expert accountant could hope to clarify our budgetary situation, even to his own satisfaction. About all the average man can do is to accept such summaries and generalizations as are distilled for his benefit.

Roughly, the following table shows how much the Federal Government has taken in, paid out, and gone behind during each year from 1930 to 1936



Achilles' Heel!
—*N. Y. World-Telegram*

inclusive, together with estimates for the year 1937.

(In Millions of Dollars)

Fiscal Year	*Receipts*	*Expenditures*	*Surplus or Deficit*
1930	$4,178	$3,994	+ $184
1931	3,317	4,220	— 903
1932 . ..	2,121	5,274	- 3,153
1933	2,238	5,307	3,068
1934	3,116	7,105	- 3,989
1935	3,800	7,375	- 3,575
1936	4,116	8,880	- 4,764
1937 (Est.)	5,666	7,763	- 2,097

These figures would indicate a deficit of approximately $21,500,000,000, but such a deficit is not, or will not be reflected by the rise of the Federal debt. This comes about from the fact that large sums of money now classified as expenditures will eventually be returned.

Meanwhile, expenditures for recovery and relief have fallen. In 1935, the total for these two items was $3,069,000,000. In 1936, it is fixed at $2,777,000,000. In 1937, it is estimated at $1,835,000,000. However, President Roosevelt intimates that he may have to increase it by $500,000,000.

Such savings as we have been able to make in expenditures for relief and recovery are offset to a considerable extent by other items. During the current fiscal year, we will spend $405,000,000 for social security, where we spent nothing in 1935. We will spend $920,000,000 in national defense, against $534,000,000 in 1935; and $992,000,000 for the maintenance of the regular departments of government, against $530,000,000 in 1935.

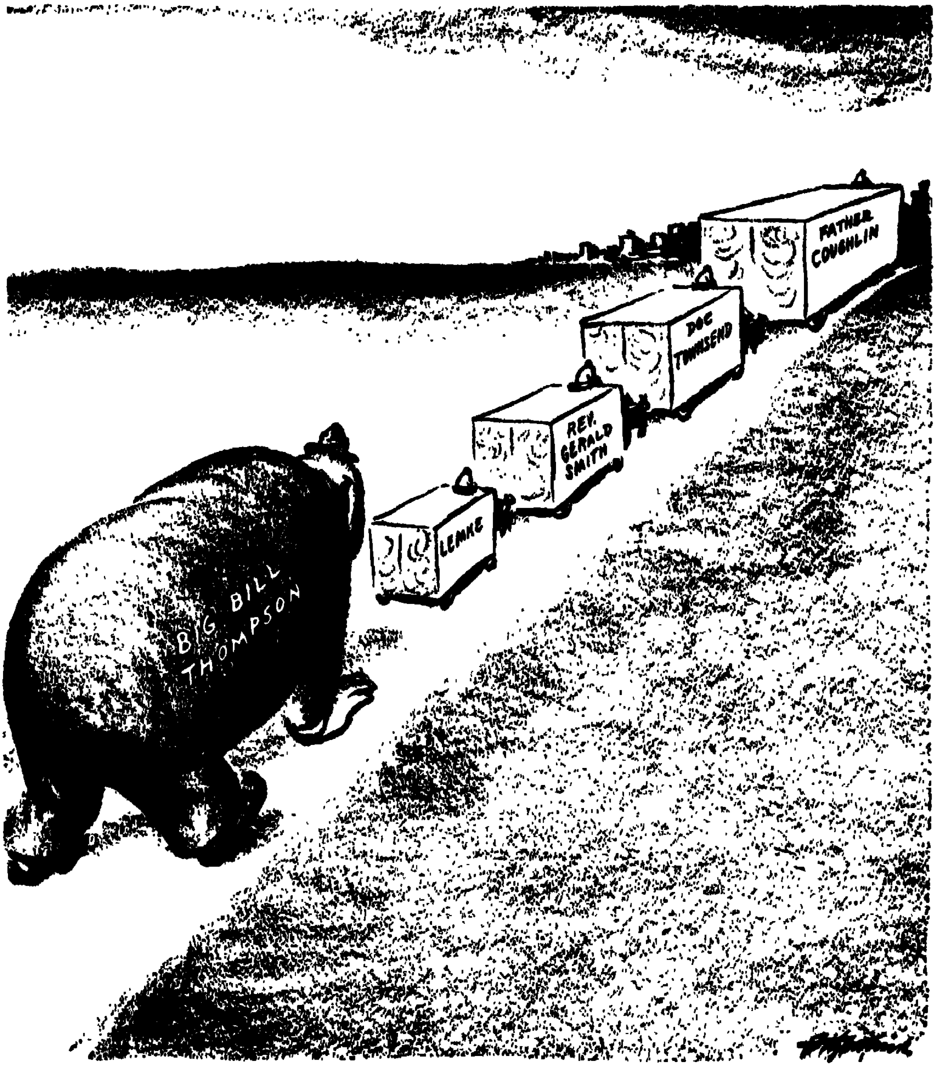
About the only thing one can be sure of is that we are considerably better off than we have been for a long time, but that we are still on the wrong side of the ledger and that a balanced budget is not definitely in sight. No one with good sense can regard the situation as alarming provided, of course, that proper measures are taken to rectify it. The one and only danger lies in the possibility that the habit of spending and borrowing will carry us beyond our depth. The possibility is remote and would require several years, but it is a possibility nevertheless, and probably represents the strongest argument Republicans have at their command. It rests on the assumption, however, that President Roosevelt and his associates are both unaware and unmindful of the situation, and that assumption is hardly conceivable.

Sub-Surface Emotions

Worry over higher taxes, increased debt, and strained credit, together with the implication of some emergency measures as well as the economic policy pursued by other countries, has served to aggravate the inflation bogey. Inflation has shadowed America's mental horizon ever since the crash of 1929. Political quacks have advocated it as a cure-all, while business men have hesitated to put forth their best efforts through fear of its approach. This fear not only led to a definite degree of

curtailment, but to the hoarding of gold. It was largely responsible for the withdrawal and impounding of the metal.

In spite of the precautions which have been taken and all the assurances that have been made, a large section of the public is still apprehensive of inflation; is still afraid that the noisy minority advocating it will be able to get somewhere. What hurts even more—many people waste their time in futile scheming as to what should, or could be done to take advantage of inflation if, as, and when it comes. While the tendency to do this may be diminishing, it still plays an important part in our unofficial thought and attitude toward finance and industry. We have seen a large part of the civilized world abandon gold. We have seen governments survive the whole-



THE CIRCUS GOES TO CLEVELAND

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

sale issuance of printing-press money, and we have seen the repudiation of debt on a widespread scale. Though the great majority of us are against it in principle, we sometimes find it difficult to avoid the suspicion that it could happen here.

In the same way — and largely through the same reasoning—we find it difficult to avoid the suspicion that war may break out anywhere, at any time, to engulf Europe and perhaps us. We take refuge in demands for isolation and rigid neutrality, but are skeptical as to their efficacy. Having been drawn into a European war once, after supposing that we had made ourselves immune, we are not quite sure we could keep out of another. Having beheld the effects of war on credit, debt, and money, we are not quite sure but that England and we ourselves would be forced to follow the course pursued by some other nations in case of another wholesale conflict.

Of more immediate concern is our apparent inability to prevent industrial strife; to bring the problem of labor and capital within the orderly processes of judicial procedure. As a whole, the American people have no quarrel with the idea of shorter hours, increased wages, the right of collective bargaining, etc. As a whole, they believe that the spread between poverty and wealth could, and should be reduced. But—and this is what worries them—they cannot seem to find any way of accomplishing such ends except through the formation of antagonistic organizations and the application of force. They realize that this cannot go on indefinitely without creating class-consciousness, involving political alignments, and weakening the economic structure. They realize that class-consciousness can only eventuate in class rule; that if capital and labor are permitted to divide and quarrel, one or the other will ultimately seize control. They realize that the only alternative to such an unhappy outcome is some method of orderly adjustment.

The Seattle Strike

Let us consider the Seattle strike, which resulted in the suspension of *The Post-Intelligencer* on August 13, not because of its economic or social importance, and not because of any wish to favor or reflect on either side, but because it furnishes a vivid illustration of the capital-labor problem, and how that problem can ramify from inconsequential details to grave results.

This strike was caused by the discharge of two editorial employees—one for alleged incompetence, and the other for alleged insubordination. The Newspaper Guild, of which these employees were members, claims they were discharged for activities in its behalf. The dispute was taken to the Seattle Central Labor Council which, over the protest of union printers who were under contract with *The Post-Intelligencer,* placed that paper on the unfair list.

The Post-Intelligencer claims that only 26 of its 80 editorial employees were members of the Newspaper Guild, while the Guild claims 43 members. Everyone concerned admits that the strike was supported by thousands of sympathizers and that picketing was established on a stupendous scale.

The course and character of the strike can best be made clear by quoting some of the more important statements issued by the various parties and interests concerned.

On August 14, the day after *The Post-Intelligencer* suspended operations, Charles Howard, international president of the typographical union, wired the Seattle union:

"Action of executive committee considered illegal strike. Neither executive committee nor local union have authority to order members to refuse to set type for *The Post-Intelligencer* in own or other offices. Members must ignore illegal order and will be protected as provided by international law."

On the same day, George L. Berry, international president of the pressmen's union, wired President Green of the American Federation of Labor:

"The Central Labor Council of Seattle has placed *The Post-Intelligencer* upon the unfair list and is engaging in a violent boycott and blockade, which has gone to the extent of preventing printing trades workmen who own the contract from returning to their posts of duty. *The Post-Intelligencer* has closed its offices and as a result several hundred printing tradesmen are thrown out of their positions. This is an almost inconceivable situation and I am calling upon you as president of the American Federation of Labor to require the Central Labor Council of Seattle to desist from its interference with the members of our own organization in the fulfillment of their contractual obligations."

On August 19, the Hearst General Management issued the following statement:

The Newspaper Guild, representing twenty-six employes out of eighty in the editorial department, declared a strike because of the discharge of two employes, one for incompetency and one for insubordination. The cases of these two discharged employes have been filed by the Newspaper Guild with the National Labor Relations Board, appointed by President Roosevelt.

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer has contracts with the Typographical Union, the Pressmen's Union, the Stereotypers Union, and the Engravers Union. The local chapter of the printers' union aided the strike, which has been declared illegal by Charles Howard, president of the International Typographical Union. Fifty-four employes out of eighty in the editorial department and all other members of the printing unions have sought to respect their contracts and publish the paper. They have been prevented from entering the plant by a turbulent mob, in no wise identified with *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, or with the printing trade unions.

The longshoremen, the teamsters and the woodsmen are acting under the direction of Mr. David Beck, vice-president of the Teamsters Union, the acknowledged political boss of the city of Seattle, and according to his own description, he "undoubtedly will again have the honor of leading the labor forces of the Democratic party in the State of Washington and Oregon" in the present Presidential campaign.

The Mayor of the city of Seattle has publicly proclaimed his allegiance to David Beck, and constituted authority in the city of Seattle has disappeared, in so far as any effective control of the Beck mob is concerned. The Democratic Governor of the State of Washington is running for re-election, and refuses to uphold the authority of the State.

The Seattle Times, owned by the Blethen family, a bitter competitor of *The Post-Intelligencer*, has recognized the situation, and, in a courageous editorial, denounced the lawless suppression of a newspaper by a mob of hoodlums acting under the direction of an unofficial political boss.

The Seattle Star, another competitor of *The Post-Intelligencer*, has denounced the lawless condition.

Every international president of every printing union has ordered the members of his craft to go through the picket lines and live up to their contract. The reply has been they would be murdered.

On the same day, David Beck, Seattle labor leader, described as "malicious and groundless" the charges made against him by the P.I. and *The Seattle Times* that he was responsible for the strike.

"I have had no part whatsoever in the calling of this strike," he said, "should *The Post-Intelligencer* decline to join in an investigation, I shall * * * ask the * * * American Legion to ascertain the full facts."

On the same day, also, Mayor Dore of Seattle said: "I'm washing my hands of the business * * * I don't care if *The Post-Intelligencer* never publishes, and I think it would be a good thing * * * if it didn't."



ENDANGERED

—*Christian Science Monitor*

On August 20, Governor Martin of Washington, in a radio address, offered his services "toward better understanding and peaceful settlement" of the Seattle strike, but declared there would be no need to resort to the National Guard because no emergency existed.

"* * * The strike has been seized upon by a few extremists on both, sides, and a few political opportunists," he said. "* * * Labor in general and employes * * * have the right to seek shorter hours * * * higher wages, and better working conditions."

Harvey J. Kelly, general counsel on labor for Hearst newspapers, stated on August 25:

When Seattle Central Labor Council, Aug. 12, voted to place *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer* on the unfair list, it violated A. F. of L. laws because printing trades unions having contracts with *The Post-Intelligencer* protested such action.

The laws provide in substance that an employer of union labor under contract may not be placed upon the unfair list of a Central Labor Council without the consent of the unions directly affected.

It was under the cloak of this illegal boycott that a mob comprised of "wrecking crews" from unions of teamsters, maritime workers, timber workers and other radical groups, joined with the twenty-six strikers to prevent by actual sluggings, physical force and intimidation all other employes from entering the plant.

An issue is created which will raise serious question throughout the country as to the value of any union contract. Local unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. enjoy a high degree of local autonomy.

The Seattle printing trades, which are long time A. F. of L. affiliates, have contracts prescribing wages, hours and working conditions satisfactory to the members of those unions.

Another group of unions, also affiliated with the A. F. of L. but in no manner identified with the newspaper publishing business, presumes to impose its judgment upon the printing trades unions and says in substance that regardless of contracts satisfactory to the unions which negotiated them the members may not work and may not avail themselves of the right to earn wages under those contracts.

As a consequence the Seattle printing trades unions are losing from $1,200 to $1,500 a day in wages because another group of A. F. of L. unions says they may not work.

The situation cuts across all lines of local autonomy and despite the fact that printing trades unions members have no grievance they are the real losers because, having no strike, they draw no strike benefits.

Similar attempts have been made in other cities but where law and order enforcement by public authorities assures protection from physical violence members of the printing trades fulfill their contract obligations and pass through picket lines to and from their work.

W. Vaughn Tanner, resident publisher of *The Post-Intelligencer*, said:

There can be no compromise. You can not negotiate under the coercion of a mob. When you arbitrate the right to enter your own property you arbitrate under coercion. It constitutes submission to mob violence.

The maintenance of law and order and of the right to enter our property is the business of the public authorities and in that they have failed.

We will not arbitrate the question of who shall gather the news, write the news, edit the news or write our editorials.

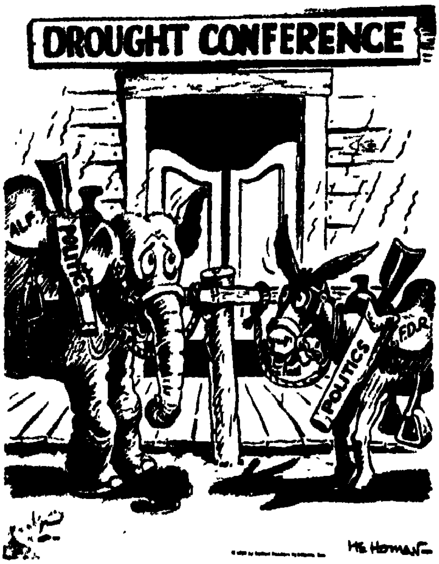
On the same day, the American Newspaper Publishers Association adopted the following resolution:

Whereas *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, a member of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, was, for the protection of its 650 loyal employes, forced to suspend publication by members of other unions having no connection with the newspaper publishing business, and

Whereas the Seattle Central Labor Council, proceeding contrary to the laws of the American Federation of Labor, its parent body, did place a boycott upon *The Post-Intelligencer* over the protests of printing trades unions having contracts with *The Post-Intelligencer*, and

Whereas presidents of international unions of the printing trades did protest to the American Federation of Labor this deviation by Seattle Central Labor Council from A. F. of L. laws, under the excuse of which lawless elements in other A. F. of L. unions did prevent by violence and intimidation the members of A. F. of L. printing trades unions from working and fulfilling existing union contracts, all of which is contrary to law and order and constitutional rights; now, therefore,

Be it resolved, that the directors of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, representing 444 daily newspaper publishers of the United States, most of whom employ union labor under contract, do most vigor-



All Quiet on the Western Front

—United Feature Syndicate

ously protest to the American Federation of Labor the lawless acts of certain affiliates of the A. F. of L. at Seattle and point out that such action if condoned by the A. F. of L. means a great loss of confidence in all contracts with union labor.

On August 27, David Beck, denying any part in the strike for the second time, said:

"We are ready to open all our books * * * to Government investigators to prove there is no racketeering in the Teamsters Union. * * * [This] Union did not sit in at any conference preceding the strike. * * * it did not discuss it with the Guild officials and did not attend any of the meetings which led to the Central Labor Council placing *The Post-Intelligencer* on the unfair list. * * * This is the first time in the history of the labor movement that we have ever been together on an issue * * * the right of union recognition and collective bargaining."

Mayor Dore said, on August 28, that *The Post-Intelligencer* workers "never asked me for police protection." He added that the factor responsible for the continued success of the strike was "the terrific hatred in this city for William Randolph Hearst."

On August 29, the Industrial Council of Seattle, claiming to speak for organized business in that city, declared:

"While *The Post-Intelligencer* strike is the most brazen of the acts of this willful group, it is but a symptom of a condition that affects all trade and industry and goes to the very vitals of American principles of free enterprise."

On August 30, Frank R. Singleton, secretary of the Law and Order League, said:

"We are a law and order league * * * the vigilante stuff is out * * * Our laws are very liberal on picketing. There is no limitation on the number of pickets, but [they] are subject to the criminal laws. * * * It is an invasion of any person's constitutional rights for pickets to keep him out of a building he wants to enter." Mr. Singleton added that his league would do "anything legal" to meet labor racketeering and violence.

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, announced on September 4:

Following the submissions of complaints by officers of the printing trades organizations against the action of the Seattle central body in placing *The Post-Intelligencer* in Seattle upon the unfair list, I directed the representative of the American Federation of Labor in Seattle, Wash., Rowland Watson, to make an investigation and submit a report. This investigation was made and the report submitted.

The report states that the investigation of Representative Watson showed that the Seattle Central Labor Council acted in accordance with the laws, rules and procedure of the American Federation of Labor when it placed *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer* upon the unfair list.

Efforts to conduct a hearing upon the complaint filed by the American Newspaper Guild and to promote a settlement were made by the officers of the Seattle central body before formal action was taken placing *The*

Seattle Post-Intelligencer upon the unfair list. The laws of the American Federation of Labor require that central bodies take such action and follow such a course before placing any firm upon the unfair list.

In view of the fact that the Seattle central body conformed to the laws of the American Federation of Labor and acted in accordance with the rights conferred upon it by the American Federation of Labor and followed legal and orderly procedure, the American Federation of Labor cannot interfere. I have directed Representative Watson, however, to serve in every possible way in trying to bring about a settlement of the dispute existing between the management of *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and the members of the local newspaper guild so that industrial peace may be re-established in the city of Seattle.

ABROAD:

POLITICAL anxiety continues to swill around Spain. The only change in the situation is that the prospects of a wider conflict have been definitely reduced.

Undoubtedly there are two camps in Europe, both interested in and anxious to see the victory of their own side. But they do not yet care to let their sympathies involve them in an international war, and the greater efforts of statesmen have been devoted to insulating the Spanish struggle from the outside world. For this, the lion's share of credit is due Leon Blum, the French Premier.

Non-intervention Proposed

France, bedeviled by the fear that prolonged fascist assistance to the Spanish rebels would clamp her between two fascist nations, initiated the non-intervention negotiations on August 1. Speed was urgent. Her note was addressed to Italy and Great Britain, the immediately interested Mediterranean powers, for she realized that the inclusion of Germany and Russia, with their wider interests in the conflict, would prolong the negotiations. (That surmise proved only too true.) The communiqué, calling for a tripartite conference—more expeditious than bilateral negotiations—suggested "the rapid adoption and rigid observation of a common program of non-intervention in the Spanish civil war."

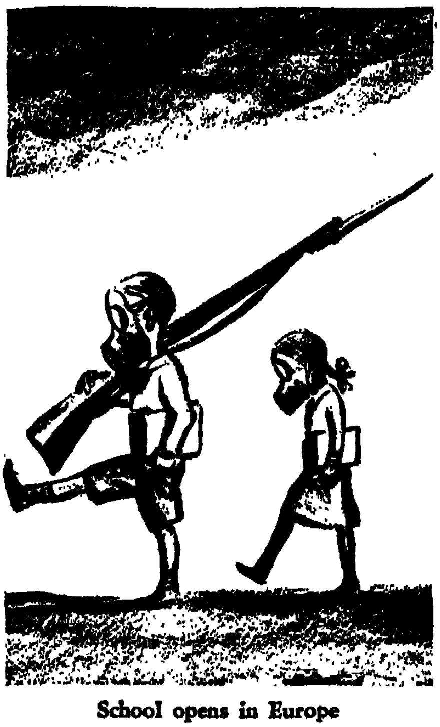
While the French could point with pride to their record in not permitting the export of arms to either side since July 25, they made this reservation:

"The fact that one Government has furnished war materials to the rebels obliges the French Government to reserve its freedom to reconsider the decision taken by itself."

France was not going to handcuff herself while Italy was free.

Broadening the Plan

If the French hoped to rush the job through in a couple of weeks, they



School opens in Europe

—St. Louis Post Dispatch

were doomed to disappointment. Great Britain was in less of a hurry. She desired neutrality, if for no other reason than that she could not afford to take sides: a fascist victory might implant Mussolini in Ceuta and the Balearic Islands and Hitler in the Canary Islands—events which would cut off the routes to the East both through the Mediterranean and down the West Coast of Africa; while a Government victory, resulting in a "Red" Spain would be a constant threat to Portugal, which was as important to her air-routes as Gibraltar was to her Navy and whose dictator was friendly to the British cause. In addition, the collapse of the Portuguese régime would reopen the question of African colonies

So England accepted the French plan "in principle", but suggested that it be carried out by separate diplomatic negotiations, and that it should be broadened to include Germany, Portugal, and Russia. It was obvious that Russia and Germany were taking part, officially or unofficially, in the Spanish squabble, while it was patently ridiculous to exclude Portugal, whose long Spanish frontier was a potential happy hunting ground for arms smugglers.

This perfectly reasonable request the French accepted, even if it meant an unwelcome delay.

Delays

There followed a period of diplomatic bickering during which no country would take any risk of losing a chance to back its favorite faction without being doubly sure that no other country was going to be allowed to intervene. Germany and Italy, in particular, by displaying the greatest anxiety to take part in the Spanish revolt, bid for the highest price obtainable for their abstention. What is more, by holding up the negotiations, they were, intentionally or otherwise, making more effective the assistance they were obviously giving the rebels.

By August 10, all the major powers had accepted the pact "in principle", but they had also laid down such exacting qualifications that effective agreement seemed improbable. Russia insisted that "the assistance rendered by certain states to the rebels * * * should be immediately discontinued." Germany "would see no difficulty in entering a conversation with a view to establishing rules assuring the principle of non-interference of the powers in Spanish affairs, on condition that these rules applied to Soviet Russia also." Italy, extremely suspicious of France and Russia, hedged her acceptance with broad qualifications: did not voluntary subscriptions and public demonstrations amount to interference? How was the plan to be supervised? In other words, non-intervention should be complete and absolute, and how would France and Russia manage that with their left-wing elements?

Portugal demanded as its price a Franco-British guarantee of its territorial integrity (subsequently granted on the basis of an Anglo-Portuguese treaty dating back to the dinosaurs) and the complete abstention of Soviet Russia.

Even Great Britain balked at certain technical aspects of the proposition, objecting that her present laws on the export of arms made reservations necessary.

Incidents

It was all a bluffing match, but a good deal of hard feeling arose through numerous "incidents."

The German press started to hurl bitter anti-Marxist epithets eastward, at the same time flinging accusations of "double-dealing" against France; "neutrality must not degenerate into

promotion of wanton bolshevism." The battleship *Deutschland* intervened between Government vessels and the rebel forts, and the admiral in charge visited General Franco. Four Germans were killed; Germany protested against the "murder", and Madrid refused to apologize. The Russian workers were raising funds; there was a semi-official recruiting office in Paris for loyalists, and French interests were reported to have delivered 15 pursuit planes to the Government. Great Britain blockaded Gibraltar harbor, keeping Government warships from attacking Algeciras. British aircraft were flown to Spain and the Air Ministry declared on August 13 that "it was neither interested in, nor responsible for, these machines leaving Great Britain." Italian planes were found in the rebel service.

The Spanish Government did not take it all sitting down. Eight German commercial planes were impounded in Madrid, while on August 19 the Kamerun was stopped and searched on the high seas, in spite of the international law ruling on that subject.

These, and many kindred incidents, served to show the extent to which the outside powers were interested in Spain, and consequently the extraordinary difficulty of achieving any effective non-intervention agreement when official or unofficial sympathies could not be restrained from expressing themselves in cumulatively provocative actions.

Agreement

By mid-August, the chances for the French proposal seemed to have disappeared like smoke up a chimney, and the acceptances "in principle" amounted in the aggregate to just exactly nothing.

Unexpectedly, however, the situation took a turn for the better. Great Britain and France reached complete agreement, the former warning her nationals that they would trade with either faction in Spain at their own



France will be neutral IF England will. England says yes, IF Italy will. Italy will IF Germany will. Germany will IF Russia will. And Russia will IF she has any sense.

—Birmingham Gazette, England

risk. Portugal also sent in her acceptance, although she pointed out that the pact must be extremely rigid and protested that the "mass killings" indulged in by the Anarchists and Socialists in Spain should be condemned by all signatories to the pact.

Four days later, Great Britain, acting on her own initiative, took decisive action; the Board of Trade revoked all licenses for the export of arms to Spain or Spanish possessions and canceled the "open licenses" by which British pilots had been enabled to fly planes to Spain.

❖ ❖

Germany and Italy, however, still balked. On the 18th, Italy's airfleet was mobilized to help the rebels, should French assistance to the loyalists continue. France hastened to explain that voluntary contributions would be allowed only for humanitarian purposes; further, she met the previous Italian objection by explaining how the pact would be enforced. Consequently, on August 21, Italy came into line, agreeing to forbid the export or reexport of all war materials; she stipulated, however, that all important arms-producing states should be in too, and that "indirect intervention" should be interpreted "in the sense that in the countries adhering to the agreement public subscriptions and the enrollment of volunteers for either one or other of the sides in the conflict are inadmissible."

Madrid released all the detained German planes save one, and on the 17th, the Reich agreed to come into the plan, on two conditions: (a) that the agreement should include all arms-producing countries (this with an eye cocked on the Skoda works in Russophile Czechoslovakia); and (b) it was considered, "particularly desirable if the participating Governments were to extend their measures to prevent the departure of voluntary participants."

On August 24, Germany announced an arms embargo, and Russia did likewise. On the 28th, the Italian embargo went into effect, even if Italy was still suspicious of France.

If there was surprise at the agreement of the two fascist powers, there was no reason why they should not have entered. Both had managed to give substantial help to the rebels during the period of negotiation without getting involved in any international difficulties for which they were not yet prepared. Germany, furthermore, had just increased her Army; she needed all her available military supplies more than did the rebels; in fact, she simultaneously canceled arms exports to Greece and Bulgaria. And neither power was unconditionally tied to the "hands-off-Spain" agreement.

Execution Delayed

Agreement was one thing; the execution of neutrality another.

Eleven nations agreed to formation of an international committee to supervise the conduct of non-intervention. Germany, however, suggested that Great Britain alone should carry out this job. This was partly flattery and partly a move to pass the burden of responsibility. In either case, it meant an expensive delay. Nevertheless, at the last minute the Reich agreed to international, rather than national, supervision.

The committee held its first meeting on September 9. In itself this constituted an admission that the powers were anxious to isolate the Spanish conflict. But, in the face of this, Portugal stayed away, and Germany and Italy refused information regarding their shipments to Spain. The fascist powers were still willing to jeopardize the chances of neutrality in the hope of giving eleventh-hour as-

sistance to the rebels and of impressing upon Europe their diplomatic strength.

What Are They Fighting For?

In August, it was possible to report the first major casualty in the Spanish war: liberalism. Since then nothing has happened to that corpse save that it was plugged by a few extra bullets, just to make sure there was no chance of a resurrection in the proximate future; it was not even given a decent burial.

September saw a second serious casualty: capitalism. The struggle in Spain generally has been over-simplified as a conflict between outright communism and reactionary capitalism. But it was reported on September 6 that the fascists had succeeded in forcing upon General Mola a program of "National Syndicalism", calling for a ban upon the accumulation of wealth, a division of the large estates, and State domination of the Church.

This will provide ample food for thought for those in all countries—America included—who look upon the Spanish rebels as the staunch upholders of the present economic system. And it should not come as a surprise, either. In Germany, the owning and employing classes have little freedom from the dictates of the state; in Italy they have still less.

From the viewpoint of the capitalist, fascism may be preferable to communism, but only in the negative sense that it is the lesser of two evils. The argument that it is introduced to prop up the capitalistic structure is overrated; Italian, German, and now Spanish experience prove that.

Nazis in Conference

The fourth National Socialist Conference, held at Nuremberg, served to mark the flowering of Nazism as an international—if nationalistic—creed; in fact, this congress is now to National Socialism what the Comintern is to communism.

The mood of the meeting was jubilant; Der Fuehrer had good news for the delegates: Germany had regained "full arms sovereignty"; the loathed Treaty of Versailles had been virtually expunged; Jews were denounced as the source of all bolshevism, and the accomplishments of National Socialism had been fulfilled "without the existence of a single Jew in the nation's spiritual leadership."

Hitler laid down a policy for the next four years which was alternately reassuring and disturbing to the outside world. He did not want either internal or external war, and there was no mention of the question of German minorities. At the same time, there was to be no mitigation of the struggle against communism. Germany had a full and just right to colonies; she would gain them if, as, and when the opportunity presented itself.

News from Abroad

If Hitler had cheering news for the assembled Nazi enthusiasts, the delegates and visitors from abroad might have told Der Fuehrer equally encouraging stories.

True, Mussolini was not there, but the possibility of his presence gave assurance that Italy could be regarded, if not as an actual ally, at least as a benevolent neutral—and that is all Herr Hitler wants. Former Premier Lloyd George had come from England, ostensibly to study the unemployment problem; he could have yielded the information that the strength in English politics of the pro-German elements would effectively prevent Great Britain from "cracking down" on the Nazis. Pierre Laval could have brought the news that the "semi-bolshevist" Blum was being sorely harassed by the com-



Keep Your Balance. Boys, It's Warmer Down Below.

—*Glasgow Bulletin*

munists to his left, while the fascists had found a new and promising leader in the person of Jacques Doriot—a most valuable ally in that he had once been a communist and had all the inside information on Soviet activities.

Berlin to Baghdad

And the delegates from "Mitteleuropa" had even better and more substantial news.

In Hungary, anti-Semitism and fascism were flourishing both in the German and the native Nazi movements. The firm hand of Premier Goemboes had been weakened by illness, and it was rumored that he might be obliged to retire. Regent Horthy had had an interview with Hitler, in which he had demonstrated that Hungary was a necessary outpost for the Reich because geographically it was in a strategic position to cut the communications between Russia and Czechoslovakia, which could bring Soviet troops to the German border. German assistance in rearmament would round out a four-power fascist bloc—Germany, Italy, Austria, and Hungary.

For the first time, delegates from the Little Entente nations were at the congress. They could report that their respective nations faced the coming Little Entente conference with an unprecedented lack of unity.

In Rumania, pro-Nazi agitation, led by Herr Fabrizius, the "Transylvanian Hitler", culminated in the ousting from the cabinet of Nicolas Titulescu, for long an ardent friend of France and of the League, and more recently an advocate of closer relations with Russia. Incidentally, it will be remembered that, when Titulescu condemned as "barbarians" the Fascist journalists who jeered at Haile Selassie in Geneva, the Italians promised revenge. Now, with German assistance, they appear to have attained their objective.

Consequently, Nazis could point with pride to almost complete surroundment by their allies of Czechoslovakia, hitherto the member of the Little Entente most loyal to her former allegiances. Cut off from her ally, Russia, by Rumania, that unfortunate country may be obliged to make concessions to the Nazis in the form of an autonomous province for the Sudeten Germans—possibly in conjunction with a non-aggression pact with the Reich.

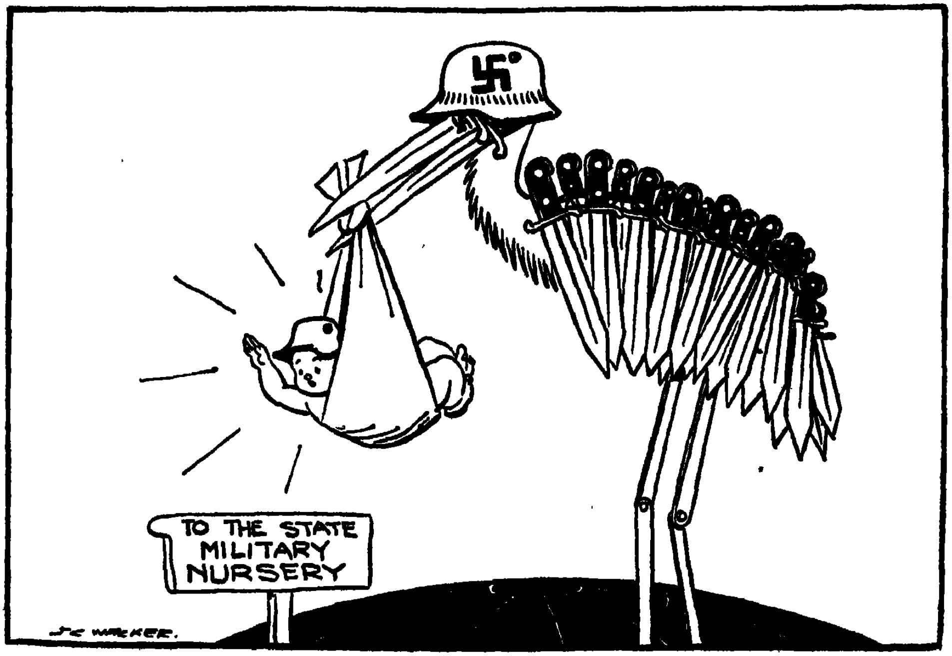
Since the war, Yugoslavia has needed economic assistance. France is notoriously tight-fisted with her allies; Germany is not. Dr. Schacht's magic touch has helped the Yugoslavs; arms orders placed with German firms are an even more significant weathervane of the trend of foreign policy.

With Bulgaria in the balance and Greece in the fascist fold, members of the fourth National Socialist Conference justifiably could sit back and regard the pleasant revival of the all-German Berlin-to-Baghdad road as something more than a pipe dream.

Poland Wonders

Where Yugoslavia begged in vain, Poland apparently has succeeded. Alarmed by the rapid growth of German power in Central Europe, and with Colonel Beck's star (which customarily revolved in the Nazi orbit) on the wane, Poland looked to France and was able to obtain a needed loan as the price for the revival of the almost forgotten Franco-Polish alliance.

The desperate efforts of both France and Germany to pull Poland to their side of the fence threaten to rend that country from stem to stern. For the moment, the pro-French Generals, led by Rydz-Smigly who is regarded as



GERMAN STORK OF THE FUTURE

—*Western Mail and South Wales News*

Pilsudki's political heir, have the upper hand. Internally, the Government is suppressing by force the seething economic discontent, which has been accentuated by its own deflationary economic policy.

Opposition from the Right comes from the nationalistic and anti-Semitic National Democratic Party and the National Radical Organization; this is supported by pro-Nazi propaganda and by the traditional Polish fear and hatred of Russia. On the Left, economic distress is driving the peasants and workers towards the idea of a "Popular Front", composed chiefly of the Socialists and the socialist factions of the minorities.

The Army can keep the Government in power, but the continuance of present economic conditions combined with the forces playing on Poland from abroad make the Administration's position increasingly insecure. Poland may provide the next continental upheaval, and the results inevitably will affect her foreign policy. However, even the proposed Popular Front regards the communists with circumspection; in the event of a straight choice between Germany and Russia, Poland is likely to choose the former as the lesser of two evils, whatever internal developments take place.

I. P. R. Conference

The Pacific problem can bear the brunt of responsibility for the huge increases in the American arms bill. It was therefore appropriate that the fourth biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations should be held in the United States at Yosemite Park.

The Institute of Pacific Relations essentially is a private body for the discussion of international affairs It is a sort of federation, composed of organizations operating in those nations which are interested in the Pacific—notably, the Royal Institute of International Affairs in England and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Delegates to the conference speak unofficially, although their words gain authority from the prominence of most of them in some branch of public life. And it may be assumed that the Japanese and Russian members at least speak with government approval.

Such conclusions as the conference may reach are not automatically translated into political action; the meeting is held essentially for the purpose of thrashing out and comparing the respective attitudes of the countries represented.

Far Eastern Problems

The main discussions at the conference centered around three subjects: problems in the Pacific, Russo-Japanese relations, and Sino-Japanese relations.

Under the first head, the most significant contribution was the Japanese suggestion of a treaty with Great Britain and the United States guaranteeing the independence and neutrality of the Philippines. This went some way towards removing the anxiety of the Philippine delegates, who were not altogether anxious that the States should remove her guns and forts, and of the English, who felt that they might have to protect the islands as soon as the Americans moved out.

There was more controversy under the second head. The Russian delegation accused Japan of dividing the world into two spheres of policy: "In the Occident," they inferred, "Japan does not desire to use force; in Asia, Japan is not unwilling to use force." An interesting prediction was that, in order to appease the younger military elements, Japan may be obliged to move in the direction of socialism; hence, economic doctrines may well be-

come less important as a source of conflict between Russia and Japan.

Not unnaturally, most feeling entered into the discussion of Sino-Japanese affairs—the dominant problem before the conference. At first, the Chinese were extremely loath to comment upon any aspect of Japanese policy and, when the subject first came up, there was a mutual admission of the need for cooperation. It remained for Dr. Hu Shih, the Chinese delegate, to introduce the fireworks by declaring that war was the only solution, asserting that China was now 90% unified in spite of Japanese obstruction. Anxious not to become the scapegoats of the conference, the Japanese admitted mistakes in their Chinese policy, but claimed that China had also been at fault. On this inconclusive and unhopeful note, the discussion closed.

Far Eastern Events

Concurrently, the problems discussed at Yosemite became more intense in the Far East.

In Manchuria, it was estimated that pro-Japanese armed forces had been brought up to an equal strength with the Russian forces — approximately 300,000 men. Border incidents roused protests from both sides.

In China, Chiang Kai-shek proceeded with the task of unification; the generous terms offered Kwangsi for her cooperation measured his desire for solidarity. At the same time, the increasingly belligerent feelings of the Chinese were reflected in the mob killing of three Japanese.

In the Pacific area, two straws in the wind are worth noting. The appointment of an admiral as the Japanese Governor General of Formosa emphasized the southward policy of the Japanese Navy, paralleling the continental expansion of the Army. As an answer to this, the figures released by the State Department giving the exports of arms from the United States for the month of July show the Netherlands Indies as by far the heaviest purchasers, accounting for $1,288,000 worth of machine guns and, more particularly, aircraft.

China, incidentally, was the second largest purchaser, with $660,924 worth of aircraft engines, guns, and ammunition.

Recovery?

According to the survey of August 15, published by the Foreign Policy Association, the world has climbed two thirds of the way back to the 1928 norm, as judged by statistics of industrial production.

Russia leads the parade, her 1935 production being substantially more than triple that of 1928. Japan can thank currency depreciation and cheap manufactures with the consequent effect upon exports, and heavy expenditures upon war preparations, for second place. These two countries are followed by several of the smaller European nations; their position they owe to the shift to industries from agriculture, due to their economic nationalism, rather than to a return of prosperity. Next in the march comes the sterling bloc; the leading member, England, is well above the 1928 figure. The United States is well down the list, having climbed back only 55% of the way to the 1928 level. Lagging behind all are the gold bloc nations.

In 1935, world unemployment stood at the index of 193 (1929 = 100), as compared with 291 at the depth of the depression in 1932. In 1935, the United Kingdom showed an average unemployment figure of 2,028,000 in contrast to 2,856,000 in 1932; the American figures for the same years (A. F. of L. estimates) were 12,199,000 and 13,723,000 respectively. German

unemployment showed the most marked drop, although this can be explained largely by the numbers employed in the Army and in labor camps. Wage scales have recovered moderately, and it is estimated the real wages are higher than in 1929. Recovery in prices has not been substantial.

Characteristics and Qualifications

The most striking feature of the recovery movement is that it is essen-



Let's hope no spark sets off the lot

—*Glasgow Bulletin*

tially nationalistic; world trade, measured by physical volume, has recovered only a quarter of the loss suffered during the depression. Tariffs, quotas, and all the ingenious machinery of economic nationalism still abound; international currency stabilization is still a remote prospect, while further disturbances may ensue if, and when, the gold countries decide or are forced to devalue.

That is to say, recovery is most secure in those nations which are relatively independent of international trade, the U.S.S.R. and the United States being the most conspicuous examples. Elsewhere, less fortunate nations will have to make adjustments. These will affect most severely the important exporters; for the importing countries have already built up under tariffs industries which they will not let go. Thus the pattern of recovery is national; a revival of trade to a predepression level is highly improbable.

War preparations also characterize the progress of recovery. Vast expenditures upon the materials of warfare inflate the figures for production and employment. And, working alongside, this artificial and unhealthy stimulus, the fear of war acts as a deterrent to the promotion of legitimate enterprises.

SCIENCE

OZONE is no longer applicable as a synonym for the purest of pure air. High hopes have been held out for its beneficence. Some believed that one day it might prove beneficial in the treatment of pulmonary disease. However, from now on ozone must be discarded as "pure air to breathe." For after years of labor, researchers report that the earth and its atmosphere are enclosed by an envelope of poison gas not unlike the war gas, chlorine. And the poisonous gas is none other than the mantle of ozone encircling the air we breathe.

This does not mean, however, that ozone is no longer an essential lifesaver. At the height of approximately fifteen miles, the envelope of ozone screens fragile humanity from the more dangerous radiations of ultraviolet rays from the sun. But this same ozone, evenly distributed in the first mile of atmosphere, according to research, would destroy "all the higher animals in a few days, if not a few hours."

The most recent investigations are reported by Professor H. P. McDonnell of the University of Maryland. According to Professor McDonnell's experiments, low concentrations of ozone shortened the lives of guinea pigs; and those guinea pigs which had also been inoculated with tuberculosis died still sooner.

"Ozone," according to Professor McDonnell, "is extremely poisonous when inhaled in higher concentrations. It is a violent irritant of the mucous membranes and reacts chemically with the mucus to form a thick froth which, when the higher concentrations are used, stops the air supply to the lungs almost completely in a minute or two.

"There is no indication that the ozone is absorbed and acts as a systemic poison. In lower concentrations the result is pneumonia and bronchitis which may or may not result fatally.

"It is impossible, of course, to say just how much a lethal dose of ozone is. Certainly one-tenth milligram per liter of air is highly dangerous if inhaled for as long as one hour. For daily routine a concentration of one part per million, by weight, is undesirable, and probably dangerous. One tenth of this amount probably would be harmless.

"A German scientist has reported that five-tenths part of ozone per million produces distinct irritation, while one part per million after one and a half hours causes an irritating cough and serious fatigue.

"Ozone has been suggested as a war gas, and its high toxicity and specific gravity are in its favor for such use. However, the great difficulty and expense of preparing it in its pure form, together with its instability, making it impossible to store it under pressure, at once rule it out for such purpose.

"The poison gas nearest related to ozone is chlorine. While we have not made any experiments in regard to the toxicity of the latter, work of others indicates that ozone is the more toxic."

Health and Industry

A recent symposium on health, held at Harvard School of Public Health, was unique inasmuch as it treated primarily of industrial health and less of industrial efficiency through health. Doctor Lawrence T. Fairhall, Assistant Professor of Physiology at Harvard, pointed out the hazard to workmen of toxic fumes given off in chromium plating—an industry introduced to the world in 1927. Painful skin afflictions known as "chrome ulcers" and caused by the action of chromium compounds on broken places in the skin, were said to be a dangerous result, becoming more prevalent in chromium plating.

Injury from exposure to dust or liquor was revealed at the symposium as a monstrous agent of destruction when industry is viewed as a whole. Healthy workers, after a short acquaintance with these elements, are shoveled on the industrial scrap-heap.

For instance, the chromium worker is exposed to spray or mist carried into the air by bursting bubbles over the plating vats. Doctor Fairhall recorded that because of the rapidity with which ulcerations appear, the labor turnover in this industry is said to be high.

Among the more dreaded of industrial dusts is silica dust. Doctor W. Irving Clark of Harvard reported that 500,000 workers are exposed daily to a harmful degree and are in constant danger of contracting silicosis and its attendant afflictions. Even more depressing is the knowledge that medical science holds no hope for the victim of silicosis. Any remedy must be preventive. But unfortunately the symposium also demonstrated that exhaust hoods and control of air movement, at the present rate of exchange, are more expensive than human life.

Social Values At Work

One of the most interesting of all experiments discussed at the health symposium was that reported by Drs. Lawrence J. Henderson and Elton Mayo, of Harvard, who studied the effect of social conditions on the work of five girls assembling telephone relays at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company. The five girls, with their consent and cooperation, were studied over a period of five years. They worked in a special room; they were allowed to converse freely; their output was tabulated minute by minute and day by day; their conversations, mutual relations, home situations, and leisure activities were all recorded.

Wave-like irregularities were observed in output which lasted sometimes for months, sometimes for only a few minutes. They were not related to any change in physical circumstances, such as temperature or the physical state of the worker. However, the speed of work varied markedly with the change of the girls' feeling towards each other, towards their supervisors, and towards the group as a whole.

With a change in seating arrangements separating two friends, or gen-

erally disturbing neighborly relations of the group, the work output was lowered. When one of the workers, after several years, left the company and was replaced by another girl, even though the latter had a friend in the group, a general disturbance in the tone of group relationship existed for three months. At the beginning of the economic depression a marked drop in output was noted. When questioned, the leader of the group irrelevantly explained this lowered productivity: "We lost our pride."

Further peculiarities in the group demonstrated that when one of them was dispirited and slowed down in her work, her neighbor or best friend also slowed. However, in the case of two unfriendly girls, a reverse effect was noted: when one worked quickly, the other worked slowly and *vice versa*.

As a result of their studies, Drs. Henderson and Mayo caution administrators against too many and too rapid changes in work arrangements. Although these changes may be logically expected to increase efficiency, they actually will decrease efficiency because they upset the worker's feeling about his work and the world he lives in.

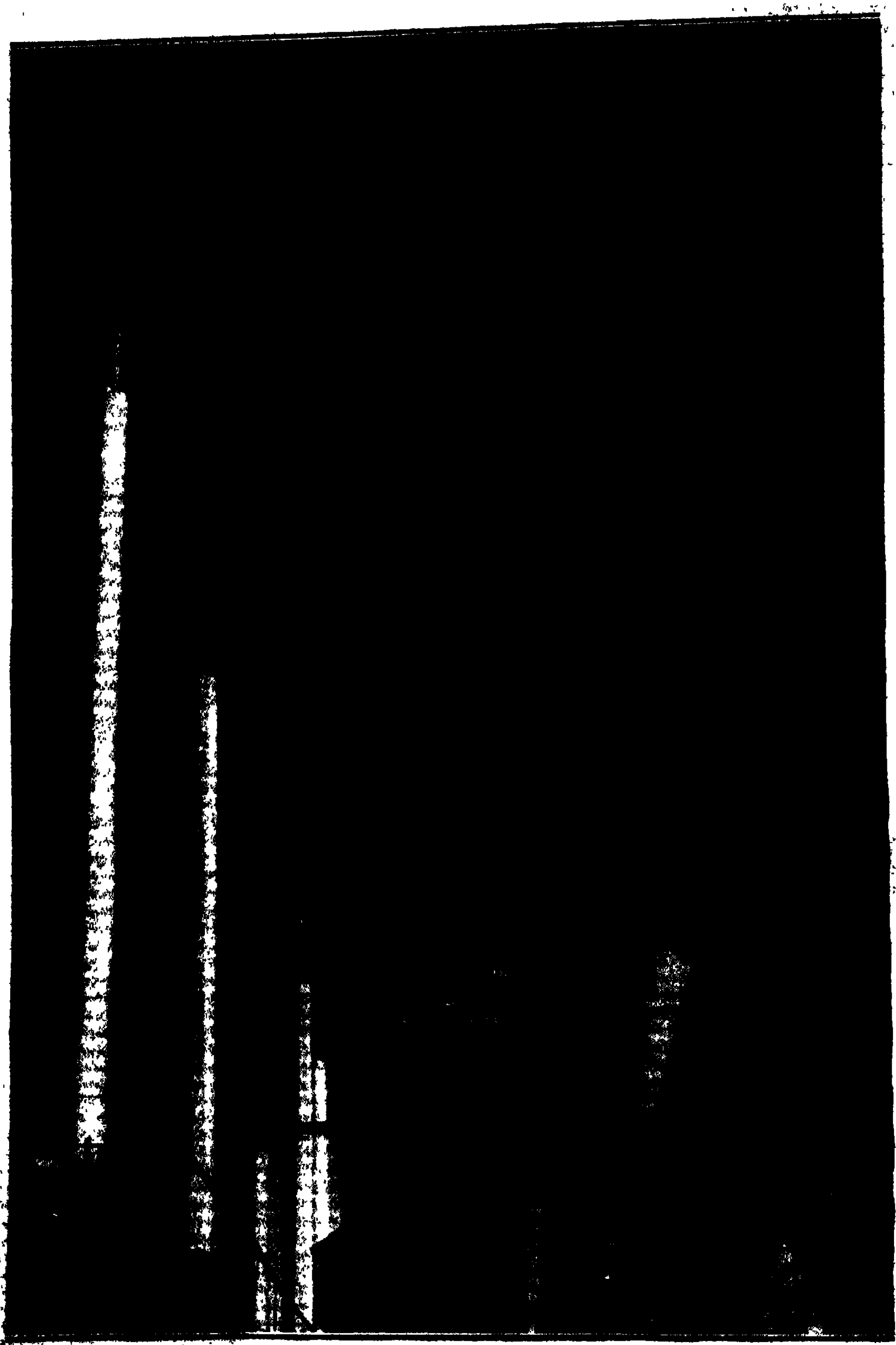
Nose Spray for Paralysis

Equipped with a new nose spray developed by Dr. Charles Armstrong and Doctor W. T. Harrison, United States Public Health Service officials have successfully combatted a mild epidemic of infantile paralysis in Alabama and Tennessee. The spray, an alum-picric acid nasal instrument, received its first large-scale application in this epidemic. Without attempting a controlled experiment the spray was administered to those who desired it and who could be treated with the available facilities. In the future a more scientific study will be made with a "normal" group in which the diseases will be given an unhampered chance to spread.

Recently, however, Drs. Armstrong and Harrison have completed further experiments on monkeys with their picric acid-sodium alum nasal spray. And though monkeys still remain the basis of their exact experiments, results indicate that children and adults may fare as well. Previously the reason picric acid-sodium alum afforded protection against infantile paralysis virus was not known. Nor was it known just what mixture of either afforded the best protection.

The doctors now report that the nasal spray prevents the infantile virus from passing up the olfactory nerve in the nose (a common passage through which the virus makes an entry) by coagulating the protein membranes which line the nose, as well as the mucus secretions which coat these membranes. It was discovered that an application of the solution in a test tube to a serious fluid from the body coagulated the fluid to a degree where the test tube could be inverted without spilling.

Concerning the proper combination of picric acid and sodium alum, the doctors report that after experiments with a less acid solution which failed to coagulate the serous fluid they now have obtained the formula offering maximum efficiency.



Gendreau

Towards Industrial Democracy

by John L. Lewis

THE current movement to organize the steel workers into an industrial union should have a profound significance to all Americans who cherish liberty and democracy. It transcends the ordinary objectives of a traditional labor-union organizing campaign. In its fundamental aspects, it marks, in reality, the beginning of a modern crusade for the industrial and political emancipation, not only of the two to three millions of our fellow citizens who work or live in the iron and steel manufacturing communities of the United States, but also of the much greater multitude of industrial workers who are employed in the other basic industries of the country.

The epoch-making developments of the past six years, in our own and other countries, have clearly demonstrated to our more disinterested and thoughtful labor leaders two vital facts: (1) that the American labor movement, as based on the craft-union principle of organization, has become fundamentally ineffective in the face of modern conditions; and (2) that the needs and aims of wage and salary workers as to compensation, hours of work, and living standards, together with the recognition and establishment of the essential principles and guarantees of industrial democracy, can never be realized until sufficient economic and political strength for effective action has been attained by means of the organization of our mass-production workers into industrial unions. It was entirely due to the compelling force of these considerations that the Committee for Industrial Organization was brought into being, despite the opposition of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Industrial Revolution

The movement for the promotion of industrial unions is not opposed to established craft unions. These types of labor organizations are the outgrowth, as a rule, of a period in American industry of more than a half century ago. At that time industrial undertakings were small and highly localized. Human skill and training were the dominant qualities required of the operating forces.

Revolutionary changes in our basic industries during the past quarter of a century, however, have rendered a general change from craft to industrial unionism absolutely necessary. The size and productive capacity of industrial plants have been vastly increased. Industrial undertakings have assumed a corporate form, the capital of which has been furnished by thou-

sands of widely scattered stock and bondholders. At the present time these corporate units, situated in many States and localities, are, in turn, owned and controlled by national holding companies. Management is impersonal and usually detached from ownership. Its methods and policies are, as a rule, determined by private banking houses which furnish it with needed capital and credit facilities.

The productive methods and facilities of modern industry have also been completely transformed. Automatic machines and processes are now the predominant factors. Machine operatives, who may be recruited and trained within a short time, as a rule constitute, along with unskilled employees, more than three fourths of the operating forces. Skilled artisans make up only a small proportion of the workers.

Obviously the bargaining strength of employees, under these conditions, no longer rests in organizations of skilled craftsmen. It is dependent upon a national union representing all employees—whether skilled or unskilled, or whether working by brain or brawn—in each basic industry.

Craft Unions Fail

As our big, modern industries developed, repeated efforts by craft unions to organize their operating forces also met with failure. Even coalitions of all crafts, formed to cover an entire industry, as in the movement to organize the iron and steel industry in 1919, were ineffective because of rivalries and jurisdictional disputes between the different craft unions, and for the further reason that common laborers and the semi-skilled workers felt that skilled crafts discriminated against them. Moreover, after the World War, and especially during the prosperous and active "new era" of 1923-1929, no advance in membership or real gains in wages and working conditions were made by the craft unions. Finally, under the favoring influence of the guarantees of Section 7 of the Recovery Act of 1933, accompanied by spontaneous uprisings and protests of unorganized workers, the craft unions were unable, or made no attempt, to organize the basic industries.

When the industrial depression occurred in 1930, craft unions were thus without any footholds in our basic industries. Outside the building trades, they had found refuge mainly in industries sheltered by public policy, such as navy yards, shipbuilding, and steam railroads, or in small, and more or less local, manufacturing establishments. Out of a possible organizable membership in 1933 of at least thirty million gainful workers, the American labor movement under the American Federation of Labor had not, during a period of more than half a century, organized more than ten percent. Where the need was most acute for strength and service—in the mass-production industries as a whole—there was practically no organization.

When the federation's annual convention met in Washington in 1933, a determined but unsuccessful effort was made to secure authorization for the organization of the workers in the basic industries. In 1934, a repetition of this effort resulted in the San Francisco convention directing the Executive Council to organize iron and steel, automotive, and rubber industries. Nothing was done, however, by the Executive Council. When in 1935 the convention of the federation was held in Atlantic City, although the Executive Council was again directed to inaugurate a drive for the unionization of mass-production workers, it became evident soon after the convention adjourned that the old policy of plausible

excuses and inaction was to be continued.

As a consequence, seven of the largest unions of the federation, with a combined membership of slightly more than a million, organized the Committee for Industrial Organization and entered actively into a campaign for the unionization of the employees of the iron and steel and other basic industries.

Aims of the C. I. O.

The primary objective sought is the improvement of the working and living standards of mass-production employees by the development of industrial unions coterminous with industry in extent of organization and coequal in economic power with management. Through such unions, genuine collective bargaining with representatives of mass-production industries may be established, due consideration and emphasis, as a matter of course, being given to joint cooperative effort and increased industrial accomplishment.

The other fundamental objective sought is the development of effective political organization and strength by the labor groups, whether hand or brain workers, to the end that it may be used in cooperation with other unselfish groups of our people in establishing sound measures of industrial democracy, and in bringing about other social, economic, and humanitarian reforms which are traditionally and indissolubly associated with the ideals and aspirations of our self-governing republic. The conviction that these objectives should be attained has come to many labor union executives as the result of their observations and experiences during the period since the World War. It has been apparent to them that American industrial management—engineers, chemists, and other technicians, as well as executives—established such a remarkable record of industrial organization and accomplishment during the ten years immediately following the War as to make America the marvel of other industrial and commercial nations. On the other hand, it has been equally clear to many labor leaders, and profoundly deplorable to them, that operating management itself has not been able, as many of its members have undoubtedly desired, to have industry function in an enlightened way both for itself and for the common good. The reason is that our basic industries have been, and still are, controlled and their policies determined by a small, inner group of New York bankers and financiers.



JOHN L. LEWIS

Industrial executives are but the outward agents of this financial dictatorship. They are not permitted to recognize the rights of industrial workers

to economic freedom. They must keep labor costs at a minimum. They are fundamentally required, regardless of humanity or democracy, to hold to a program of immediate maximum profits.

Organized labor has suffered from the selfish and short-sighted policies of this financial dictatorship. It produced the breakdown of 1929 by refusing to allow the wage and salary workers sufficient purchasing power to keep the wheels of industry going. It was responsible in 1930 for the inauguration of the disastrous policy of wage deflation. Finally, in 1934, after stability had been assured through the National Recovery Administration, it refused to permit its representatives on the Code Authorities to approve a policy of shorter hours, higher rates of pay, and minimum profits so that genuine economic recovery might be assured.

Even as far back as the winter of 1927-1928, when four million men and women were thrown out of employment through the short-sighted policy of this financial hierarchy, it had become apparent to disinterested economists and thoughtful industrial leaders that industry could not govern itself in the public interest. There was no coordination of production and consumption and no correlation as between different industries, with the exception of iron and steel manufacturing and similar industries, where inner monopoly price and production controls had been developed.

Moreover, industry as a whole in relation to mass purchasing or consuming power, was greatly over-capacitated. As is well known, at the height of our so-called prosperity in 1929, our manufacturing establishments were operating at only 80% of capacity. Coal, petroleum, and other extractive industries, at the same time, were overdeveloped to the brink of wasteful and unprofitable chaos. Also, in 1929, it has been estimated, at least three million industrial workers had already been displaced by mechanization and technological improvements. Those in financial control of industry, however, just as they could not see the necessity of reducing per-unit-of-output profits in order that increased mass purchasing power might enable our mills, factories, mines, and farms to forge ahead with a constantly greater volume of production and profits, likewise were blind to the wisdom of reducing hours of work in order to reemploy technologically displaced workers, and thus prevent a decrease in mass purchasing power from sapping away the foundations of continued prosperity.

Similarly, when confronted during the winter of 1932-1933 with the necessity of saving themselves from the avalanche of deflation which they had started in 1930, this financial and industrial leadership exhibited the same restricted and selfish incompetence. They petitioned Congress for permission to stabilize prices and production by a suspension of the anti-trust laws without any guarantees against exploitation to workers and consumers. Finally, when they felt assured that they had been saved from the results of their own continued follies by the National Recovery Administration and other agencies of the New Deal, this same unenlightened group immediately inaugurated a movement to free finance and industry from all forms of governmental regulation.

Need for Democracy

It is for these reasons that organized labor has determined that this sinister financial and industrial dictatorship must be destroyed. Through the formation of industrial unions it seeks to acquire political organization and strength to contribute toward this end

in an orderly American way. Labor's aim is to have a free America for the future, both politically and industrially.

It has not been without forethought and careful consideration that the opening campaign for industrial unionism has been directed against the iron and steel manufacturing industry. The employees themselves of this industry grievously need help. For more than three decades they have been reduced to a condition of industrial servitude. They have been without political or industrial freedom. Their average earnings have also been far below the minimum requirements for American standards of living.

The direction of the United States Steel Corporation for 35 years has been under the control of J. P. Morgan and Company. This private banking house is not only the public symbol, but also the actual head, of the financial dictatorship. The steel corporation was organized by a Morgan syndicate in 1901, for which an underwriting fee of 150 million dollars was received. Into its original capitalization was injected approximately a billion dollars of fictitious stock. From the beginning, the large monopoly earnings of the corporation have been used to pay dividends, to the amount of one billion, two hundred and forty million dollars, on this fictitious capitalization; to retire 150 millions in preferred stock, and 303 millions in funded debt; and to acquire additional plants and facilities for the benefit of common stockholders to the amount of approximately 800 million dollars. In 1927, the corporation also declared a special stock dividend of 203 million dollars which was charged to earnings.

Altogether, during the past 35 years, the steel corporation, under Morgan management, has used its profits, after paying legitimate capital charges, to the amount of two billion, six hundred million dollars, or 78 million dollars a year, to make cash disbursements to the holders of fictitious securities, or to place physical values back of securities which were originally "water." In other words, the monopoly earnings and increased productivity of the United States Steel Corporation have been improperly diverted to the financial interests which originally organized the corporation and distributed its securities. Had these surplus earnings been used for wage and salary workers, as they should have been, at least in part, the operating forces of the corporation would have been paid 25% more than they actually received during the past 35 years.

Today the House of Morgan is still in direct control of the United States Steel Corporation, and thus, indirectly, of the entire iron and steel manufacturing industry. Through its banking and financial affiliations it also exercises a preponderating control over the money and credit of the country. It is also predominant in the power, electrical equipment, farm machinery, radio, rubber, motors, transportation, and many other basic industries.

From these Morgan interests has emanated during the past two years intense and fundamental opposition to industrial democracy and to all other constructive economic and social reforms. The iron and steel industry, in brief, is the industrial stronghold of the Morgan group. As a consequence, when industrial democracy is established in steel, as it undoubtedly soon will be through organization of an industrial union, the main obstacle to its wider application will be removed.

MEN AND STEEL

BETTER UNORGANIZED

By John Raymond Hand

"TO BE or not to be!" That is the question which faces the great body of unorganized steel workers. Under the leadership of Mr. John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, organized labor purposes to spend some half a million dollars to press their invitation to us of the steel industry. Shall we accept that invitation? My vote shall be cast in the negative.

It is only fair to Mr. Lewis to say that I am just as heartily opposed to the craft union plan of the Federation of Labor as I am to his industrial union plan. To me the very spirit of unionism is un-American. It is builded upon the idea that the individual worker is neither wise enough to know his needs, strong enough to obtain them, nor skilful enough to hold them. It lowers ability to one common level. It dwarfs genius, stifles initiative, and kills ambition. It reduces a man to the position of an automaton moving only as the master mind of the organization wills. Unionism has never yet, nor will it ever, produce a Franklin, an Edison, a Marconi, a Wright, or a Ford. It places a premium on mediocrity and makes genius a crime. It places the highly skilled workman on exactly the same basis as the bungler. It taxes the efficient to pay for the mistakes of the slipshod and careless. It denies the fundamental principle of Americanism that men are free.

However, the present question concerns the industrial plan suggested by Mr. Lewis and I shall explain my negative vote as briefly as possible. I am opposed to this plan for various reasons, but I shall mention the four which I consider the most vital.

Mr. Lewis' Motives

First: I am opposed to it because of the vague and uncertain motives behind the proposal of Mr. Lewis. I am morally certain that the great body of unorganized steel workers did not ask the United Mine Workers of America to "come over into Macedonia and help." Then why this sudden impulse to spend their money so liberally? It seems to me that there must be an Ethiopian gentleman lurking about the fuel supply. The only answer which I have been able to evolve is that 500,000 steel workers paying an average of $2.00 per month dues would mean a nice juicy melon of approximately $1,000,000 per month for some one to divide.

What becomes of this money? The overhead expenses of the proposed organization would be trivial compared to this huge sum. It does not go into sick or death benefits. According to *The New Standard Encyclopedia*, Vol. XXIV, page 175, in the article entitled "United Mine Workers of America", this organization maintains no extensive system of fraternal benefits. Neither does this money go for strike benefits, although the organizers will maintain that it does. The by-laws of the proposed organization submitted to me during the last attempt to organize the steel workers provided strike bene-

fits only after the first thirty days of the strike. Inasmuch as that is considerably longer than the duration of the average strike, a very small fraction of this melon would go for the support of it.

It is possible that Mr. Lewis revealed his hand prematurely just after the late political conventions when, during a radio broadcast, he pledged the labor vote to one of the two major political parties. Certain it is that with his already enormous income from his twelve affiliated unions, augmented by this monthly melon from the steel workers, he might easily build up a political machine that would make those of European dictators look like child's play. But Mr. Lewis is not delivering my vote to any party. Nor do I purpose to pay him $2.00 per month to enable him to entice any of my unwary fellow workers into his net.

Unionism an Economic Fallacy

Second: I am opposed to Mr. Lewis' plan because it is economically unsound. It proposes to work for higher wages and shorter hours. That sounds well enough, but it so happens that that is not what we need. Mr. Lewis overlooks or ignores one of the basic laws of economy. It matters little what the size of my wages may be; it is how much I can buy with what I get that really counts. The difference between my income and the cost of production is the real coefficient of my prosperity. There are but two elements that can increase this coefficient—efficient management and economical production. I have nothing to do with the management but I do have a part in the production. When I help to lower the cost of production, I raise my wages even though I receive the same amount on pay day. When I help to increase the cost of production I lower my own wages though I actually receive more money on pay day. I cannot lower the cost of production by encouraging labor unrest. I do not need higher wages. I need to be let alone. When all the collegiate theorizers, the political fence-builders, and the professional agitators go fishing somewhere, the natural economic adjustment will solve my problem. The cost of production will sink below the level of my income and two things will inevitably follow: my income will buy more, and my employer will produce more; thus he can raise my wages and will do so in order that I may purchase his product.

Third: I am opposed to the plan because it calls for a closed shop and the inevitable weapon of the closed shop is the strike. The strike is indefensible from any angle. It is primitive in concept, unjust in design, tragic in execution, and devastating in results. It is in itself a confession of the weakness of the cause it purposes to support. It encourages vandalism, sponsors sabotage, defends sedition, and ignores mayhem, mutilation, and murder. It overrides all the principles of civilization and breaks every basic law of humanity in its mad, insatiate greed to accomplish its purpose. It is an unholy juggernaut crushing the life out of the votaries who have created it.

If I, with a number of my fellows, should go to the home of the president of our company, take him prisoner, and hold him until he paid us a ransom of $50,000, the law would very justly hold us guilty of conspiracy to kidnap and extort. Yet if we same men tie his hands industrially by a strike and force him to pay us higher wages, we would be acclaimed as public benefactors. To my benighted mind there is no difference. As far as I can see, it is just as criminal to hold up a man and extort money from

him, whether the act be enforced with a club, a battle-axe, a tomahawk, a gun, or a strike. Certainly any agreement reached by such a method should not be called collective bargaining.

Unions Have Failed

Fourth: I am opposed to the plan because the history of the large industrial unions is one of utter and abject failure. It happens that I lived for the greater part of my boyhood and young manhood in the heart of one of the largest bituminous-coal districts. I remember the birth of the United Mine Workers well and was a personal eyewitness to the early struggles of that organization. I was one of the child victims of the long bi-yearly vacations while the labor czars argued and the men and their families starved. And what has been the result of that long and bitter struggle? Take a ride through the coalfields today and gaze upon the abandoned tipples, the deserted villages, and the vacant store rooms that stand as an eloquent commentary on the effects of Mr. Lewis' plan. Would to God that they might be its epitaph.

I have just returned from a vacation spent in the old home district. While there I talked with some fifty mine workers. I realize that statistics gathered from such a limited source would be subject to question, yet a very small weathervane will show the direction of the wind. These men averaged last year a little over $500 out of which they paid the organization an average of $36 for the privilege of working. No, I am mistaken. They did not pay the organization; this amount was checked out of their wages. The organization takes no chances where its own income is concerned. Our district may have been a little lower than a general average; yet, considering that coal mining is a seasonal industry, the above amount checks very well with Mr. Lewis' own admission that during last March, one of the peak months, miners averaged $22 per week.

How does that compare with the conditions in the unorganized steel industry? Last year the hourly workers in our plant averaged a little over $1200. That figure includes all unskilled labor, which is the lowest paid of all. In addition, practically all of these men received a paid vacation of one or two weeks, depending on their length of service. And not a man was required to pay a single red penny to anyone for the privilege of working.

What can I gain by organization? My wages are higher and my conditions better than those maintained under organization. I am more than willing to help the United Mine Workers, if that be the plea, but it is not necessary to get down into a ditch with a man in order to help him out. I am out and I prefer to stay out. I shall do my best to prevent a repetition in the steel industry of the devastating war which I have witnessed in the mining industry. Therefore, speaking as one of the great silent majority of unorganized laboring men, my vote on the question of organization is "No."

The MAJORITY *Must Rule*

By William Green

THE public mind has become greatly confused over the issue which has developed between the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization. It has been alleged that the fight is based upon the question of industrial versus craft unionism, and that the president of the American Federation of Labor rigidly stands for the exclusive application of the craft union plan while the chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization stands for the exclusive application of the industrial plan of organization. This impression is wrong. The fact is that the American Federation of Labor has applied and will continue to apply both the industrial and the craft union form of organization in all its organizing activities. It fully recognizes that, while industrial processes have changed, human nature remains the same. Skilled workers still wish to utilize their skill and training and, as key men, use their acquired skill, genius, and training to secure for themselves the highest wage possible.

This human equation must be taken into account in the application of either the vertical or horizontal plan of organization. The American Federation of Labor favors and applies both the craft and industrial form of organization in all its organizing activities as each peculiar situation may require and as circumstances will permit. The so-called industrial union issue, which has been so strongly emphasized by the representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization in the steel organizing campaign, falls flat under the light of analyzed facts. These facts warrant careful examination.

What the Federation Has Done

The American Federation of Labor has functioned and served labor without interruption during all the period intervening between 1886, when it was formally established, and the present date. It is now one of the great institutions of our nation. Its ramifications reach into every community, village, city, and state. Its progress is based upon the best counsel and advice of those who have been connected with it through its development and growth.

Obviously it must depend for its success upon service to the workers, upon the loyalty and devotion of those who are associated with it, and the sympathetic help of its friends. It is strong in proportion to its ability to unite and solidify and develop the economic strength of the working men and women who become associated with it. If it is forced to engage in family quarrels and internal dissension, it becomes proportionately weakened. It cannot depend upon strong financial institutions or upon the accumulation of material wealth for its existence, but must rely upon the support of work-

ing men and women associated with it. For this reason it will be readily understood how dissension of the kind existing within our organization weakens itself, strikes a severe blow at the very heart of the movement, and does great injury to all men and women within the ranks of labor.

I am indeed deeply concerned at the moment over the controversy that now exists within the ranks of labor, and over the threat to the future as we face it. It is commonly stated that it is a disagreement over the organizational course that should be and ought to be pursued by the American Federation of Labor. **That is not true.** I place upon that statement all the emphasis I possess.

The men and women of the organized labor movement will defend both forms of unionism. I would religiously stand with my colleagues defending the economic philosophy of those who believe in the industrial form of organization. On the other hand, I will stand by those who are members of the American Federation of Labor, who have always been identified with it, and defend the craft form of organization. We have found from experience there is plenty of room within the American Federation of Labor for the application of both plans. We have applied them both. We are applying them both.

Majority or Minority Rule?

The real issue is this: Shall the American Federation of Labor, the organized labor movement of America, follow democratic procedure? Shall the movement be governed by majority rule? Shall the will of the majority of the membership of organized labor be the supreme law of the American Federation of Labor?

At the Atlantic City 1935 convention the representatives of labor of the United States and Canada met, with authority to speak for the working people who hold membership in the American Federation of Labor. In the convention, which is the supreme authority within the American Federation of Labor, policies are formulated and drafted, adopted or rejected. The American Federation of Labor is an open forum. There is no more democratic institution in the land than ours. The convention is the supreme court of labor, the place where the laws of the American Federation of Labor are evolved, where policies that the Executive Council is commanded to carry out are formulated and adopted. There is no appeal from the decision of the convention of the American Federation of Labor. This is surely democratic procedure. It is majority rule and in keeping with the spirit and the letter of our great democratic America.

Can any better way be offered? No great institution can live if it is to be governed by a minority or by factions, by those who disagree, individually or collectively, with a majority decision or majority rule.

At the Atlantic City convention the question of organizational policy was submitted. The committee chosen by the convention met, and those in favor of or against one policy and opposed to or in favor of another appeared and presented their views to the committee considering the resolutions. After mature deliberation and after every delegate had been given an opportunity to present his views, the committee made its report. That report was submitted to the convention and then, after the widest and most comprehensive discussion of the subject, a decision was reached. The organizational policy for the American Federation of Labor during the year 1936 was adopted by a vote of 18,000 for, to 10,000 against. The decision of the

majority became the law of the American Federation of Labor and is binding and obligatory upon every loyal and devoted member, particularly those who participated in the proceedings of the convention and submitted the issue for determination. If any change is to be made in that policy it must be made by the same authority that adopted it. Otherwise we have chaos and disorder; and no institution can survive under such a plan and procedure.

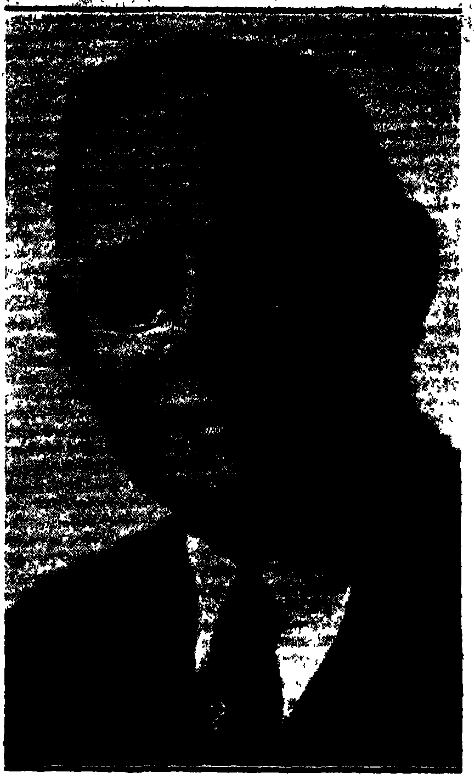
Policy of the C.I.O.

However, subsequent to the convention, a group which I think erred in its judgment formed an organization within the American Federation of Labor called the Committee for Industrial Organization. In the first official document issued by that organization, officered, formed, and financed, you will find this declaration:

"This organization is formed for the purpose of putting into effect the *minority* report of the Atlantic City convention."

In the light of that declaration, can there be any misunderstanding as to what is the issue?

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor commanded by the body that created it to carry into effect the decision of the majority of the delegates in attendance at the convention, is now faced with a new organization within the American Federation of Labor, organized for the avowed purpose of carrying into effect the minority report of the Atlantic City convention. We had to decide whether the American Federation of Labor shall rest surely and securely upon the principle of majority control, or tolerate an organization within the parent body organized for the avowed purpose of putting into effect a minority report that was lost by a decisive vote in the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Shall force or reason govern in the administration of the affairs of the American Federation of Labor?



WILLIAM GREEN

There can be but one authority in a democratic institution. We refuse to yield or surrender to a minority. I have repeatedly said that none of the organizations that make up this Committee for Industrial Organization would tolerate for a single moment an organization within their organizations such as was formed within the American Federation of Labor, a minority which constitutes a challenge to the supremacy of the authority of their national unions.

It is loudly proclaimed in the steel campaign just launched by the Com-

mittee for Industrial Organization that all employees of the steel corporations must belong to the one union, big or little. The representatives of the C.I.O. announce that all machinists, electricians, building trades mechanics, railway employees such as engineers, firemen, and brakemen employed on branch lines owned by these steel corporations, and other miscellaneous workers, must, if they become organized, be turned over to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. However, none of these representatives will agree to turn over the coal miners and coke workers (over whom the United Mine Workers have been given jurisdiction by the American Federation of Labor) employed by the United States Steel Corporation, the Jones and Laughlin Steel Company, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, and other steel companies, even though these workers may be key men, to the one big union. The same can be said of the other international unions concerned.

Need for Unity

The claim has been made that, if the workers in certain industries are given a certain form of organization, they will come running in, they will break down the barriers. That is not true. It is the fear of losing their jobs; the opposition that comes from powerful corporations; the reports made upon those who show the independence and desire to join a democratic labor union, by spies. It is the discrimination, the persecution that working men are forced to undergo today, that keeps them from joining a union. It is not the form of organization.

I will do all I can to find a way to compose our difficulties and our differences. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has faced the issue and declared in most positive terms that the industrial versus craft union dispute is in no way involved in its official decision. No organization will ever be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor because its members believe in or advocate the acceptance of either the industrial or craft form of organization, nor are any of the organizations which hold membership in the Committee for Industrial Organization asked to withdraw their indorsement or espousal of industrial unionism. Instead, they are asked to give up a dual union. They must choose whether they will remain with the American Federation of Labor or cast their lot with the dual, rival organization. The decision rendered by the Executive Council means they cannot belong to both organizations at the same time.

AS EMPLOYERS SEE IT

By William A. McGarry

STEEL workers regard themselves as the aristocrats of labor. For half a century, while organization has gone on apace in other industries, they have resisted unionization by men from outside of the mills. In song and story they have built up and perpetuated a tradition that no man can know about steel except by making it or working with it. An *esprit de corps* second to that of no other industry in the world is an inevitable corollary.

Executives of the steel corporations who have come up from the ranks point to this attitude of the men toward their work and their leaders as the most valuable single asset in the industry. Without it they are convinced that steel could not have made half its present progress. As it was put once to the writer by the late Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corporation, "there's management in every job." Steel executives believe they get more self-management out of their workers than any other large employers.

It is important to note this belief in an attitude on the part of workers essentially professional in its nature, in order to understand clearly why the modern steel company opposes outside unions, but does not oppose collective bargaining with its own men. It is the active policy of the industry to favor the existence of agencies in every plant for the direct presentation of grievances and their speedy settlement.

Collective bargaining is essential if the boasted *esprit de corps* is to be maintained. But by the same token the spirit of individual achievement which steel has fostered must also be encouraged, for the basis of the steel man's attitude toward his job is the feeling that he is free. For that reason, the steel companies do not take the stand that any worker must or must not be a member of a particular organization. Men join such societies and unions as they choose, and no executive attempts to issue instructions one way or another.

With this point of view in mind, two principles stand out clearly in the attitude of the steel industry toward employer-employee relationships:

1. That collective bargaining may be conducted successfully only when it is direct between the company and the men, without outside intermediaries, excepting always the Government and in courts, in the administration of the law.

2. That there must be no intimidation, coercion, or force exercised by anyone whomsoever upon the worker to determine his attitude toward the company or toward any society of workers.

No Outside Interference

With reference to the first of these principles, long experience in all other industries as well as in steel has shown that workers in their relationship to their employers are concerned principally with four questions, in the fol-

lowing order of importance: (1) wages; (2) hours; (3) seniority; and (4) general working conditions.

As to the first two items, workers are generally well informed about what the traffic will bear. They try very naturally to get as much as they can for the least possible outlay of time.

In the mass production industries particularly, it is unusual, for competitive and other reasons, for employers to resist wage demands if the business in hand justifies increased expenditures. Enlightened management has learned that good pay attracts good men. When difficulties arise over wages today, therefore, it is usually because workers do not realize the cost of capitalization, without which their jobs would not be available, or because they do not realize the necessity for setting aside various reserves, without which no business can be kept progressive and solvent.

In such situations, when there is not outside interference, it is usually possible for management to lay its cards on the table, to show what costs are, to indicate the disposition of income, and to reach an understanding concerning wages on any related subject, such as vacations with pay. More and more in all industries workers are being taken into the confidence of management. When both sides are friendly, business details of a private nature may be discussed openly with the workers.

When an outside labor organization intervenes, however, the contention of the steel men is that the attitude must be altogether different. The outside organization cares neither for the continuance of the business nor for what happens to the men's jobs. It is only concerned with maintaining some uniform wage so that both management and the worker will always be under the authority of the union officials. The objective is the preservation of the union.

This becomes particularly marked in instances where incentive wages are paid as rewards for more competent work. Such incentive wages usually give to the efficient, active, competent man the chance to rise in life. The unions usually oppose the worker who has initiative because they feel that work should be limited and that production per man be at a level within the ability of the least competent worker. It is impossible to operate any plant effectively on that doctrine.

In the steel industry, the question of hours has not been a pressing one, as the men have, during the past few years, been working too few hours for their own good or for the good of the companies. This condition cannot be corrected either by demands of outside organizations or by paternalistic good will on the part of the employer. It is a condition wholly dependent upon the market for steel and steel products. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the steel industry did carry workers on a spread-the-work basis, that it does pay additionally for overtime, and that for a period all questions of hours were controlled by the Steel Code.

More Orders the Solution

With regard to both of these questions, therefore, the answer given by steel men is quite simple: more steel orders, better prices, better earnings for the worker, better adjustment of hours. No union, they say, can solve these problems by demands. If there is a solution in sight, the representative of the employees meeting in the plant with management will solve it. Questions of wages and hours of a minor nature arise constantly in the plants and are usually settled amicably. The proof of this lies in the attitude of the

workers toward their jobs. For every man who complained about the old twelve-hour day there were dozens who bragged of their ability to work through it—or even through the twenty-four-hour shift of the swing. Steel has always paid good wages, and steel managers point out that there has been no serious labor dispute in the industry in seventeen years.

Now, with respect to seniority, certainly no outside organization can assist in the determination of such a question, in the opinion of steel executives. Seniority is essentially dependent, they contend, on plant efficiency and the general character of the work done by the individual. To push men upward or to keep them down because they do or do not belong to particular unions or lodges or churches or any other organizations would be to turn the shop into a bickering, quarreling, corrupt, political body. Such a condition would be intolerable. Management is aware of this—and the men know it.

As to working conditions, the steel industry prides itself on the advances it has made in substituting labor-saving devices in the true sense; that is, not to reduce the number of men employed, but to relieve men from inhuman toil, such as was inevitable in earlier stages of the development of mechanization. Actually, employment in the steel industry this year has reached the highest level in history, the figure of nearly 500,000 employees for all classes passing 1929 by a wide margin.

For the most part, steel factories are clean. Electrical and mechanical means are employed to reduce the physical labor of the individual worker. Industrial safety activities started in the steel industry, where safety appliances were first introduced. No one can deny that the highest development of industrial safety has been achieved in the steel industry.

Social securities, schools, hospitals, pensions, housing, and other considerations for workers are not uniform among companies in the steel industry, as they cannot be in any competitive effort where the individual proprietor or management has independent control and pursues his or its own course. Nevertheless, if one takes the top plants employing perhaps as much as 80% of the men, it will be found that steel equals, if it does not far exceed, the average for the United States in these respects. How much more could an outside union win for the men than a company can afford to do? Most companies know, from experience, that it is wise and efficient to do as much as possible.

Against Coercion

Now we come to the second principle, the coercion and intimidation of workers. The steel managers say there must be equity with regard to that. It is not just to an employer, they argue, to say that he may not even speak to his men of their mutual interests, and yet to insist that some outside organization, some outside union leaders, can come along, with gangs and mass pressure and the use of fear devices, to force men into their union. It is not just to say to the employer that he cannot tell the men what the state of his finances is, or that taxes are high and therefore he cannot pay more wages, and then to insist that a union delegate is justified in frightening women and children because their husbands and fathers refuse to join a particular organization.

Mass production has not destroyed human relations in industry. Management in every forward-looking company wants to feel that the men in the plant look to the company as a friend

and as a protector. If the men, of their own accord, insist upon some outside intermediary, that is another matter. That has not happened in the steel industry in decades. Where there has been force and intimidation from the outside, very few men have responded to it. Most of the men have remained loyal to their individual independence and to their right to deal with management directly.

Finally, most unions in this country have had difficulties in holding their members and in collecting their dues. Whenever a union has been strong enough to enforce a closed shop, it has put through a contract requiring the business to collect its dues. The steel industry cannot become a dues collection agency. The men earn their pay and get it directly. No steel company is going to take away from a man any part of his just wage to hand it over to a union. If the worker wants to spend his money that way, that is his business. But it is not the business of the company for which he works, any more than it would be to buy his moving picture tickets or to pay his lodge bill or his coal bill.

Strikes Threaten Wages

These are a few of the practical problems that arise when the question of unionization is considered. The steel industry has passed through a very trying period of depression. It has probably suffered most, for many of its fields of economic activity were curtailed first and remain curtailed even to this day. Nevertheless, the steel business is beginning to show more favorable results—and the men undoubtedly are benefitting by the changed atmosphere. Unions mean strikes—and strikes would be disastrous to steel workers just emerging into good weekly pay envelopes. They cannot afford strikes; the employers do not want strikes.

During a period of twenty months from August, 1933, through March, 1936, a study of United States Department of Labor records shows that in the steel industry only $226,000 in wages was lost to steel workers as a result of strikes. This compares with nearly twenty million dollars in wages lost to workers in the highly unionized coal mines of this country. Both industries employ approximately the same number of workers.

Through existing employee representation plans, every difference of opinion between the employer and employee in the steel industry can be solved peacefully as between men with a common interest. When the outside union intervenes, the contention of the management of steel is that no problem will be solved peacefully because there will no longer be that common interest. There will be only fear, suspicion, and distrust on both sides. There is no need for such an atmosphere in the steel industry so long as the traditional *esprit de corps* is retained.

MEN AND STEEL

WE SHALL BE FREE

By Elmer F. Cope

INDUSTRIAL organization is no academic or theoretical question to the half-million steel workers today. It is a matter which concerns their everyday living here and now. There is nothing mystical about it. The workers who man the furnaces and roll the steel want an effective industrial union simply because there is no alternative. Without such an organization, as individuals, we are at the mercy of the steel barons who have perfected for themselves the strongest combination that money can buy. With an effective union we have a chance. If the American Iron and Steel Institute has done nothing else to the steel workers, it has taught them one thing: it has demonstrated what a broad, determined organization can accomplish in the steel industry. While the big bosses through their organization have been able to extract as high as $150 an hour for their "services" the year around, the bulk of the unorganized and leaderless wage workers have had to take the crumbs. And that is not all. New machinery now threatens to abolish this little bit. Truly the steel worker has his back to the wall. In sheer desperation he must make for himself and his fellow workers an instrumentality which can be used to fight extinction.

As one of more than a half-million wage slaves in steel, I make no bones about it. And I think I am speaking the mind of the great majority of the workers in the industry. We know the nature of our task. We must build for ourselves an effective union which embraces every man, woman, and child in the steel industry. It is a serious matter, this business of combatting the Iron and Steel Institute. It is no pink tea party. We have long since learned that nothing is handed to us on a silver platter. What we get we must take. What we take depends upon how well we fashion our fighting instrument. Our power to get what is justly ours has its source in our united effort. Not only must an organization be built; it must be maintained.

Unionism No Novelty

Strange as it may seem to the uninformed observer, this idea of an effective organization for steel workers is nothing new. My grandfather and father before me grew up in the industry. Unionism was, and is, a part of them. As a child, a portion of my daily nourishment consisted of union talk—problems and plans. Some of the most determined and courageous industrial battles waged in America have been conducted by steel workers who were struggling to build a union. To be sure, they did not always know how to proceed. On the whole they have been without adequate and imaginative leadership. But under it all and regardless of their shortcomings, the consciousness of the necessity for organization has been ever-present since, and before, the founding of the huge steel trusts.

We know the steel dictators are well aware of the fact that we want a bona fide organization. They have fought it and will continue to fight it with every means at their command. Pension plans, picnics, and other kinds of welfare schemes were instituted as sops to make us "contented." Then came the company union. The corporations announced with ballyhoo and sanctimoniousness that their workers would be permitted to bargain collectively through "employee representative" organizations.

There is no denying that many steel workers fell for the company unions. Many accepted them at face value, believing that they could help them improve their lot. They were better than no organization at all. Others, always on the alert, skeptical of anything handed to them for nothing by the bosses, went along hoping that "something would come of them." A minority cursed them and would have nothing to do with them. Some of these prophets paid the price by forfeiting their jobs. Many of us are on the company blacklist now.

Yet today it is hard to find an honest steel worker who really believes these "employee representative" setups, foisted on them by the corporations, are unions. It is no accident that they have been dubbed *company* unions. Even the few workers who are on the bandwagon for what they can get out of the bosses personally, are not being fooled. They know the workers had little, if anything, to do with setting up these unions in the first place; they were handed to them by the companies as substitutes for a union with power to do something about wages, hours, and working conditions. The employees don't have to join; everyone automatically becomes a "member." There are no monthly dues to pay. The companies pay the expenses. (Of course the workers pay in the end—through their slim pay envelopes.) One day's wages they do not get because of the absence of organization would more than pay a month's tax in any good union.

"Catch" in Company Unions

Then once a year the big boss gets the little bosses together and orders them to make every man in his department go to the office or shack (some carry the ballots right to the job) to vote at representative elections, or else —. In between elections maybe the "employee representative" will get a long-sought-after drinking fountain installed for the men in his shop. Or maybe a machine guard or toilet facilities will be set up "for the workers", perhaps years after the State department of labor and industry inspectors ordered them installed. But let these employees ask for wage increases or shorter hours. The local company official says he has no power, so he stalls; when pressed he will pass the buck to his superiors, who in turn consider it out of existence. Here is the catch. All these company unions are constructed so that the final power of decision rests with the company officials. If some ill-advised worker refuses to consider the issue closed and presses the demands, he is warned in no uncertain terms that he had better keep quiet or he will be fired. In a company union what recourse does he have? The set-up covers only the men in a plant. It does not include those employed by the same corporation which has a number of plants. The corporations' union, the Iron and Steel Institute, embraces all of them, but this does not hold for the company unions donated to the employees. Since they have no treasury and are not permitted expert counsel from outside their ranks, the workers haven't a chance.

They have to take it in the neck and like it.

There is a hopeful aspect to the whole company union movement, for it has developed into a movement of significance now that there is a genuine organizing campaign under way. "Something is coming of them" of permanent value to the toiling steel masses. Experience is rapidly teaching the workers to evaluate these company-fostered and -dominated organizations in their true perspective and worth. By their collective action they have learned the value of organization. Instead of passively accepting the company union as an evil to be tolerated, the steel employees, many of whom were forced to "participate" at the threat of losing their job if they refused, have proceeded to put them "to work" and test them out.

This testing process is doing much to expose the weaknesses and shams of all these "employee representative" dummies. By making demands which the company officials have no intentions of granting, the workers throughout the steel industry have stripped these so-called "unions" of their false whiskers. Naked, devoid of genuineness, they now stand before the workers as a downright fake—another machination of the steel bosses, designed to fool their employees into believing they have something they do not possess.

Towards Industrial Unions

Through their demands for higher wages and reduction in hours, the more aggressive company unionists are giving the steel autocrats a run for their money. The bosses have started something they cannot finish to their liking. Designed to short-circuit wage increases and shorter hours, these substitutes for effective industrial unions have been turned on their creators.

At this moment comes the news that 30,000 employees of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Company, a subsidiary of the United States Steel, have united in demanding wage increases. Of more significance is their insistence that the corporation recognize a general workers' committee embracing the workers of the entire company. Pressed into action by the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee's drive to organize the industry, the steel hierarchy threw one more of their sops in the form of time and a half for overtime. But in announcing that this was granted "after a conference with their employee representatives", they overshot their mark. Within 48 hours, at least two representative bodies registered formal protest, denying they had asked for the proposition. They refused to accept time and a half for time over 48 hours on the grounds they wanted a basic 40-hour week. To top it off, these workers in the Braddock and Clairton plants of the Carnegie-Illinois Company insisted that they be given a flat 15% increase in wages instead. These illustrations are merely symptomatic of what is happening to the company unions.

The bulk of the steel workers will be fooled no longer. Even though their bosses make concessions, it takes no wizard to determine why they do so. The men in the mills know that it is not because of the power exercised by the company unions, nor due to the generosity of the bosses, but because of the fear that the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee will organize the industry and force greater concessions.

Slowly, but with certainty, the company unions are moving to the S. W. O. C. Indicative of this is the fact that, less than one month after the beginning of the drive to organize steel, more than a dozen important "employee representatives" from all sections of the northeastern area of the United

States attended a meeting of the S. W. O. C. organizers in Pittsburgh. Many of these men were elected to their company union posts because the workers knew they were for the genuine industrial union. Here they pledged their support to help build a powerful industrial organization for the entire industry. Man after man voiced the opinion that most of the workers will become a part of the John L. Lewis movement; many have already defied the Steel Institute and are active in the campaign.

The fact that the steel industry is not organized today leads to mistaken conclusions unless one is careful. It is not the fault of the workers that they are not in a strong union. For years we have begged for a great union with teeth in it. In 1933, at the inception of the National Industrial Recovery Act, more than a hundred thousand flocked into the folds of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Union (A. A.) They went on strike 9,000 strong at Weirton for the right to organize, only to be fooled and forsaken. Other notable attempts were made to no avail. Not until Lewis and the Committee for Industrial Organization plunged into the fight and established the S. W. O. C. was hope renewed.

No Craft Unions

A large percentage of the workers know what they want. We are most positive about what kind of a union we will join and support. Without exception, next to their fear of being fired because of union activity, steel workers are afraid that the Lewis movement—and most workers think of the S. W. O. C. as a Lewis movement—will take them all into the old A. A. during the campaign and later divide them into crafts as was done in the 1919 drive. We have for all time settled this question—we will not tolerate anyone who attempts to put us into craft unions.' One big union for the entire steel industry is the order of the day. Anything short of this will not pass inspection.

A valuable, though costly, lesson was learned in the 1919 campaign. Craft divisions in the ranks of steel labor leads to defeat. Pitiable though it was, a number of the workers in the industry today witnessed the fight between 24 craft unions when they attempted to parcel out the newly organized workers to their respective organizations. The solidarity of the members of the Iron and Steel Institute has helped to clarify the issue. How under the sun, it is asked, can labor ever hope to combat a strong combination of steel barons, unless it mobilizes its power into one mass movement?

It is power matched against power, and most of the steel workers know it. The steel moguls have the upper hand now. They can hire their spies and thugs, and fire those who have manhood enough to exercise their rights as workers and Americans. Yes, they can now get away with considerable, such as prohibiting their workers from even as much as talking while on the job, as they are now doing in their plants. But not for long. The present generation of steel workers have been taught that they have the right to speak, talk, and organize as they see fit. Company tactics which contravene these rights simply increase the workers' determination to organize and forever free themselves from company domination.

We who toil in steel want action. Just to join a union is not enough. Many of us have been in unions before. Another large block of steel workers were at one time coal miners and active in the United Mine Workers' union. We have witnessed the growth and

gains made by the miners through their union. These workers serve as an inspiration and a challenge to us. We want to live decently and gain security and economic independence. We know that the rich steel industry has the resources and the ability to provide it for us. The steel workers' union can be revitalized by taking every mother's son employed in the industry into its ranks. What is most encouraging, the steel workers are responding. We shall not be scared or bought off. This campaign is a fight to the finish. We stake our all in the faith that the solidarity of the steel workers can defeat the steel trust with all the thugs and "stools" the money we made for them can buy.

Workers on the job won't talk to strangers. Even brothers are held under suspicion these days when the company police watch our every move. But we know where we stand. We are getting together for the final drive. Our hour is coming. With the miners, clothing workers, the workers who build the autos and make the tires, and hosts of others behind us solidly, we can't fail. We shall free ourselves or die in the attempt.



THE PROGRESS OF RECOVERY

Indices of Industrial Production, 1929-1936
(1928 = 100)

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	Percent of loss since 1928 recovered by 1935	Latest month in 1936	
U. S. S. R.	**125.9**	164.6	203.0	230.1	250.6	296.6	367.0	.....	....	
Japan	111.7	**105.8**	108.3	114.2	131.3	142.8	159.1	100.0+	Mar.	165.5
Norway	111.4	112.5	**87.2**	103.2	104.5	108.8	117.0	100.0+	May	128.4
Sweden	105.8	101.9	89.4	**83.7**	86.5	105.8	113.7	100.0+	....	
United Kingdom	106.0	97.9	88.8	**88.4**	93.5	104.9	112.0	100.0+	Jan.-Mar.	118.0
Italy	109.2	100.3	84.7	**73.0**	80.5	88.3	101.2	100.0+	....	
Spain	112.1	110.5	104.5	99.1	**94.6**	95.9	97.4	51.9	Feb.	98.0
Germany	100.9	88.9	72.8	**58.7**	65.5	83.3	95.3	88.6	May	106.7
Canada	108.1	91.7	76.7	**62.8**	65.2	79.5	87.9	67.5	May	93.9
United States	107.2	86.5	73.0	**57.7**	68.5	71.2	81.0	55.1	May	91.7
Belgium	100.6	84.7	76.4	**63.6**	67.2	66.6	72.8	25.3	Apr.	78.8
France*	109.4	110.2	97.6	75.6	84.3	78.0	**74.0**	0.0	May	81.1
Netherlands*	102.5	93.7	81.0	**63.9**	70.9	71.6	68.0	11.4	May	69.9
Poland*	99.7	81.8	69.3	**53.7**	55.4	62.8	66.2	27.0	May	71.1
World composite (excl. U. S. S. R., Rumania, Estonia, and Spain):										
Including U. S.	106.3	91.8	79.0	**66.0**	74.7	80.7	89.3	68.5	....	
Without U. S.	105.5	97.2	85.1	**74.5**	81.0	90.5	97.9	91.8	....	

Figures in heavy type indicate worst year of depression.
**Gold bloc.*

—taken from *Foreign Policy Reports*, August 15, 1936.

STATE CAPITALISM

European Government goes in business

BY NORTON WEBB

COLLECTIVE ownership and operation of economic and financial enterprises in Europe was, until the War, largely in the hands of private groups. State capitalism, or activities run for the benefit of the whole nation, were then in the infantile stage. Since the War, state capitalism has made big strides in most European countries.

This development in Europe finds a notable example in Soviet Russia, which started by claiming to have abolished capital entirely, but now is on the way of evolving a totalitarian state capitalism. But the Russian régime has been sufficiently publicized; we shall concern ourselves here with only certain concrete and notable examples of state capitalism in European nations, where it subsists alongside of private capital—or at least where the latter is not completely or legally abolished.

Unlike modern European industry which, as elsewhere, springs from private planning and action, state capitalism and stockholding are more the result of accident or turn of events. For example: the inability of private enterprise to serve the public needs adequately; the necessity for state control and supervision of all materials for national defense (held to be the first consideration of an industrial state); the creation of factories during a war; state loans to industries in difficulty; and non-collectable loans made by the state on commercial ventures. A more fundamental and compelling reason for European state capitalism, however, is the irresistible pressure from the people themselves, demanding ownership by the masses and not by special classes, as has heretofore been the case in Europe. The Spanish upheaval and the present-day power of the French Leftists are directly traceable to this.

England Shows the Way

The most conspicuous examples of state capitalism in Great Britain are the Government proprietary corporations, such as the Port of London Authority, operating the assets of defunct dock companies and having all the powers of a private corporation; the Forestry Commissioners, administering a system of state forests as a commercial enterprise; the Central Electricity Board, which buys current generated by selected municipal and private power stations and resells it; the British Broadcasting Corporation, with its monopoly on broadcasting; and the London Passenger Transport Board, which operates the assets of

some 89 former private transportation companies in the London area. All these bodies, with the exception of the Forestry Commissioners, issue bonds against their individual assets. State ownership of stock in private enterprise in England is outstandingly denoted by the case of the Imperial Chemicals Industries, in which the British Government participates for reasons of national defense. While it is not known that Britain holds any stock in the vast air network of the Imperial Airways, it undoubtedly keeps a heavy hand upon them by means of subsidies. These are phases of the new order being established by British recovery policy and described by Lord Lothian as "social capitalism", or cooperation between private interests and the Government.

The Reich in Business

The German State is an active capitalist, operating big enterprises and owning stock in private ones. It has even invested in the stock of foreign firms. In relation to national defense it has, for instance, placed some 260 million marks in the cyanide industry. In 1932, it put 420 million marks into the Hapag Lloyd shipping group, compelling the allotment of eight directors' seats to itself and a reduction of capital in the ratio of 10 to 3. The German State also participates largely in running naval construction yards and heavy metallurgical enterprises. The Reich's public powers control the major part of the distribution of credit. Centralized control of commercial credits has been achieved through the creation of the *Reichskreditgesellschaft* which largely regulates other banks (its customers). The German system of state banks plays another big role in credit. These banks originated in the seventeenth century, when the German princes established a chain of them to monetize profits from the hiring-out of troops, paid in pounds. These banks deal with agricultural, municipal, and other credits. The German holding companies are really the first attempt to systematize the management of state capitalism and stockholding. In cases like power stations, 80% of which are owned by public collectivities, all shares held by the Reich, Prussia or Saxony, and large cities have been confided to the holding companies in which the state is the sole stockholder. Their directorships are composed of parliamentarians, government officials, and directors of the controlled corporations. This is done to exempt state enterprises from red tape and also from all guarantees that usually surround the administration of public funds by private initiative.

France's Set-Up

State industry and capitalism in France date back to the middle ages when corporations, or guilds, began to grow within the borders of what are known today as municipalities. France has for long been under a semi-state and semi-liberal régime, with few variations. Actually France seems to be going through a new "middle age" and trying to write a new page in the history of public and private ownership. Some notable instances of today's modern trend of French state capitalism and stockowning are in matters of national defense. The Nitrogen Office of the French Government has invested several million francs in the chemical industry, and outright nationalization of the arms industry has just been voted by the French Parliament. The French Government owns controlling blocks of stock in aviation firms, and recently put 2 billion francs into the *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique*, the big shipping firm, and

annulled the former stockholders' rights. The French state owns a large portion of the production of hydro-electric power in the country. It runs the telephone, telegraph, and radio, and has a monopoly on tobacco. Of the six large French railroads, the state operates two. It is also a stockholder in several large banks. The banker state in France, besides granting a variety of credit facilities, administers through the Fund of Deposits and Consignments a sum of about 80 billion francs to purchase securities and make loans to foreign governments.

Fascism and Industry

Turning to Italy we find naturally that a flood of fascist decrees has submerged practically the entire economic and financial structure of the state to attain its so-called totalitarian aims. Private capitalism has been virtually non-existent since Signor Mussolini took the Italo-Ethiopian war as a reason for bringing all domains of Italian life under Fascist control. If it still exists feebly, it is only because the government has such a heavy grip on its enterprises that they could be taken over at a moment's notice in the name of a "national emergency." This is particularly true in matters relating to Italian national defense. In the chemical industry, for example, the Fascist state holds about 50 million lira worth of shares in the National Fertilizers Society. It forced the fusion of all Italian shipping firms and made large investments in the new company. A striking innovation of the capitalist state is the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction, which has two separate divisions. The first liquidates all unsuccessful business ventures and is supported by an annual grant from the budget of some 85 million lira. The second subsidizes all new factories and plants and operates through a state loan of one billion lira, guaranteed by the Italian state. No new factories or plants can be built without the Government's permission. Such instances could be multiplied. In short *Il Duce* and his staff are slowly moving towards the completion of the totalitarian Fascist capitalist state.

In Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, Spain, and other European countries, state capitalism in various phases is much in evidence. Generally, it can be put under one of the following heads:

1. The State owns the business outright.
2. The State controls the enterprise through partial ownership of its capital or stock.
3. The State dominates through control of public service companies that operate like private companies.

Pro and Con

Authoritative surveys by European economists and experts show that most state-owned companies have been fairly successful. Naturally, the economic ills of the past few years have affected them just like private capitalism. Many states gave unwise guarantees which the last few years have seen grow acute. In such cases, it is pointed out, they have been able to carry on, thanks to revenues from successful enterprises like power stations, especially designed to counteract the less productive ones. Competent authorities in Europe believe that unfruitful investments by the state can only be overcome by the disappearance of certain industries.

One of the weaknesses of the European state as a capitalist lies in its power to conceal inherent faults. It participates in two forms of activity normally regulated by two opposite currents, the first being public service, governed by strict rules because of its

large objective—public welfare; the second, commercial activity for profit that requires extensive initiative. In the case of commercial activity, it was found that the interest of administrators separated itself from that of the stockholders and even social welfare itself. The public administrator takes the unlimited powers of the company director and the faults of the two systems are thereby joined in one. This is only a single example of a great string of problems involved by the creation of huge bureaucracies necessary to carry on in the present experimental stages of state capitalism.

The great multiplication of government subsidies in Europe since the War opens the way, and is a temptation, for the state to secure control of an enterprise outright or become part-owner or stockholder in it. If, for example, a vital industry like aviation —a business partly government-owned and in part privately owned—gets into difficulties, there is nothing for the state to do but to buy up the private holdings of stock and rehabilitate the enterprise as a purely state venture.

Is There a Middle Ground?

Students of state capitalism differ widely on its merits and demerits. Some say there can be no compromise between it and private capitalism. Others, like the French school of socialists, believe there is a workable middle ground. But the shape and methods of state capitalism, in the last analysis, will be determined by the character of the people and government of the state in which it is being put into practice. In a country like Great Britain, where self-government is deeply ingrained in all its people, state capitalistic enterprises like those cited earlier in this article run along fairly smoothly with no undue pressure or interference from a centralized power or aggressive bureaucracy. In Germany or Italy the story naturally differs because of high centralization of government. The bureaucrat in those countries practically knows little about real self-government, and state enterprises consequently take orders from a hierarchy. In France, there is a sort of mixture of individualism and centralization that causes much political friction.

Time alone can furnish the answer to the riddle posed by these developments of the various phases of state capitalism in European countries. "It demands," in the words of Professor Gardiner C. Means of Columbia University, "the best minds . . . to forge a new pattern of thinking which will wield the elements of politics and economics into an integral whole having validity in the present day."

AMERICA'S EMIGRANTS

—the problem of those who go back,

BY HAROLD FIELDS

AMERICA is losing her immigrants. In the last five years, three hundred and twenty-five thousand more persons left these shores than came in. Our population problem no longer is one of increase by immigration, but rather one of decrease by emigration.

For decades the United States has looked upon foreign-born people as actual or potential immigrants. We have admitted them, freely at first, but within limitations later on, because they satisfied our economic needs, helped develop our industrial programs, and because we had land that made it possible to offer them a release from political or religious hardships—without any untoward effect upon ourselves. But when our own increased population and the introduction of technological improvements brought about a decreased need for labor, our newer economic policy dammed the flow of immigration to the United States, dropping the influx from almost a million in 1920 to only thirty-five thousand fifteen years later, in 1935.

Now many of those who entered the United States for permanent residence are returning to their native lands. The depression has almost wiped out their life savings. Their economic self-sufficiency is past; the solution to their present status lies only in the direction of poorhouses, public relief, old-age pensions, or, in some cases, in deportation. These people envisage little opportunity for themselves in the United States, and they feel more optimistic about conditions in their native country. They believe that relatives and fellow countrymen will help to make their lot much easier.

In fact, the executive of a prominent migration society in London recently said: "The reason why aliens migrate from the United States to return to their home countries in Europe is that the depression in the United States*** has made them resolve to return to their own countries***They have left ***many friends and relatives behind in their old country; they are hopeful that [they can]***obtain help from the Public Assistance Authorities, or from the National Insurance Schemes, to which they might eventually become entitled. The absence of such provision in the United States may [be] one of the principal factors in deciding people to return to Europe."

Alien's Problem

The returning foreign-born have been suffering difficulties peculiar to their class. The notice "Only American Citizens" hits hard the five million aliens still legally in this country, so many of whom are still aliens because of causes outside their control. A survey made in 1928-1929 showed that three out of every five jobs were closed to aliens by industry itself; that four out of every five memberships in labor unions were reserved to citizens only; and that every State carries laws on its statute books depriving aliens of the right to engage in certain occupations. Today the restrictions are more severe

and opportunities for the alien laborer are still more scarce. Where citizenship is unobtainable and sustenance is not possible, the only escape for most of this group lies in repatriation.

However, economic motives are not the sole causes that prompt the return of the foreign-born to his native land. There are many other groups such as the indigent aliens, those who are returning for sentimental reasons, deportees, and others. For instance, consider the indigent aliens—those who have been here only three years, or less, and who have found it impossible to make a living. Under the Immigration Act of 1917, they may apply for their return home at Government expense. One would imagine large numbers take advantage of this provision; but not many have done so because the total entering the United States in the last three years has been severely reduced and because those who did come were admitted only after they had proven their ability to take care of themselves. From 1931 to 1935, slightly more than 5,000 aliens applied for Government aid toward repatriation under this law, the greater number of them having entered before the public charge clause was put into effect in the earlier part of this period.

Another group of emigrants is composed solely of elderly people, all of whom are foreign-born, but many of whom are naturalized citizens. The world over, there is this constant movement of people, returning in the last lap of their life's race, going back to a home or a hamlet where economics, taxes, struggles, and social problems were little known in the days before they left and are less recalled now that they are returning. But the journey back is made not without misgivings and not without hesitation, for America has come to mean much to these emigrants. Today, as many of these older folk ascend the gangplank, bound for some part of Europe, they leave behind them American-born children and American-born grandchildren; establishments they have helped to build and to develop; American friends, and American associations.

Deportees also come within the groups that are permanently leaving the United States. More than one third of these are being sent back to Mexico; another third are going back to Europe; and the rest are being returned to the other Americas, to Asia, and to Africa. The percentage of deported criminals, immoral persons, and other undesirable characters is steadily increasing. Of the 8,319 persons who were deported last year, 31.47% were undesirable, while those who were deported because they lacked authorization to remain here permanently totaled 55.3%; all other groups accounted for 13.23%. Heretofore, most of those who were deported have not been criminal types, but visitors and relatives who overstayed their leaves, or whose admission to this country was brought about by illegal means. In 1933, 19,865 persons were deported, of whom only 14.1% were undesirables, as against 61.6% who were guilty of illegal entrance, and 24.3% who were deported for other reasons. More important than the number of deportees are the types we send back. One criminal returned is a greater index of safety for the United States than five immediate members of families who have overstayed their leaves.

The Federal Administration today is concentrating its efforts on apprehending the criminal. The average sum of $100.00 which it spends for each deportee is a better investment when it results in the forcible removal of the felon, the insane, the anarchist, than when that sum is spent on an alien who has married here and whose desire

for a home has caused him to violate our laws in the first instance.

An Emigration Policy

The problem of the emigrant calls for human adjustments and considerations which require tact, patience, understanding, and study. Such a program must be adopted with caution. Care must be taken lest bureaucrats force aliens off relief rolls and then into compulsory departure. Again, aliens requesting transportation aid must not be permitted to leave for foreign destinations before being informed of conditions prevailing there.

Normally, the general tendency is to be rid of these people who seek to return of their own volition; but we are trafficking in human freight, not goods. We know that in many instances there is a genuine welcome accorded these returning migrants. Family solidarity among peasant groups is strong. We know that their participation in the local life of the community is made easier. In many cases, the process of re-assimilation is expedited by a resumption of citizenship. Reports from Sweden show that the returned immigrant merges into the life of his former home without difficult adjustments. Rumania gives her former citizens certain advantages over other newcomers. Some Polish farmers who have returned have reported satisfaction with their changed life and surroundings. Finns who return are treated with great consideration. Lithuania is strongly sympathetic to her nationals who go back to settle there. And Italy welcomes back her sons because of her policy of restricting emigration and her program for a large population.

But, in contrast to this warm and welcome picture, are countless cases of hardship. Often adjustments are not made, conditions are not better, and families do not welcome their prodigal sons. American wives and American-born children do not assimilate. Lower standards of living become irksome. Lack of cultural opportunities causes dissension and discontent. Economic and political pressure frequently causes serious difficulties. Ignorance of these factors has caused many emigrant American wives and their children to come back to America, leaving husbands and fathers in their native countries. If good-will is important in foreign relations, careful supervision in sending foreign-born persons back is essential. No program seeking to relieve the status of these emigrés can possibly be successful if it is not built upon the base of correcting their discouragement and upon the assurance that their return home will be a forward and better step.

Assistance Towards Repatriation

Another factor arises when governments, to which such persons are returning, do not wish to receive them. In such cases, passports are not issued to them, and without passports, aliens cannot return home. In addition to this, repatriation is certain to fail where the person involved is possessed of an unstable personality or is unable to adjust himself to his new environment. But in some cases, many are freely assisted because they still own property abroad. Thus as many as 50% of departing Greeks are returning to their own original homesteads which have been rented to others in their absence.

Frequently, countries arrange for the return of their native-born as a means of increasing domestic productivity through the introduction of American industrial methods. Thus Yugoslavia repatriates its destitute citizens who cannot sustain themselves here. Italy has an agreement with her steamship companies whereby a number of places on each departing liner are held avail-

able for indigent Italians. Mexico offers free rail transportation from the United States border to the destination point in that country, or assists toward ship transportation costs. Ireland endeavors to obtain reduced steamship fares in the case of her nationals who have not acquired American citizenship and who desire to return to their native heath. The Spanish consuls have been generous in their financial assistance to citizens desiring to return home from abroad. Czechoslovakia has arranged to pay 50% of the passage money for its indigent returning citizens. Bolivia, Chile, Brazil, and Cuba have made arrangements to secure free passage or partial reductions on trips home for their natives.

In general, special funds have been set aside at and by many consulates for the full or partial aid of those who seek to return home after a long residence here. However, a number of consuls refuse such aid where an investigation of the alien's circumstances shows that there are no means for his sustenance in his home country; some, like the Swiss and Czechoslovak consulates, require that the community to which such an alien is destined shall first sponsor his return. More and more is it being stressed that residence and economic security abroad shall first be established before the passage is arranged. Some of our own American consuls have had funds provided from personal, private, or public sources for the repatriation of our own citizens from abroad.

Not only have foreign consuls undertaken to assist aliens in returning home; some of our own States have taken steps in this direction. California, Michigan, Iowa, and Texas have financed the return of approximately 10,000 Mexicans, thus saving the weekly relief expenditures otherwise necessary.

In some communities, aliens who need relief are more or less compelled to accept it in the form of repatriation. Where Emergency Relief Commissions, State or County Public Welfare Departments, or private agencies are at liberty to furnish transportation funds for repatriation, such expenditures are justified, both from the point of view of reduction in long-continued relief and for the betterment of the individual himself—always provided conditions abroad will be favorable to his return.

American Groups Abroad

Very few Americans are aware that these foreign-born people organize American groups, once they settle down abroad. They subscribe to American publications, and adapt American methods to their daily lives. Louis Adamic once told how eagerly he had read an old *Saturday Evening Post* that he had found in a store while in Yugoslavia, and how it brought about a feeling of homesickness for America. The American-Greek Club in Athens, to which most returning Greeks belong, has branches and chapters scattered throughout Greece. Similar groups have been formed in other countries of Europe to keep alive memories and contacts and standards.

For most of those emigrés who return with some money, there is faith that successive years of work will entitle them to national security benefits. Between propaganda conceived to inculcate them with a feeling of satisfaction over their change, and the pleasure of their associations with their fellow emigrés, the average repatriated foreign-born person soon feels contented with the steps he has taken.

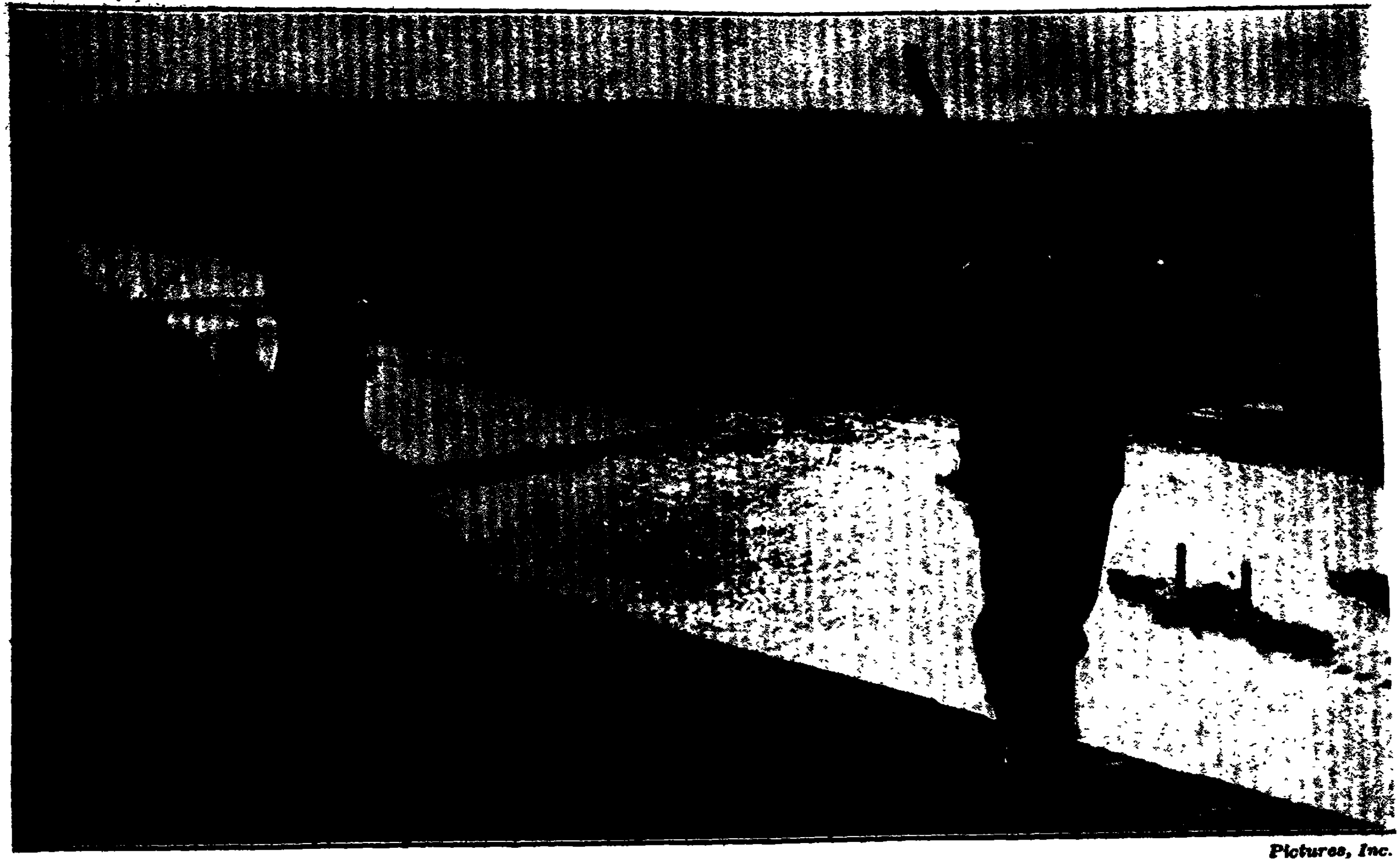
Emigration a Permanent Problem

Figures show us that six out of every ten who are leaving are men, that the bulk of them are unskilled, and the

greater proportion come from the industrial states of the Union. These facts indicate quite clearly that the lower strata of our economic precipitate constitutes the greatest number leaving. Perhaps one of the most significant phases of this whole outward movement is the fact that in the fiscal year of 1932, when business affairs were at a low ebb, more than 100,000 left for foreign shores. Last year, when conditions were improving, the numbers dropped to slightly less than 40,000. The 40,000 included: two thousand professional persons, five thousand skilled workers, seventeen thousand farmers, laborers, merchants, servants, etc., and fifteen thousand women and children. The preponderance obviously was dependents and persons left with some income.

In general, those who are returning for permanent residence abroad hailed originally from the peasant class. They came here to engage in industrial pursuits because the remuneration was higher than from farming activities, but now they have been displaced by machinery. Those who entered business carried on small but satisfactory enterprises, but were not able to survive stringent credit conditions.

All of them represent more than a mere shift in our population movement: they indicate a definite trend that will continue, and that, while varying almost in inverse proportion to our industrial conditions, will show a steady flow over any given secular period in our economic history. Emigration is the next chapter in the history of America's ethnic group. Its potentialities are tremendous, particularly when charted along with our machine-age progress. Perhaps the day will come when we will legislate to stop our outgoing population as we have legislated to stop the incoming groups. It is not inconceivable.



Pictures, Inc.

NAZIS ON THE RHINE: Were they ready to retreat if France threatened?

FRANCE OUTBLUFFED

—a surprising "angle" on the recent German aggressions, not much to the credit of a French foreign policy which may now be ended . . . .

By W. Walter Crotch

A GREAT deal has been written on the internal and economic policies of the Blum Government in France, but practically nothing concerning its foreign policy. This, of course, is hardly surprising, for during its first few weeks in office the Popular Front cabinet was so absorbed by the imperative need to check and canalize the agitation of the masses and to whip through Parliament at an unprecedented speed an unprecedented number of sweeping social and economic reforms, that it had little time for foreign affairs — save when, suddenly and violently, they demanded immediate decisions.

As a result, the reins of foreign policy during this period hardly left the hands of the permanent officials—or, perhaps more accurately, of one permanent official. Certain friends of France and of peace may be inclined to regard this as unfortunate, since M. Alexis Leger's conception of foreign affairs appears to have become a little vitiated by his association with M. Laval and could, in these later stages, be best described as a policy of *laissez faire*.

But to understand how this came about and, what is even more important, why and how Leon Blum suddenly seized the reins and gave French policy a "new deal", it is necessary to go back and examine very briefly the background of the Laval method.

When M. Louis Barthou was murdered in Marseilles, the stock of France stood high in the diplomatic market. Barthou was a man with few illusions about anything and none at all about Germany. Almost alone among statesmen in Western Europe, he saw very clearly that, just as Hitler had climbed to power in Germany by sheer bluff, so inevitably he must adopt the same method to obtain hegemony in Europe. Barthou believed that the only way to insure peace was to "call that bluff" at the earliest possible moment. France was unable to do so alone; it was not quite evident how far she could count upon British support, since British policy seemed to oscillate between two widely different conceptions: that of Sir John Simon and that of Mr. Anthony Eden. Thus, Barthou began to strengthen France's existing alliances in Eastern Europe and to create a new one—namely, that with Russia. In addition, he was anxious to obtain, if not the friendship, at least the benevolence of Italy, but he was not prepared to buy off Italy at any price, and above all he would never have contemplated offend-

ing London in order to please Rome. His policy had one aim and object: to fortify the European peace bloc and to use it, like a solid granite wall, against all attempts at aggression, be they from Berlin, from Rome, or from any other capital. He believed in France and in her ability to play what he considered her historic part in world affairs.

M. Pierre Laval was of very different mettle and entertained an entirely opposite conception. He did not believe in France's undiminished power—or at least in her ability to play her traditionally leading role any longer. In all seriousness, he thought France had run her course as other powers had done before her: Spain, Portugal, Holland, Austria-Hungary. She must retire gradually and as fast as possible from the forefront of the world stage; she must be content to be one of the crowd at the rear. For the accomplishment of this purpose, two things were essential: an agreement with Germany at whatever cost and the disentanglement of France from her system of alliances in Eastern Europe. It may appear strange that this being the case he should go to Moscow and sign a pact with Russia. But it should be remembered that he did so under the irresistible pressure of the French general staff and that, even then, he succeeded in whittling down the draft treaty which Barthou had prepared.

With the death of Pilsudski, the new head of the Polish Government wanted to dispense with the services of Colonel Beck, the Foreign Minister who for years had shown himself openly as a friend of Germany, and an enemy of France. But M. Laval went to the length of sending a letter of fulsome praise to that gentleman, expressing the hope that he would remain in office. He did remain in office to the undisguised jubilation of Berlin.

When Mazaryk retired from the Presidency of the Czechoslovak Republic and everyone expected the great champion of the French alliance, M. Benes, to be elected triumphantly in his stead, Laval, in pursuance of his tortuous policy, engineered an opposition to Benes. The intrigue came near to success, but, between it and its realization, there suddenly loomed the shadow of a terrible civil war. For this reason, Benes was elected, despite Laval.

In Bucharest, M. Titulescu, that most skilful of Francophile statesmen, who has weathered storm after storm which would have wrecked most careers, suddenly discovered that the host of his enemies, secret and open—intriguing at court, canvassing in the lobbies, campaigning in the country—had received an accession of strength. The agents of the Prime Minister of France were in unholy alliance with the agents of Hitler to sap the position of the Rumanian statesman. Here again, the French intrigue failed, but as recent events proved, the Rumanian's enemies elsewhere prevailed.

In order that France could withdraw into her own back-garden and devote her old age to raising cabbages, it was necessary to win over Italy. M. Laval procured her good-will by giving her leave to attack, conquer, and annex Abyssinia without interference. When it came to cashing this blank check, Mussolini found it was drawn upon a joint account and that the signature of the English partner was missing; indeed, that partner was far from sharing the view of Pierre Laval. There is no need to repeat the facts now so well known. Suffice it to recall that Laval succeeded in estranging Britain and, at the same time, losing Italy. This was in very truth the crowning achievement of a pusillanimous policy. Actually, however, aided by the

curious tergiversations of a British foreign policy paralyzed by the consciousness of military weakness, M. Laval had managed to do even more than this. He had dealt the League of Nations a blow from which that anaemic institution may never recover.

Hounded Out of Office

At long last, M. Laval was—the term is not exaggerated—hounded out of office by popular indignation. It is significant, nevertheless, that this public disfavor was much more due to his mismanagement of home affairs than to his catastrophic conduct of foreign policy.

He was followed into power by a Government which from the hour of its birth lay under sentence of death. The general election was due in a very short time and everyone knew that whatever its result, M. Albert Sarraut and his cabinet of shilly-shallying lukewarm Centrists would be swept away into the limbo of forgotten things. Yet, be it noted, it was this transitory, shadow-like administration which, inheriting the fatal Laval policy, had to face the crisis of last March 7th. An elder diplomat of France, whose name as an ambassador will live in history, said of Laval the other day: "I am a man of the Right. I have never loved the Left and I love it less than ever today. But I tell you frankly Laval merits the severest condemnation which can be meted out to those who injure irrevocably their own land. Not because his policy was false—many a man has followed a false policy and got away with it—but because, having adopted a false policy, he failed to achieve his ends and made it well-nigh impossible for his successors to save France!" Laval had sacrificed everything to the primary and basic idea of conciliating Germany, and he had not conciliated her. On the contrary he had left her more aggressive than ever.

Franco-German Relations

It is necessary, of course, to distinguish between Germany and Hitler. An understanding with Germany is possible. An understanding with Hitler is only possible on the terms upon which the proverbial lady made her peace with the proverbial tiger. The turning-point in Franco-German relations was the Saar plebiscite. In November 1934 the Saar was as good as lost to Hitler. A majority for the *status quo* was assured, provided the Saarlanders felt they could rely upon Geneva; and Geneva in that question was spelled "France." In the immediate Hitler entourage this truth was recognized and known. The Reichswehr generals, who have never loved the Austrian-born private, were preparing for the upheaval against Hitler which would, in Germany itself, follow any defeat in the Saar plebiscite. They were preparing, not to defend Hitler, but to supplant him. M. Laval in his desire to propitiate Hitler, torpedoed the *status quo* at Geneva. By so doing, he gave the Saar to Hitler. What is more, he gave him an immense prestige and a stupendous victory; in a word, he gave him security of tenure for years to come.

The breach of the Treaty of Versailles by open rearmament was the first consequence. The march into the Rhineland in defiance, not only of Versailles, but also of Locarno, was its second. That, in turn, made the Vienna agreement, the peaceful penetration of Austria, possible. There followed the Danzig *coup*. And the series is not exhausted. Memel and

Czechoslovakia may prove the next milestones on this royal road of Germanic trespass.

Hitler's Bluff

The Rhineland *coup* came after Laval had gone, but its success had been rendered almost assured by the atmosphere Laval had created. Informed circles today claim that the truth regarding the Rhineland affair is now known to the initiated. First, the German side: It is reported that General von Fritsch, the German commander-in-chief, resolutely opposed the march into the Rhineland. He declared that the Reichswehr was not yet ready to wage war. If, therefore, Hitler insisted, he and every other general of the Reichswehr (with two exceptions, Blomberg and Reichenau) would resign. Hitler, so the story goes, told them their fears were in vain, that there would be no war. As a guarantee of this he is said to have handed them a written order to evacuate the Rhineland again without firing a shot, if the French should mobilize and cross the frontier.

Now the French side: Premier Sarraut was in favor of a partial mobilization. Flandin was prepared to support him. Mandel urged that the frontier should be crossed. At that fateful cabinet council, apparently, there would have been a sure majority for "calling Hitler's bluff." And the decision would have been taken, notwithstanding the fact that pacifist feeling was running full tide throughout France and despite the fact that London doubtless would have frowned. Two men are said to have opposed and frustrated that decision. M. Alexis Leger was one, and General Gamelin, chief of staff, was the other. M. Leger, against his own sounder instinct, had been infected by the Laval theories, while General Gamelin was Laval's own man. He avowed that he would require 400,000 men to occupy the Rhineland. That meant the mobilization of several classes; it meant a tornado of pacifist, anti-patriotic propaganda in France; it might even have entailed a general strike. The ministers—these ministers of a day, or of a month—climbed down. They made beautiful speeches; they invoked the sanctity of treaties; they were in turn pathetic and indignant, but they climbed down. Once more Hitler had bluffed his way to triumph. It is an unfailing feature of successful bluffing that, the oftener it succeeds, the bolder its perpetrator becomes—and the more intimidated are his victims. Thus it is no wonder that when Sarraut had to go and when Leon Blum came into office, M. Leger, in whose hands reposed the reins, as we have seen, was reduced to a state of palsied intimidation.

Then came the Danzig *coup*. Leon Blum, who had just delivered a magnificent speech in Geneva in which he warned the world that France had yielded, not from fear, but from nobler motives (shades of President Wilson and his "too proud to fight!"), became very angry and wanted to send a French cruiser squadron into the Baltic to "seal up the Danzig harbor", as he put it. Alexis Leger fought against the idea with all the desperate courage of the totally intimidated man. He won M. Delbos, the Foreign Minister, over to his side by producing a voluminous *dossier*, prepared by General Gamelin, who seems to be ready for all emergencies. To run the risk of offending Germany, he said, meant the danger of war with Germany and with Italy at the same time. Great Britain was not to be depended upon; in any case, she was still much too weak. The Red Army was much too far away. The French military

and aerial forces might perhaps be able to resist the German shock, but not the Italian at the same time. There was much more to the same effect. Blum gave way—fortunately, for one could not well have devised a worse battle-ground than that of the Danzig issue. But the check rankled, and when, at the London Conference of the three associated Locarno Powers, the German plans regarding Czechoslovakia were submitted to him, M. Leon Blum rebelled—all the easier because he was momentarily removed from the stultifying atmosphere of the Quai d'Orsay, where apparently no one had opened the windows since M. Laval took his departure.

Toward the Czechs

The danger of Hitler's plans regarding Czechoslovakia is that, unless they are nipped in the bud by a display of resolution, they are likely to succeed as completely and as painlessly as the Rhineland and the Danzig *coups*. Germany herself has not the remotest intention of attacking Czechoslovakia, for that would involve almost immediate war. Prague is allied to Moscow and to bluff Comrade Litvinov is much more hazardous than to attempt the



Pictures, Inc.

GUNS TOWARD FRANCE: Some of his generals were said to have objected, fearing provocation of a conflict. But the only explosions which followed were verbal. France was again—outbluffed.

same operation in Paris. Litvinov is no tyro himself at bluffing. He was a master hand at the game when Hitler was in his political infancy. That presents Der Fuehrer's primary difficulty. But there are ways around. Poland has deep differences with Czechoslovakia over the Teschen territory, and the Poland of Colonel Beck is a fairly subservient instrument of Berlin. Prague's protective treaties of alliance only become operative in case of German aggression; no such commitment is made in the event of an offensive on the part, ostensibly, of Poland. Moreover there is an alternative even less dangerous. There are three million Germans in Czechoslovakia—that is to say, three million malcontents. Most of them are organized after the approved Nazi pattern. They live next to the German frontier. An armed revolt—armed and financed by Berlin, which has gathered some experience in the game both in Austria and in Spain—would lead to civil war and to anarchy. German interests, obviously, would be involved. German intervention would be natural and could be so stage-managed as to appear normal and unobjectionable.

Can that menace be avoided? Clearly it could, were an agreement to be made between Berlin and Prague. True, it would be an agreement which would make Czechoslovakia just as much a servile state of Germany as Austria today. And M. Lacroix, the exceedingly able French Minister at Prague, has pointed out that unless M. Benes can rely upon France he may have to go on the humiliating Canossa-like pilgrimage to Berlin—even as Poland had to do for similar reasons.

M. Leon Blum has been described as an idealist. That is in some respects, a true description. But he is also a realist. The Lacroix report brought him face to face with the realities which he had—as his Danzig impulse shows—hitherto divined, but had not closely studied. The new tone of firmness he evinced at the London conference is evidence of his resolve to get out of the rut of eternal yielding. Not that this will bring war nearer. To the contrary, if anything at this late hour of Europe's fate can prevent war, it will be a policy which will convince the mischief-makers, be they in Berlin or in Rome, that the liberal and democratic powers, the powers that stand for peace and freedom, are determined to insist upon the rights of mankind and the sanctity of treaties.

French foreign policy has had a new deal and taken a new turn. Whether it will be lasting is another question; the answer lies in French internal politics, the development of which alone can determine whether Leon Blum will be permitted to carry on his ambitious experiment at home and in the field of foreign affairs.

NORMAN THOMAS

One of the most-nominated men in American history is nominated once again. And when he campaigns he really means it.

BY EDWARD LEVINSON

NORMAN THOMAS is the only anti-capitalist candidate for the Presidency. At one time, the Communists also declared themselves in favor of a radical reorganization of society on a basis of socialized industry, but today they emphasize more a "people's front" embracing laborites, radicals, liberals, Townsendites, and what-not in a campaign against reaction, even to the extent of indicating a preference for Mr. Roosevelt as against Governor Landon. But Norman Thomas sticks to his Socialist guns, crying a plague on both the Democratic and Republican Parties and urging votes for Socialism both as an expedient and as a long-range policy.

This sturdy avowal of his Socialist faith, disregarding the temporary winds of political popularity — or hysteria—is a key to Norman Thomas' character. Even his critics will admit that there might be more in immediate popularity and personal political fortune for him if he threw in his lot with the labor supporters of the New Deal and President Roosevelt. But for a man who has run for office every year since he assumed the responsibility of Socialist leadership, there is in Norman Thomas an amazing lack of desire for personal success. Eugene V. Debs' famous affirmation, "When I rise, it will be with the working class, not from it," might be the text for the life-story of Norman Thomas, if he finally overcomes his modesty and permits such a story to be written.

The character and activity of Norman Thomas have been misrepresented almost as much by friends as by his critics. His early years as a Presbyterian minister, his studies at Princeton, his acceptance of an unwanted honorary degree from his alma mater, his long directorship of the middle-class League for Industrial Democracy, his authorship of several books—almost the only American contributions to Socialist literature in the last decade—have been emphasized until he has been stamped with the blighting label of an "intellectual", somewhat removed from the cause and class he has championed.

Trade Unionism's Friend

There is more of fundamental significance concerning Norman Thomas in his other lines of endeavor. Since the death of Debs, there has been no Socialist or radical leader so completely immersed in the problems of trade unionism as Mr. Thomas. His New York office for years has been the haven of workingmen and trade unionists seeking advice and aid in their campaigns for better working conditions. The racketeers of labor have as little love for Mr. Thomas as have the predatory politicians of Tammany Hall, who gained a healthy respect for his opposition a decade ago. Through his Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, the Socialist

Presidential candidate has given vital aid to more than a million trade unionists and strikers. And in his two decades of Socialist activity, Norman Thomas has addressed more trade unionists, in times of strikes and in times of economic peace, than any other member of his, or any other, labor party.

Pointing to Sore Spots

With an almost unerring instinct for the right kind of publicity to advance his cause, Mr. Thomas has succeeded in making local sore spots in our democracy the concern of the entire nation. He taught the nation the meaning of the word sharecropper and has brought into existence the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Singlehanded, he directed the nation's attention to the murder last year in Tampa, Florida, of Joseph Shoemaker, the local leader of the unemployed. The unsuccessful defense of Shoemaker's brutal attackers itself paid tribute, in its bitter assaults, to the potency of the protest aroused by the Socialist leader. Martial law in Terre Haute, Indiana, last year brought Mr. Thomas to the spot to defy the arbitrary military rule. And Terre Haute, Tampa, and the medieval farm lands of Arkansas are but the most recent of American communities to come within the scope of his activities. Scores of cities and towns have felt his influence. Picket lines, free-speech test cases, and the defense of racial and political minorities have all known Norman Thomas, not only as a partisan in their behalf, but as an active participant in their struggles.

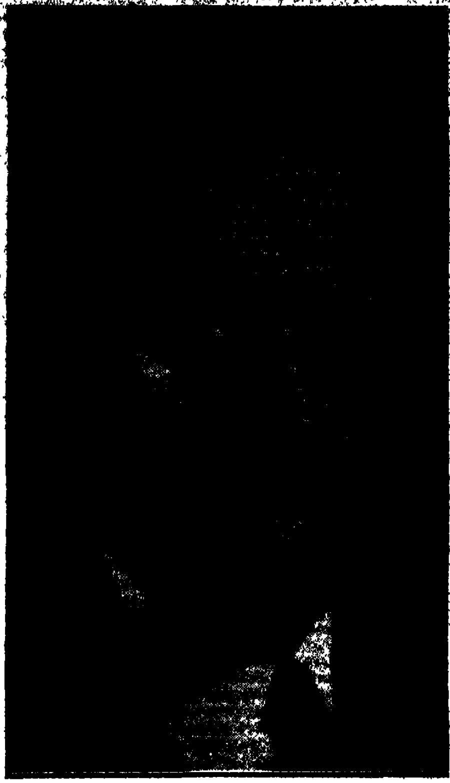
In politics, too, Norman Thomas has more than matched his theoretical interest with practical application. He has run for member of the Board of Aldermen in New York City, for the State Senate and the United States Senate, for Mayor of New York City, and now, for the third time, for the Presidency of the United States. Always, his campaign has been one of aggressive education in fundamental Socialist principles, closely and harmoniously knitted with the immediate needs of the situation. In New York City he instituted the assault on the corruption and degradation of the magistrates, justices of the "poor man's court." Several judges now in involuntary retirement have Mr. Thomas to curse for their fate. In 1929, he ran for Mayor for the second time and laid the breastworks which blew up a few years later, sending the city's most popular Mayor, Jimmie Walker, into political oblivion. The movement for public, low-priced housing to replace the great stretches of slum area has reached its present stage of public consciousness, if not yet of completion, because of Mr. Thomas' constant hammering away at the issue.

Doubts About the World

Seeking biographical data from Norman Thomas, one receives an injunction to eliminate all cant and window-dressing. "Don't try to make a sentimental 'Log Cabin to White House' picture of your story," he writes. "I wasn't born in a log cabin and I'm not likely to live in the White House. I worked at a lot of jobs when I was a kid because most of the boys I knew did. My folks had to count the pennies pretty carefully, but I was never hungry."

The Socialist leader was born on November 20, 1884, in a two-story parsonage next to his father's Presbyterian Church on Prospect Street, in Marion, Ohio. Young Norman Thomas studied at Bucknell, and later, at Princeton's theological seminary, he prepared for the ministry. While at Princeton, he took every available

course in sociology. By commencement in 1904, he had developed some doubts as to whether the world was at its best.



NORMAN THOMAS

Norman Thomas' years in the church also provided an outlet for his rapidly forming social beliefs. He took a job, on leaving Princeton, at the East Side Settlement in New York, at a salary of $500 a year. After a trip through Asia, he returned to take up his work as assistant pastor of Christ Church in the metropolis. After a brief interlude as assistant to the Rev. Henry Van Dyke at the Brick Presbyterian Church on Fifth Avenue, Mr. Thomas went for seven years to the American Parish in the heart of Italian working-class Harlem. Here he found full play for his community interests, and his social work formed an inevitable counterpart to his preaching. The World War found him still in the American Parish. In the meantime, he had been reading H. G. Wells and other Socialists.

Fight for Pacifism

To Norman Thomas, the World War and the United States' participation in it was a test of Christianity and social intelligence. He rejected the notion of slaughter and force on the part of Russia, Japan, and Great Britain as a means of bringing democracy to the world. With Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, the elder Senator La Follette, and Eugene Debs, he opposed the War and urged an immediate and constructive peace. When Morris Hillquit, the Socialist, ran for Mayor of New York City in a notable protest against the War, Norman Thomas gave his support to him. Now the elders of the church, who had been financing their minister's all-important social work, drew back in resentment. It was bad enough, they felt, for Thomas to be a pacifist; for him to support a Socialist was too much. The budget for the social services was not forthcoming. Thomas understood and resigned his pastorate.

Norman Thomas, Journalist

Thomas joined the Socialist Party when many of its erstwhile leaders, tried in the crucible of unpopularity and war fever, were deserting it. With other advocates of peace, he joined in the work of the People's Council and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He became editor of *The World Tomorrow*, organ of the F.O.R., and as such won a compliment he has ever prized. Postmaster General Burleson had been busily barring pacifist and Socialist publications from the mails. Turning his attention to *The World*

Tomorrow and its editor, Burleson declared, "Thomas is more insidious than Debs." Thomas' answer was to help organize the Civil Liberties Union, which gave Burleson and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, who tried to ride to the Presidency in 1920 by persecution of real and imaginary "reds", more to worry about. Thomas espoused in particular the cause of the "C.O.'s", the conscientious objectors to war service, who preferred military prison to fighting a war they did not believe in.

With the end of the War came the famous expulsion of the ten Socialists from the New York State Legislature. Thomas, a "star" witness for the defense in the trial which followed, tried to shatter the hoary falsehoods about Socialism, the home, and religion which the Socialists' prosecutors had injected into the case. A few years later began his association with Dr. Harry W. Laidler in the directorship of the League for Industrial Democracy, which Jack London and Upton Sinclair had helped to found in 1905 as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. An editorship of *The Nation* and a brief period as editor of the labor daily, *The New York Leader*, followed.

Leader of the Socialists

From 1924, when he was nominated for Governor of New York State, dates Thomas' political leadership of the Socialist Party. He was an innovator as a Socialist politician; no Socialist has ever succeeded so well in winning public attention for his cause. He combined his Socialist principles with their practical application to current issues. He brought young research men and publicity men to his aid. His copy became sought after by the newspapers, not one of which, at the outset, supported him. After the 1924 campaign, the liberals with whom the Socialists had joined in supporting La Follette for the Presidency fell by the wayside, but Thomas carried on. He ran for Mayor of New York in 1924 and again in 1929 in the most important Socialist municipal campaign the party has ever staged. Against the dogged La Guardia and the flighty but colorful Jimmie Walker, he sent broadsides of substantial municipal Socialism. The Citizens' Union, most respectable of good government groups, was forced to announce its preference for the Socialist candidate. A few days later, the Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram* also urged votes for Thomas, and Pulitzer's New York *World* counselled its readers to vote for Thomas or go fishing on election day. Liberal Republicans and Democrats deserted their parties and joined with Socialists to give Thomas 175,000 votes, a new high for the party since the memorable campaign of 1917.

Thomas was the Socialist candidate for the Presidency in 1928. He took a party more dead than alive, cursed by a spirit of defeatism, and re-established it as a political entity, although it polled only a quarter of a million votes. He returned to the battle on a national scale in 1932 and raised the party's total to 900,000. The 1932 campaign was followed by a distasteful job. The elder Socialists, rooted half in a spirit of defeatism and half in a dogma that called for the mere mechanical iteration of their belief in the accuracy of Marxian theory, had begun to resent the aggressiveness of Thomas. He told them he had not left the church in 1918 to join a new one. He told them the class struggle theory was something to be taught as an ideal of solidarity and to be fought for in the day-by-day political and economic struggles. He would not share their feeling that it was to be regarded as a fatalistic

scripture of inevitable, unfought-for Socialist victory. With all the bitterness of old men hating to surrender the prerogatives of age, the Socialist "old guard" called Thomas at once a "reformer" and a "communist." With tolerance and hopes of peaceful persuasion, Thomas tried to convince them. This failed for several years, and early this year he performed a surgical operation which has now removed from the party the dead hand of a sterile Marxism. Having taken control of the party, Thomas was not one to dodge his responsibilities. So, in this year, Thomas has again accepted the job of carrying his Socialist message to the voters and workers.

Towards a Farmer-Labor Party

He regards the New Deal as another illustration of liberal patch-work, already shown—by the presence of more than ten million unemployed—to be a failure; he regards the Democratic Party as a combination of liberal rainbow-chasers, Southern industrialists and bigots, and corrupt or reactionary city political machines in the North. He points out ceaselessly that his three most recent battles for labor have been in Democratic States and cities: in Arkansas in behalf of the sharecroppers; in Indiana against martial law; and in Tampa, Florida, against mob rule and vigilantism. He does not say the Socialist Party will stand aloof and superior from the formation of a labor party, but insists that no such party is in the arena in this election. Today Norman Thomas and his supporters regard votes for the Socialist ticket as the best and only ballots for the formation of a large and inclusive American Farmer-Labor party.

Thomas on Negatives

[Democrats and Republicans] pander to the popular habit of voting against something rather than for something.

For this I do not blame the politician so much as the voters. If they like to turn over blank checks to incoming officials why should candidates offer them anything else? Nevertheless, the habit of which I speak tends to give us campaigns full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.

The outstanding illustration of the evil of which I speak was furnished by Father Coughlin at the Townsend Plan convention at Cleveland. The priest whipped his great audience into frenzied enthusiasm by the unrestrained vehemence of his denunciation of President Roosevelt and others whom he does not like, and by such further appeals to the intelligence as tearing off his coat and collar. Never once did he refer specifically to the Townsend plan or retract his earlier criticism of it as "economic insanity."

—From a speech by Norman Thomas at Chautauqua, N. Y.



Pictures Inc.

FATHER COUGHLIN'S MAGIC: The National Union for Social Justice in Action

THAT THIRD PARTY

—a curious compound of ideas and personalities, in which the personalities take the foreground. And here they are, as seen by . . . . HERBERT HARRIS.

TEN years ago a young parish priest walked into the executive offices of radio station WJR, owned by the *Detroit Free Press*. He introduced himself to the manager and asked that his Sunday morning sermons be broadcast. He explained that he was trying to build up his parish in Royal Oak—a little community twenty miles from Detroit's business center. He wanted to reach a larger audience, he said, and make his church better known—nothing more.

FATHER COUGHLIN

The manager liked his visitor. He also thought it would be a good idea to evolve a Catholic program in a city where some 51% of the population were communicants of Mother Church. The necessary arrangements were promptly made; and for four years thereafter Father Charles E. Coughlin's sermons were put on the air—with the net result that he remained an obscure and diligent toiler for the faith, indistinguishable from thousands of his brethren in the Roman cloth. But after a time he happened to vary his radio procedure by giving talks to children on the moral lessons of Holy Writ; and almost accidentally he began to highlight such homilies with brief comments on contemporary events—social, political, economic. Soon he discovered that the parents of his young listeners were more interested than their progeny in what he had to say. A trickle of laudatory letters, forerunners of a future tidal wave, began to awaken him to his own unexplored potentialities as a microphone messiah.

It was not until late in 1930, however, when the depression seemed to be digging in for a long siege, that his discourses started to evoke more than local attention. Meanwhile he had fashioned what still is the formula for his orations:

A. An assault upon some political or economic principle ("bureaucracy", "usury"), or upon some public figure (Hoover, Roosevelt, Johnson), or upon a special group (communists, bankers, or with more delicacy, Jews).

B. A fervid exaltation of honesty and Christian ethics in business and government.

C. A tribute more ardent than exact to anyone who happens to agree with him.

D. The whole generously buttressed by direct quotations or paraphrases from the encyclicals of Popes Pius XI and Leo XIII.

The response to this kind of a radio message was not only encouraging; it was almost miraculous. And every time Father Coughlin hinted that his broadcasts might cease for lack of money, donations came cascading in, first from regions around Detroit, Cincinnati, and Chicago which his small network reached, and later from all parts of the country. By 1931 he had already set

up the "Radio League of the Little Flower" and perfected a fund-raising technique which made it possible for him to spend $1,650 weekly on radio time.

For a while, when he concentrated on the subject of currency, he completely captured the American heart. He soon perceived that the wayfaring American, however hard-headed in other respects, retains deep inside him the conviction that somewhere there exists some method of manipulating money by which permanent prosperity can be achieved. Ever since early 1932 he has hammered away at this general theme. And as his audience grew, he became bolder. His attacks upon the "god of greed", as worshipped by such high priests of Baal as Messrs. Morgan, Mellon, Meyer, and Mills, compelled postal authorities in the Detroit area to quadruple their delivery force in order to handle the 6,000,000 letters commending the Father's crusade against the "money power."

Keenly aware of variety's value, the priest next turned his attention to such matters as the menace of communism and the hypocrisy of prohibition, regularly extending his radio hook-up until it spanned the country from coast to coast. The contributions to his cause enabled him to start construction on the world's first church of St. Theresa of the Little Flower, his patroness, canonized in 1925 for her "strange prophecies." Nearby, he also built the graceful shrine of "The Little Flower" with its spacious Crucifixion Tower, in which he established his own headquarters and installed 96 clerks and stenographers to take care of his fan-mail, which, for two years, averaged 80,000 letters a week.

He Wanted to Command

When Roosevelt defeated Hoover, Father Coughlin had achieved national renown. He was a force to be reckoned with in American public life. He was widely quoted in the press; and as a valiant supporter of the New Deal he participated in White House councils. But apparently he was not content to remain an advocate, or an adviser; he wanted to command. It was no longer enough to shape public opinion. He wanted to lead men. He relinquished his character as the impersonal interpreter of social trends—a voice oracular, disembodied—and moved down into the world to become a hand-shaker, an organizer, in the flesh.

Some 18 months ago he launched a membership drive for his National Union for Social Justice, established as a kind of super-lobby and as an instrument by which he could stamp his own profile on the molten wax of social change. And at the recent Cleveland convention of the NUSJ, it was apparent that Father Coughlin owned the green pastures. Out of the depression's insecurity and discontent, he has formed what some believe may become the most potent political pressure-group ever to appear on the American scene. Certainly no other American wields such complete control over his followers. Father Coughlin makes them the sounding board for his theories, a mirror for his expanding ideas. He enrages them by references to "lying and corrupt politicians", "communistic New Dealers", "international bankers", and "brain-trusters who judge you by the bumps on your head." He instructs them by tracing out, in lucid schoolmaster style, the origins and development of the "iniquitous gold standard, of usury." He uplifts them by praising their own "nobility of soul." At least a dozen speakers at the convention hailed him as a modern Christ. He entirely dominated all the proceedings—wrote the organization's constitution, chose its officers,

had himself elected president. And significantly, amid rafter-ringing rejoicings, the delegates passed a resolution which endorsed "without exception all the acts of our great leader, Father Charles E. Coughlin" whose "teachings have come to us like manna." The mere mention of his name was a signal for bedlam.

Is He a Citizen?

Flanked by sound cameras and news photographers, he stood there on the platform of Cleveland's public hall, breathing in this adulation hour after hour and seeming to find it myrrh. He is a thick-set, crimson-faced man with heavy features, a fleshy nose, a large mouth. Under his rimless glasses are piercing eyes of cobalt blue. He is very boyish looking, sometimes seeming but an innocent, unworldly youth. He has made the garb of his calling a thing of elegance. His rabat is woven from fine brocaded silk, his clothes cut with Savile Row smartness. His Roman collar is very high: his wristwatch and cuff links rich yellow gold. The Oxford quality of his diction is the result of careful cultivation to overcome the brogue of his earlier years. For he is Irish all the way through. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were Irish-American laborers, the latter having handled a pick and shovel on the Erie Canal. His father stoked fires in the holds of Great Lake steamers; and, although born in Indiana, made his home in Hamilton, Ontario, where he fell in love with a devout dressmaker, also Irish, and married her after a brief courtship. Father Coughlin was born in Hamilton 45 years ago. The exact status of his "citizenship" remains a moot question. As a native of Canada he may claim British nationality; and as the son of an American father he may also claim American nationality—provided he can prove that his birth was registered at any American consulate in the Dominion. It is doubtful whether either of his parents, busy with their church, their family, their daily bread, ever gave this matter any special thought. In any case, since the priest was born on foreign soil, he can never become President of the United States under the Constitution.

Father Coughlin received his three "r's" at St. Mary's Parochial School in Hamilton, continued his studies at St. Michael's College, and at twenty was graduated from the University of Toronto. The story goes that after a post-graduate tour of Europe, he returned home, puzzled and uncertain as to his future. He was equally attracted to the church, to politics, to sociology. A former instructor took him for a long heart-to-heart walk and talk, convincing him that if he entered the church he might function in all three. He immediately began his preparation for the priesthood under the Basilian Fathers. Four years later he was ordained. His first job was teaching English at Assumption College in Sandwich, Ontario. In 1921 he began visiting Detroit to deliver a weekly sermon at St. Agnes Church; and within seven months he was transferred to the Kalamazoo district. Then, after three years of service, Bishop Gallagher, head of the Detroit diocese, assigned to him the arduous task of building up the little church at Royal Oak.

Never Speaks from Pulpit

Today, of course, Father Coughlin's original parishioners don't see him much. Although he often avers that he is "but a simple parish priest" his present eminence requires a substitute to take over his former routines. He never speaks from the pulpit any more,

but only from the elaborate broadcasting studio high up in the Crucifixion Tower; and instead of to a few hundred of the faithful, he declaims to millions of all creeds.

The priest has traveled far; but at this stage it is difficult to determine in what direction he is going. It is obvious, of course, that acclaim is bread and meat to him. And the absolutism of his control over the NUSJ reveals a man who thirsts for power. In his secretariat he surrounds himself with third- and fourth-rate people who are glad to throw in a good deal of genuflecting for their $50.00 a week. He tolerates no opposition. His liegemen, like Sylvester McMahon, prominent Cleveland attorney, and Louis F. Ward, his Washington lobbyist, are mainly yes-men. They are errand boys. Father Coughlin is boss.

Is He a Fascist?

Outside of the trend toward currency inflation, his 16 points of Social Justice (12 of them lifted from the 1932 platform of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party) are so vague as to be meaningless without further explanation. Consider, for example, point number three, which calls for "a just living annual wage", or number 16 which states that "human rights are to be preferred to property rights." It is easy to approve such genial abstractions. But you have to guess at their meaning; and if you were at all curious you would want to find out. Father Coughlin's followers, however, are less interested in definitions than in divination. Anyway, the Father knows all the answers. Let him give you his own interpretation of point number 10: "labor's right to organize." He tells you:

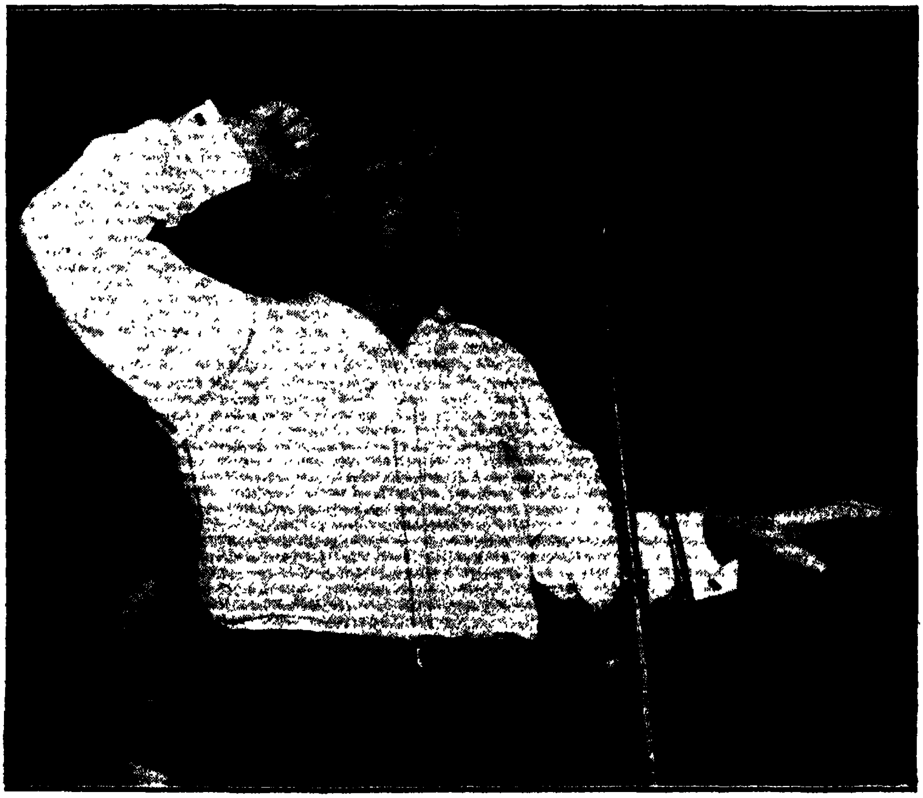
"It is our aim to so work towards a reform in government***that the Department of Labor shall not only protect labor, but shall counsel and guide it in its negotiations with capital. In the case of disagreement between employer and employee, it is the business of the public authority to intervene*** it is my own observation that strikes and lock-outs have occasioned more harm to the common good of the nation than any benefit which has been derived."

This proposal bears so striking a resemblance to Italy's present labor policy, "guild" Fascism, that Bishop Schremm of Cleveland was moved to remark the other day in Rome: "Father Coughlin wants some protection for the laboring classes and their families, and Fascism has now given it to the Italian workman. I don't see why American capitalists can't understand that."

This raises the inescapable question: is Father Coughlin a conscious fascist, and are his adherents potentially an American variant of Sturmwehr and Squadristi? An impartial sifting of the available evidence makes the answer affirmative. In his relation to the NUSJ he typifies the "leadership principle" of the autocratic state. All authority is concentrated in his own hands. It should also be noted that not a single delegate among the 8,153 at the convention opposed the conspicuous omission of freedom of speech, press, and assembly in the organization's statement of aims. Like Il Duce and Der Fuehrer before their accessions to power, Father Coughlin promises all things to all men. In sheer fog his "program" often outdoes the mystical mouthfuls of Hitler and Mussolini alike. Like them, he assails "Red, atheistic communism" and "godless capitalism." Like them, his radicalism is rhetorical, not real. He berates the "money changers", but two of his strongest backers are financiers—Mr.

Frank Keelon, who specializes in foreign exchange, and Mr. Robert Hariss of Hariss and Vose, cotton brokers. Like Europe's men on horseback he also is a master showman, rivaling Barnum in his knowledge of the mass mind. His exits and entrances are staged with a fine sense of the curtain. With feudalistic flourish he sweeps up in a limousine to an auditorium, accompanied by at least two of his burly bodyguards, followed by an assorted 10 or 12 secretaries, and preceded by a flying flange of motorcycle cops whose sirens are as tuckets and drums. Once on the platform, he advances almost lovingly towards the microphone. His influence derives from his mastery of radio technique; he knows it, and he is always conscious of it, almost caressing the metal disk of the microphone, handmaiden of his will to power. He talks with his lips only a short distance from the "mike." He rarely moves about; even in excitement he stands rooted to the same spot, all his energy going into his voice gradations, from sepulchral tones of warning to loud shrills of defiance. And apparently he has embarked again on a campaign of Jew-baiting, feeling, perhaps, that the scapegoats of 50 centuries may serve the purposes of an emotional dynamic.

"I am not asking the Jews of the United States," he thunders, "to accept Christianity and all of its beliefs but, since their system of a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye has failed,



International News Photos

MICROPHONE MESSIAH: Father Coughlin in action.

that they accept Christ's principle of brotherhood."

But in contrast to the tempestuous, almost pathological, style of his public utterance, Father Coughlin's private conversation is calm, bland, reasonable. He is then very much the cultured priest who, with studied facility, quotes from Karl Marx and Tertullian. He is all for sweetness and light. The priest responded with courtesy to this interviewer's questions:

"Hearst? Really, I have no use for Hearst."

"The C.I.O.? Why John Lewis is fifty years behind the times—Germany had such unions under Bismarck."

"The Spanish situation? As much the fault of bad Christians, failures of Christians, as anything else."

"If the show-down came between communism or some other indigenous collectivism, and fascism? I wouldn't like the regimentation of either, but I would have to choose fascism, if only for religious reasons."

And when we left him, thanking him for his courtesy, he said: "We must be kind to each other. We all must be kind."

GERALD L. K. SMITH

Far less subtle and learned than Father Coughlin is the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, who gives to Sinclair Lewis' *It Can't Happen Here* a note of terrible and authentic prophecy. For this minister from Shreveport, Louisiana, is obviously out to go somewhere; and it is equally obvious that he wants to arrive at his destination astride a white horse. He is a diligent disciple of the late Huey P. Long, although his relationship to the Kingfish has only quite recently assumed its Damon and Pythias character.

The Rev. Mr. Smith was not actually the right bower of Louisiana's Lord. He was a loyal, useful henchman, an ace performer on the sound truck which Huey used to send out to the remote parishes of his province. And he was his master's most plausible apologist, describing Huey's czardom as merely "the dictatorship of the surgical theater."

"After all, the surgeon is put in charge because he knows," said Mr. Smith. "The nurses and assistants therefore defer to him, not because they are servile, but because they believe in the surgeon and realize that he is working for the welfare of the patient."

But with Huey in his grave, and his political machine "sold out" to the always-forgiving Mr. Farley, the Rev. Mr. Smith presented the sad picture of an understudy demagogue in search of a movement. As chief official organizer of "Share-Our-Wealth" clubs, he claimed that his slain monarch had personally bequeathed the scepter to him; and he went up and down the land saying, "Six million people have written to me to say 'You lead. I'll follow you.' And when the time is ripe, when chaos comes, I'll lead them, all right."

When some months ago Governor Eugene Talmadge held his grass-roots rebel rally down in Georgia, the Rev. Mr. Smith stole the show, and the Governor hasn't forgiven him yet. It was hard, of course, to understand why, with so vast a following of his own, he felt called upon to muscle in on the territory of Talmadge, whose influence is confined to the borders of his own State. But there was a grand chance for hitting the front pages, and the Rev. Mr. Smith has an abiding admiration for publicity, good or bad. Huey used to feel the same way about it. *He* didn't care what they said about him, so long as he wasn't ignored. In any case, the Rev. Smith's most mem-

orable utterance at the convention of Georgia crackers was:

"We're going to drive that cripple out of the White House—and we're going to do it in 1936."

For Mr. Smith, too, hates Roosevelt, carrying on his dead liegelord's campaign against the President. Since Talmadge, however, gave Mr. Smith only the hostility of one "hot-shot" talker outdone by another in his own bailiwick, he had to go looking for other bandwagons. In New Orleans the remnants of the Long machine also gave him the cold shoulder, thinking him too ambitious and too naive, and a kind of third pirated edition of Huey himself. Mr. Smith was pretty forlorn. He was all titivated up and hadn't any place to go.

Some Fire for Townsend

Then came the dawn. Dr. Townsend was having a ruckus with Earl Clements, co-founder of the OARP, and another ruckus with the Bell Congressional committee which was investigating the pension plan's finances. All at once Mr. Smith started to hand out press statements, make speeches defending the doctor's integrity and endorsing the OARP, and then, lo and behold! he was second-in-command of the Townsend movement, as if destiny had shaped him to be always a best man but never a groom.

He injected new fire-eating qualities into the Townsend forces. It was at his insistence that the name has been changed from Old Age Revolving Pensions, Ltd. into the Townsend Recovery Plan. His argument was that the youth of the nation had to be enlisted before the organization, including Mr. Smith, could get anywhere. He has already commenced a nation-wide campaign to organize "youth battalions."

"They're going to be green boys," he told this correspondent in Cleveland a few weeks ago. "None of your drugstore cowboys, your sophisticates, your parlor pinks, your campus intellectuals, but nice clean boys from the farms, simple and Christian—with courage that seems to be disappearing, nowadays."

In his enthusiasm Mr. Smith stood up and began striding up and down his suite at the Hotel Cleveland. He cannot converse, he must orate. He needs room in which to swing his arms. He is a broad, husky, dynamic man, weighing more than 200 pounds. His mouth is big and mobile, his hair sandy, his face bronzed with high Indian-like cheekbones and a strong, beaked nose. He doesn't drink nor smoke but seems to take out the lack of such indulgences by chewing matches, gnashing them into bits between his very white teeth, and spluttering out the splinters.

To an inquiry about the "Share-Our-Wealth" philosophy, he explained that its objective is "to democratize wealth without destroying the capitalist system." He also touched on certain improvements he has added to the "Share-Our-Wealth" program. He wants the Government to establish throughout the country units of a "Commonwealth University", which would teach, lodge, and board students free of charge, after they had passed various mental and physical tests. He is especially concerned with the physical aspects of education; he fears Americans are deteriorating as a race.

"We're too soft and flabby," he says. "There are more lazy men in the country today than ever before in its history. That's why we have such lousy government. The lowest form of animal life in this country is the United States Congress. Why, the real Americans—trustees of the church, presi-

dents of carpenters' unions, heads of Chambers of Commerce and of the D.A.R.—they've never been really interested in politics. Politics is prostitution. Now, friend, what I really want is an organization of 1,000 eloquent men. I want them to go up and down the country preaching true Americanism. They will, first of all, preserve the sacred right of private property; second, help to uphold the Constitution; third, glorify the American flag; and lastly, drive the Communists out of the country.

"Now, wait a minute, what did you want to ask me? Roosevelt? He's just a soft, vacillating politician who is being used by Tugwell and the other Reds. I'd rather see Norman Thomas in the White House. The responsibility would sober him.

"John L. Lewis? No! Vertical unions look towards the wiping out of private property—they would Kerenskyize the system. And I believe in capitalism. I'd like every boy in America to want to be a millionaire.

"Landon? He's a weakling—he'd be putty in the hands of the Wall Street Republicans.

"Public ownership? Not in anything! I'd rather that a municipality didn't even own the town pump. It would be better in private hands. Even the police department, and the fire department. I mean it, everything."

Lessons in Hate

Mr. Smith makes no secret of his own ambitions. He wants to become the nation's A-1 22-carat rabble-rouser; he glories in the title. With a trace of contempt for the people, en masse, he discloses his technique: "Religion and patriotism, keep going on that. It's the only way you can get them really 'het up'."

He differs from his preceptor in two crucial respects: he is anti-intellectual whereas the Senator always had a pathetic respect for book-larnin', *per se.* And he is anti-Semitic whereas Long was virtually devoid of racial prejudices. Early this year Mr. Smith, who had been reading about the Nazis, tried unsuccessfully to stir up a boycott against Jewish merchants in New Orleans.

"I'm not a teacher," he boasts. "I'm a symbol—a symbol of a state of mind. When the politicians overplay their hand, certain nerve centers in the population will begin to twitch—and the people will start fomenting, fermenting, and then a fellow like myself, someone with courage enough to capture the people, will get on the radio and have the people with him, hook, line, and sinker. I'll teach 'em how to hate. The people are beginning to trust true leadership."

Mr. Smith comes honestly by his religio-rhetorical bent. He is descended from four generations of circuit-riding "hellfire and brimstone" preachers. He was born 38 years ago in the village of Pardeesville, Wisconsin, where his father was pastor of a rural congregation. From the parental farm he rode daily 14 miles on horseback to attend high school at Viraqua, Wisconsin, "always doing a fair share of the chores, besides." He was the best debater in the county; and in his junior year he won an elocution contest with —inevitably—Bryan's "cross-of-gold" speech. He worked his way through Valparaiso University, Indiana, majoring in literature, Biblical history, and dramatics. He was graduated at 19, after 2½ years, and felt the preaching urge descend upon him. For a time he merely "pinch-hit" at various pulpits when the regular ministers were ill or on vacation. His first legitimate "call" was to a church in Deep River, Indiana, where his Billy-Sunday-like evan-

gelism won him 38 new converts and baptisms within a month. In 1922, a rousing "Come-to-Jesus" performance at a St. Louis church convention gained him a post in the Seventh Christian Church of Indianapolis whence he promoted himself to the bigger Butler University Church in the same city. It was here that he married a boyhood sweetheart, Miss Eleanor M. Sorenson, a pretty, svelte, and charming woman who travels with him on his present peregrinations.

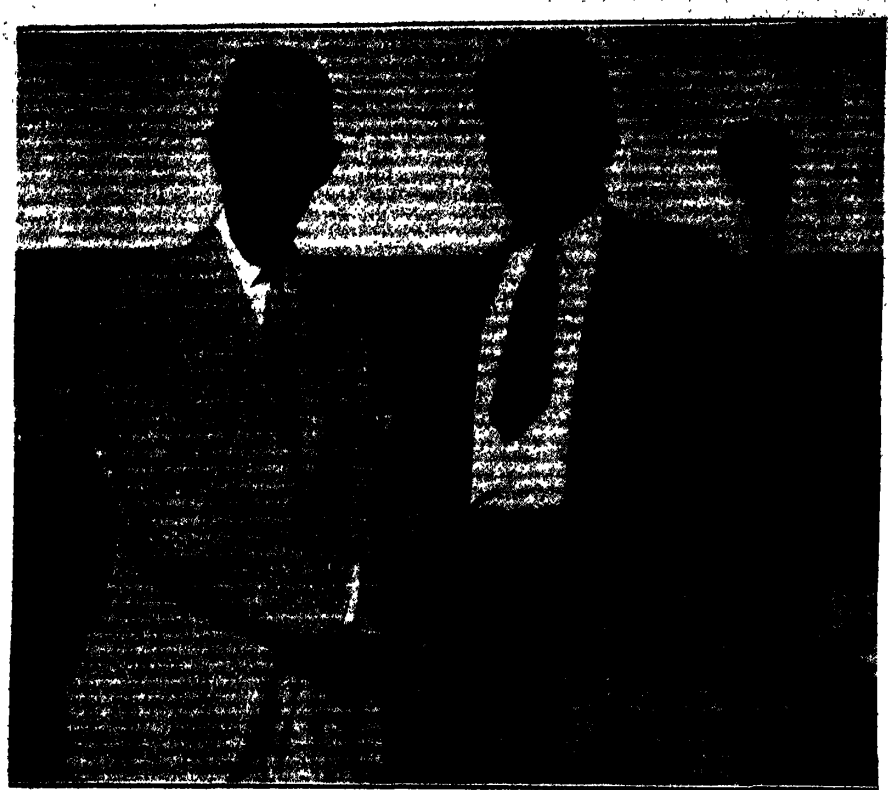
In 1928 he was summoned to the fashionable King's Highway Church in Shreveport, where Huey P. Long was an attorney and counselor at law. Their association began after Huey had used political pull to stop a mortgage company from evicting some of Smith's more indigent parishioners. It was not until four years later that Smith became more intimately identified with Long, starting off at first as a guest speaker at political meetings, and then afterwards as a stellar attraction on Huey's sound-caravan, touring the hinterland to spread the gospel of $5,000 a year and "Every Man a King." Finally he relinquished the altar for the forum, devoting all his time to setting up "Share-Our-Wealth" clubs on a national scale. It was an enterprise in which love's labor was soon lost; for with Huey's death, the clubs, once numerous, have dwindled away; but Gerald L. K. hopes to revive them again under Townsendite aegis.

He Outdoes Coughlin

A while ago, he nearly stood the Townsend convention on its collective ear with a rip-roaring harangue and this chanting climax: "They tell me that I mustn't refer to our sacred flag. That would be rabble-rousing. They tell me that I must not speak of our glorious Constitution. That would be rabble-rousing. They say to me that I mustn't quote from the holy book, our Christian Bible. But let me tell you, friends, that if it is rabble-rousing to praise the flag and the Constitution, and to love the Bible, then I can only pray to God that in His infinite wisdom He will make me the greatest rabble-rouser in the United States."

Some weeks later he duplicated this feat at the Coughlinite meeting. Before a live audience he makes Father Coughlin seem somewhat less articulate than a waxworks dummy. His great frame shuddering with emotion, he lashes himself and his hearers into a frenzy, shedding his coat after the first few minutes, staining his blue shirt with sweat. His eyes bulging, his face lustrous with perspiration, he bellows:

"A nursing baby, they say, is content while it's taking milk; you set in your places and take it while I pour it on, and I'll tell you when to clap. . . . I come to you 210 pounds of fighting Louisiana flesh, with the blood memory of Huey Long who died for the poor people of this country still hot in my eyes . . . and I'll show you the most historic and contemptible betrayal ever put over on the American people . . . our people were starving and they burned the wheat . . . hungry, and they killed the pigs . . . led by Mr. Henry Wallace, secretary of Swine Assassination . . . and by a slimy group of men culled from the pink campuses of America with friendly gaze fixed on Russia . . . beginning with Frankfurter and all the little frankfurters, they put the blue eagle in the non-union shops while they told the workers to organize under section 7a; and the United States Government became the biggest employer of scab labor in the world (hold it, I'll tell you when) . . . and they had the face to recognize Communistic Russia where two million Christians



International News Photos

"We must banish misery," says Dr. Townsend (left).
"I'll teach 'em how to hate," says Rev. Smith (right).

had been butchered and the churches were still burning . . . this election to me is only an incident . . . my real mission is to see that the red flag of bloody Russia is not hoisted in place of the Stars and Stripes. . . . Give that a hand!"

They gave it a hand. They stamped and they yowled—and with such rapture that Father Coughlin, sitting behind the speaker's stand, seemed uneasy and apprehensive. He doesn't relish the rivalry of a rhetorical superior even if that advantage doesn't extend to the radio. In fact this very ability of the Rev. Mr. Gerald L. K. Smith to hit the sawdust trail and conquer all before as he whoops along may provoke a split in the precarious coalition of the Townsend-Smith-Coughlin forces behind the Lemke candidacy. Already the padre is worried lest Gerald steal his show.

DOCTOR TOWNSEND

Apparently Dr. Francis Everett Townsend has no such fears about his new colleague. Nor does he seemed alarmed over Mr. Smith's pronounced fascist leanings. When it is suggested to him that perhaps the Rev. Gerald is cunning and ruthless and eloquent enough to Hitlerize America, the doctor dismisses the idea as "utter nonsense." He further continues: "I wouldn't allow it. Anyway, fascism is very remote here—unless of course this pauperism goes on indefinitely."

We interviewed Dr. Townsend while

he was resting on his hotel bed reading a copy of *Liberty* magazine. At 70, this gaunt, lantern-jawed physician, with his deep-sunken eyes, his whitened hair, his smudge of a mustache, is more certain than ever that his plan provides the simple and practical specific with which to remedy America's economic ailments. Despite "revelations" and resignations and charges and countercharges, it is impossible to doubt his sincerity. He is a good man who wants to help others. He seeks no political office, no radio rulership, no large personal dominion. He is an honest Utopian. And from the standpoint of fostering mass delusion, he is the country's most dangerous demagogue, using the term in its generic sense as "a leader popular with the people." His popularity among his followers stems more from his plan than from his personality, whereas with Coughlin and Smith the reverse is true. The doctor's adherents respect him; they admire him; they think him selfless and incorruptible. But in the main their devotion to the movement reflects their belief in the efficacy of his medicine. He is proof positive of the increasing credulity of the American people. Even Hitler and Mussolini, with all their mistiness of propaganda, advanced nothing quite so fantastic, so fuzzy around the edges. The people who adhere to the Townsend cause and regularly send in their dimes are impervious to logic, to reason, to arithmetic. Their loyalty to this new credo of redemption has passed out of the realm of rational thought into the realm of faith. And this situation, with thousands upon thousands of people straining after a Poictesme of security, tends to create an accepting and unquestioning state of mind which is not only infectious but also denies democracy and opens the way for dictatorship.

The many and diverse criticisms of his plan have not ruffled Dr. Townsend's serenity; although he has made some effort to amplify its appeal by stressing its recovery aspects, and refuting the arguments of the opposition. Despite his frequent prayer, "God deliver us from the professional economists", their snipings at the plan have lately brought forth more and more statistical proof of its worth and validity. Below, for example, is the way Dr. Townsend will show you on a piece of paper how the transaction tax works when applied to a suit of clothes retailing at $25.00

	SALE PRICE	TAX
1st sale, farmer to wool buyer, 10 lbs. @ 20c.	$2.00	$.04
2nd sale, wool buyer to wool broker @ 25c. lb.	2.50	.05
3rd sale, yarn maker to cloth maker @ $1.00 lb.	5.00	.10
4th sale, wool broker to yarn maker @ 30c. lb.	3.00	.06
5th sale, cloth maker to suit maker.	7.50	.15
6th sale, suit maker to retailer.	15.00	.30
7th sale, retailer to consumer.	25.00	.50
Total tax, if passed on to final buyer		$1.20

He obtained this estimate from William Goldman, New York clothing manufacturer, and he is sure that it's not only right, but water-tight. Soon to appear in print will be similar expositions of the turnover tax as it pertains to a cotton shirt, a loaf of bread, wheat speculation, and the stock exchange.

At the moment, perhaps the most interesting thing about the doctor's economic philosophy is the way it blends the Harold Loeb-Stuart Chase abundance outlook with "velocity of money" witchcraft. His private and public utterances are brimful of such statements as: "the people must take charge of their Government and repudiate the school of scarcity and want and hunger in a land of abundance"; and again, "we must banish misery, we must end poverty amid potential plenty." He has dramatized effectively the neo-technocratic thesis that present-day mastery over materials and ma-

chines can provide an ample security for everyone. Yet he stops short when it comes to adopting the technocratic remedy: complete collectivism and production for use. He affirms his belief in a "controlled capitalism." Despite his deep admiration for Edward Bellamy, he thinks the planned economy solution advanced by *Equality's* author is at once unnecessary and unreal.

"All we have to do," the doctor told us patiently, "is properly to distribute credit. People have to buy or die. If we can catch every person, and tax him, just when he buys, the taxing would be harmless and be felt by no one. And I say that we can climb to undreamed heights if the goods we are able to create can be made available to the people of the country."

There is something obdurate and hickory-like in his tenacity of purpose. You feel sure that as long as he lives he will keep striving to attain his goal: the enactment into Federal law of his National Recovery Program. The experiences of the past 2½ years have implanted in him a deep distrust of politicians and parties. And he has been not at all over-eager to join with Father Coughlin in endorsing the Lemke-O'Brien ticket. He is reluctant "to complicate the issues."

"We have our own program which we believe is basic," he says "and if once put into operation it would eliminate, by producing a genuine prosperity, the necessity for the various reforms advocated by the Union Party and also the National Union for Social Justice."

Nevertheless, he explains, "since Lemke is the only one of the three candidates who is not our enemy, but our friend, we must do all we can to help him."

He would very much like to see Americans undertake their own re-education in economics by means of "neighborhood clubs and study groups." He has the humanitarian's certainty that people would really like to be educated and taught how to think. And he has also a fervent, quiet patriotism, a love of country inherited, perhaps, from his paternal ancestor, Peter Townsend, who, in the Revolutionary War, swung the "great chain" across the Hudson to prevent British men-of-war from sailing to New York.

Background

Dr. Townsend's background is typically American even to his birth in an Illinois log cabin, near Fairbury, the second in a family of seven children. After a local grammar-school education he left home, roaming far and wide over the country less in response to any wanderlust than to his desire to find a secure and satisfactory stake in society. He turned his hand to homestead farming in Kansas, tried teaching school, but neither pursuit pleased him overmuch. And at 26 he decided to become a doctor. With a total wealth of $100 he applied at the Omaha Medical School, insisting that he be accepted as a student. He was admitted by a friendly Dean who also got him odd jobs from furnace tending to paper peddling. During his college career his meager income never exceeded $4.00 a week. He was 30 when he received his M.D. He began his practice in the Bearidge area of North Dakota's Black Hills. His patients were cowboys and miners, their children and their wives. Often he would ride a hundred miles on horseback to set a ranchman's broken leg, or to treat a scarlet woman in a shuttered house.

At the hospital where he headed the staff he met a nurse, Mrs. Minnie Bogue, a widow with a child of seven.

They were married; and, after a close professional collaboration of many years, they moved to Long Beach, California, where Dr. Townsend obtained a post in the municipal health department. It was there, after he had lost his job, that the vision of revolving pennies and pensions blazed into his mind.

In his own career, in his own cure for depressions, he epitomizes the substratum of a peculiarly American idealism. He is spokesmen for all the cracker-barrel Utopians who are sure that, somehow, there will be discovered a single simple formula which will resolve all the tragic obstinate dissonances of economic struggle and forever banish human hardship from the earth.

WILLIAM LEMKE

The immediate political beneficiary of this strange messianic trinity is William Lemke, candidate for President on the "ticket" of the Union Party —an organization which, at the moment, exists mainly on paper and hope. If you attempt to take seriously everything he says, you might begin to wonder: (a) whether his mind is a bedlam of flapdoodle, or (b) whether he is essentially a faker with a large contempt for the ignorance and gullibility of the American voter. The latter conclusion is instantly ruled out by the solid respect and repute he enjoys throughout the farming regions of our Northwest. In his home State, in Iowa and Idaho, in Wisconsin and Minnesota, his is a name to conjure with; for he has been in the front-line trenches fighting the farmers' battles these many years. He is particularly admired for his co-authorship of the Frazier-Lemke bill, which would release 3 billions in greenbacks and therefore has the traditional appeal exerted by all cheap money plans upon the agrarian, especially if his house and fields are mortgaged to the hilt and he faces the loss of both. Whether sound or not, his attempt to exorcise the demon of heavy mortgage burdens is understandable — inevitable, actually, when we remember that in his own Congressional district more than two thirds of the farms have been foreclosed since the Black October of '29. What is more difficult to understand, however, is his wholesale advocacy of the Sixteen Points of Social Justice, the Share-Our-Wealth program as streamlined by the Rev. Mr. Gerald L. K. Smith, and the Townsend National Recovery Plan.

Mr. Lemke's apologists assert that he doesn't really subscribe to the tenets of this triune faith but that as a practical politician he has merely come out for such proposals to "place" himself in the Presidential handicap, and that his real ambitions are fixed on 1940 when he hopes to lead a Farmer-Labor coalition to victory at the polls. Meanwhile, it is argued, the 1936 campaign affords him the opportunity to keep his personality in the limelight. Surely he seems to relish this new and national fame; especially since he was, for many moons, a laborer in the vineyard of agrarian politics and was, from a national standpoint, unknown and unsung. He now feels, perhaps, that through the agency of Father Coughlin, who drew him a nomination and a party out of the air, he is at last coming into his own. He exudes confidence; he informed us in Cleveland some weeks ago that 13 States, comprising most of the Midwest's agricultural areas, along with a Townsend stronghold of California and the Coughlin center of Rhode Island, are already safely in his column. His attitude towards President Roosevelt, at

least in public, differs from that of his three nation-saving supporters, all of whom don't like Roosevelt; and a basic alloy in the collective purpose is to defeat him at any hazard.

"I should like to make it clear," Mr. Lemke informed us, "that we of the Union Party are not out to 'get' anybody. We are out to stop both Roosevelt and Landon." Certainly this statement would seem to disclose a very generous and forgiving nature, because it was the Administration's own steam-roller which, during the closing sessions of the Seventy-fourth Congress, broke the Frazier-Lemke bill into little pieces. And there did seem a trace of personal resentment in his voice when he declared: "I look upon Roosevelt as the bewildered Kerensky of a provisional Government. He doesn't know where he came from or where he's going. . . . As for Landon, he represents the dying shadow of a past civilization. . . . The public is looking for a real statesman yet to come."

"Real Statesmanship"

Mr. Lemke at 58 is convinced that his own talents and training fit him to exercise that "real statesmanship." He was born in Albany, Minnesota, and at the age of four was taken by his parents for a long trek over North Dakota plains, the family moving bag and baggage in two oxcarts, his father driving one and his mother the other. They staked out a land claim in the northernmost corner of the State; and young William lived the stern, rugged life of the genuine pioneer. As a boy he was fairly studious, reading a good deal in American history and biography; and today he is well steeped in the more polite literature about the Constitution. In 1902 he acquired his B.A. from the University of North Dakota, where he played tackle on the football team, and for three years thereafter he studied law, first at Georgetown and then at Yale, where he received his degree in 1905. He returned to the West, always more congenial to him than the Atlantic Seaboard, and hung out his shingle in the thriving town of Fargo. He soon began to specialize in cases involving farms, their owners, and the granges they had wrought for their own protection in the market place. For nearly three decades he has been actively affiliated with every farm organization in the Northwest as spokesman and as legal adviser. When A. C. Townley and his embattled farmers formed their Non-Partisan League to combat the alleged mulctings of the "grain trusters", Mr. Lemke occupied a strategic post as a member of the league's national executive committee. To his colleagues he brought much-needed legal aid and a varied experience in litigation between farm debtor and city creditor. Moreover, when the league began to win elections he was called on to train in speech and statute-making men who were more familiar with the plow than with parliamentary tactics. In 1916 he acquired the chairmanship of the State's Republican central committee and for a while knew the heartaches of the political boss. He used this position to advance the league's cause, and himself became State Attorney General. In 1920 he was recalled as the result of a protest lodged by the electorate against the stewardship of league funds and its choice of supposedly shaky banks for its deposits. Charges that he was responsible for the disappearance of league moneys quickly evaporated, however; nobody then, or now, doubts his financial integrity. The experience embittered him; and for 12 years he retired to private practice.

In 1932 Mr. Lemke emerged again upon the political scene and was

elected to the House as a pro-New Deal Republican. He was reelected in 1934 after voting for virtually all Administration measures, including the NRA and the AAA. Incidentally, he is running again this year to retain his Congressional seat while campaigning for the Presidency.

A "Right Smart Talker"

Although in prairie regions he is regarded as a "right smart talker", his oratory is immensely inferior to Coughlin's and Smith's, and even to Dr. Townsend's dry dignity of address. His voice is too highly pitched, and paradoxically enough, has a ground bass of Teutonic gutturals. His subject matter is always weighted to the gunwales with statistics. He tries to be rigorously factual:

"Can we," he asks, "gain anything by selling goods on credit to bankrupt nations that already owe us $26,000,000,000 and have given no indication of ever trying to pay us back?"

Or he will yell: "We imported $2,585,000,000 worth of goods, more than half of them agricultural, from foreign nations . . . under the mistaken idea that foreign trade is essential to progress." Like Coughlin, Smith, and Townsend, his speeches are saturated with Biblical references: "We should at least have shown the intelligence of Joseph in storing up for the seven lean years."

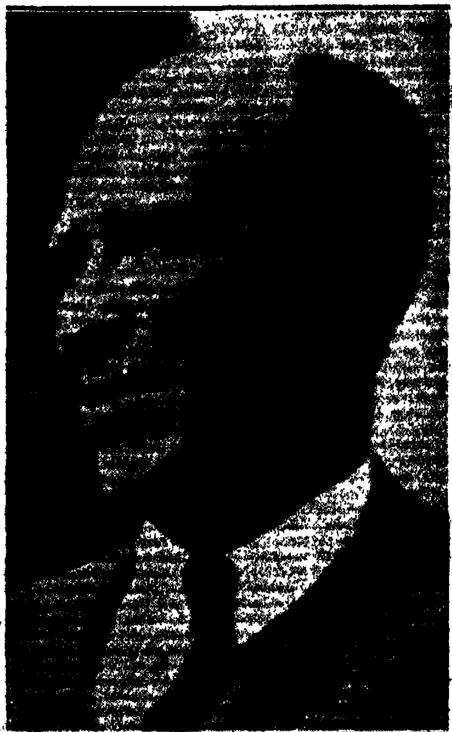
Despite the omnibus character of his platform he is willing to clarify his position on all and any political issues. If you inquire as to his position on labor, he will answer: "I am unequivocally in favor of collective bargaining. This is no longer the day of individuality. It is the day for getting together and acting in groups. Those who don't will be crushed."

His opinion of the Supreme Court? "It has made many errors, but the people have more to fear from usurpation by the executive who has the soldiers and the guns. We don't need a new Constitution—we need a new set of judges."

And how about taxes? "We of the Union Party will reduce them by controlling money and credit and by the refunding of the public debt at greatly reduced rates of interest."

"Liberty Bell Bill"

As a campaigner Mr. Lemke has a poor sense of publicity values. He allowed the editors of Father Coughlin's weekly *Social Justice* to pin on him the label "Liberty Bell Bill", which is pretty silly, particularly in view of the widespread knowledge that the Liberty Bell is cracked. Throughout



International News Photos

WILLIAM LEMKE

his career, however, Mr. Lemke has had to bear similar sobriquets. His North Dakota neighbors call him "The Bishop", a designation won by his *ex cathedra* manner. And since he has begun to soak up Father Coughlin's monetary mumbo jumbo, his Congressional colleagues refer to him as "crackpot."

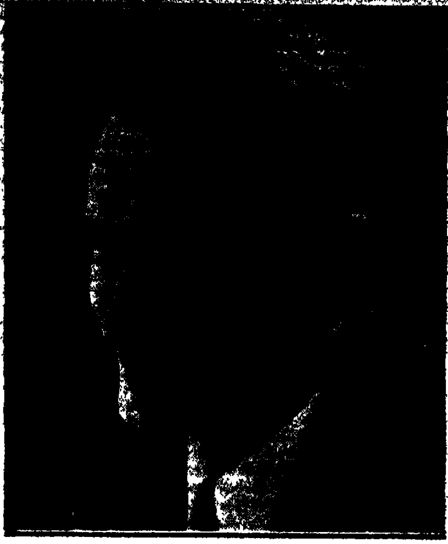
But Mr. Lemke takes joshing with good grace, remembering, perhaps, that as a devout German Lutheran he must forbear with his fellows. In appearance, however, he is hardly a meek-looking man. His jaw is anthropoidal, and his face long, its freckled skin pitted with pock-marks, the result of smallpox in his youth. His nose is spatulate and he is almost completely bald. His right eye is glass: and his left eye is always screwed up a little as if he were on the verge of imparting some secret information. He wears a gray cloth cap which is usual headgear for North Dakota's windy spaces. His galluses and the kindly slouch of his solid figure are equally homespun. If extremely rural, however, he is also an extremely shrewd and realistic politician. If Father Coughlin, who "discovered" him and "built him up", thinks that he can dominate him utterly, he is likely to find that he has an adder by the tail instead of a puppet on a string.

It should be observed that Mr. Lemke is very touchy about this question of Father Coughlin's "telephone-booth" nomination. He assures you that he was nominated by the sovereign people of the nation who work for a living. But it is very doubtful whether he can poll a top of two million votes next November, despite the aids, assists, and abetments of Messrs. Coughlin, Townsend, and Smith.

Meet

EARL BROWDER

—a "real American", very much in the Red—And he's from Kansas.



"AFTER this election," says Earl Browder, General Secretary of America's Communist Party, "both major parties will be a matter of history. A multiplicity of parties will arise, grouping themselves in general into two camps: the forces of reaction on one side, and on the other . . . a Farmer-Labor Party heading up a coalition of radicals and liberals . . . resembling France's 'People's Front' and defending democracy. The backbone of this new political alignment will be the progressive trade unions."

That last sentence is especially revealing in view of Earl Browder's own career. Ever since his conversion to socialism at the age of 15 he has been convinced that only when the "workers" banded together could they approximate their rights or move towards that cooperative commonwealth he so ardently desires. And by "worker" he means mainly the man of mine, and mill, and factory rather than the man with the white collar or even the hoe. That is why, of course, he greets the formation of the C.I.O. with such high enthusiasm, exclaiming: "It is the most promising development in the history of American labor! Its success is necessary to preserve democracy. We give our uttermost support to its aims!"

His own "labor record" dates from 1912 in Kansas City, where he was employed as a bookkeeper during the day. At night, he helped to edit *The Toiler*. Later on he became assistant editor of the *Labor Herald*, organ of the Trade Union Educational League; and in 1920 he founded the *World's Worker*. With William Z. Foster, he was for five years (1921-26) a fervent "borer from within" the A. F. of L., seeking to drive it left. In 1927 he went to China as a member of the International Workers' Delegation and was elected executive director of the Trade Union Secretariat in Hankow, spending 25 months teaching the Chinese the techniques of collective bargaining. His comrades rightfully regard him as an authority on trade unionism, here and abroad. Many of them also regard him as an American Stalin, which is less exact. The Soviet's "all-highest" is a masterful, dominant figure, a man of iron. Mr. Browder is a sweet-natured almost wistful person, looking more like a lyric poet than the leader of a revolutionary faction.

Yet underneath his mild and sometimes dreamy exterior you sense a certain hard and knotty strength, a bitter tenacity. He is slight in build, somewhat stoop-shouldered, with graying sandy hair and a russet mustache which droops at the edges. His eyes are ice-blue; and in brow and jaw he resembles the late Frank Harris, although his nose, while similarly acquiline and expansive, is smaller, less bulbous, and not at all crimson. When interviewed, Mr. Browder was attired in a double-breasted blue coat and white trousers with black stripes, an ensemble to which he managed to impart a singularly seedy and unkempt quality, heightened by a two-day stubble of beard.

"Real American"

Earl Browder was born in Topeka, Kansas, in 1891, one of ten children in a family descended from Scotch-Irish Browders—yeomen, who came to Virginia in about 1680, settling in Dinwiddie County. The father, William, was a teacher from first grade up in a typical little red schoolhouse — one room, one privy, one stove. He was a Unitarian in religion, and in politics, an ardent admirer of "Sockless" Jerry Simpson, the Populist. In 1900, perhaps worn down by the burden of supporting his brood, he suffered a nervous collapse, compelling young Earl to quit school, although both parents continued to tutor him. At 9, the youngster got a job as errand boy in a Topeka department store; at 14, he was delivering messages for Western Union, and was already a socialist sympathizer, regularly reading *The Appeal to Reason* and later peddling it on the streets, not so much for the money as to propagate the faith. He took a correspondence course in accountancy at night and at 18 became bookkeeper for a wholesale drug firm. From 1915-17, young Earl was office manager for the Farmers' Cooperative Store in Olathe, Kansas. Friends who knew him then will tell you that he gained a local reputation for his dry drawling wit; and that he was esteemed as a "right purty performer" on the flute. He also experimented with verse; but his blithe times were soon to end.

When America entered the World War, Earl and his brother Bill formed the "League for Democratic Control", which sought a court order to restrain the Governor and sheriff from putting draft laws into operation. As a consequence, both Browder boys were imprisoned, each receiving a double sentence under two separate indictments: (a) a year in Platte County Jail, Missouri, on the count of having "resisted the draft"; and (b) two years in Leavenworth for "conspiring to block the draft." His sojourn at the little jail in the heart of Missouri's tobacco-raising country was made as easy as possible by a kindly sheriff who let him see his friends, read his "queer" books, and write a characteristically neat-minded little treatise on "A System of Accounts for a Small Consumers' Cooperative." At the Federal penitentiary where he was first a trusty keeping accounts in the front office and later a member of the prison band, he completed his education. Friends at the State university library sent him all the works on economics he asked for; and the stamp of such scholastic respectability made it possible for him to import Marx and Engels, which he studied by the hour. The rule of silence, rigidly enforced among the inmates, gave him ample time for digesting Marxist dogma, for reviewing Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and Hegel's *Philosophy of History* with which he had struggled in his 'teens, when by some odd chance

both books had bobbed up in the Browder household.

At prison he also met Big Bill Heyward, a boyhood idol whom he had worshipped in 1906 when Heyward along with Moyer and Pettibone had been "framed" (Browder's word) on a criminal syndicalism charge growing out of the death of Idaho's Governor Steuenenberg by a bomb. In rare moments of conversation while exercising in the yard, "Big Bill" helped to solidify Browder's conviction that capitalism was not the best of all possible systems.

Joins Communists

When he was paroled after 16 months, he joined the Communist Party on July 20, 1919, a week after he had left Leavenworth. Immediately, he plunged into the left wing trade union movement, then headed by his exemplar William Z. Foster who encouraged him to travel and "find out what it was all about" in Europe and especially in Russia where he consulted at length with party strategists and attended the Third Congress of the Communist International.

This political Marco Polo, fresh from his Oriental experiences, returned to the United States a few days before the stock market crash in Black October, '29. Some months later, an internal dispute centering about Jay Lovestone, who had been elected party secretary only to have this decision revoked by Moscow, placed Browder in his present position, which he has held for 5½ consecutive years. Under his supervision the party has almost quadrupled its membership, now counting about 51,000 active dues-paying workers, including the Young Communist League, along with an additional 700,000 to 800,000 in "front" and mass organizations more or less firmly allied. During the period of his leadership, the native-born affiliation has increased from 10% to 46% of the total, and the negro enrollment has risen some 25%.

Forty Dollar Salary

Despite his gentle demeanor, Browder is boss and his word is law—a circumstance which owes much, of course, to the rigorous discipline of Communist procedure. He works hard and long, and his salary of $40.00 a week is but a minor incident in his routine. His diligence and endurance are astonishing. From early morning, when he leaves his modest apartment in Yonkers where he lives with his wife and two children, until after midnight, he is busy with party affairs. On the ninth floor of the Communist Party headquarters, 50 West 13th Street, he occupies a dingy little office where he sees countless visitors, conducts an international correspondence, confers with party chieftains. He speaks almost every evening, his audience varying from a handful of potential converts gathered in an empty store to 25,000 people jamming Madison Square Garden. He also does quite a bit of writing on the side, a practice which amplifies his income, even if his royalties are hardly munificent. He is the author of several party tracts, such as *Unemployment and How to Fight It* and *What Every Worker Should Know About the N.R.A.* He collaborated with William Z. Foster on two small volumes, *Technocracy and Marxism* and *Trade Unions in America.* More recently, he wrote *What Is Communism?* With him, the style is peculiarly the man: more plodding than profound, more competent than brilliant, more staid and steady than original or imaginative. He seems utterly devoid of humor and chockful of clichés worn thin and dull with duty since 1848.

"Like Lenin," he writes in his grim pedestrian prose, "we will fight to free our land from the blood-sucking reactionaries and place it in the hands of the masses, bring it into an international brotherhood of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. . . ." His oral utterance is likely to be more effective, although his delivery is more sober than eloquent. At all times he hews strictly to the party line.

"Friends," he said in his speech accepting the Communist Party nomination for the Presidency, "you have placed upon me a heavy responsibility. You call me to carry the standard of the Communist Party and its platform which alone, of all parties and platforms, gives the correct answer to all the most burning problems of the people. . . . We see that the chief enemy of the peace, freedom, and prosperity of the American people is the Republican Party and its reactionary allies, Hearst, the Liberty League, Wall Street. . . . The self-styled Union Party of Lemke and Father Coughlin is the product of a Hearst-Liberty League intrigue. Lemke is clearly but a stooge for Landon. . . . The issue of the 1936 election is not a choice between socialism or capitalism. It is a choice between progress and reaction, between democracy and the path towards fascism."

"But do you really think fascism is imminent in this country?" we inquired.

"Yes," he replied. "I think there is grave danger of it; and the decisive circles of finance capital have made up their minds that fascism may well be their best way out, and they are preparing for it by establishing international contacts. . . . Their formula is: oppose communism by seeming to oppose both fascism and communism, and under this pretense of 'Americanism', they are entrenching their powers and privileges, ready to beat down the rest of the nation into a dictated poverty in order to preserve their profits. . . . For example, they have issued the war cry against Roosevelt that the New Deal is socialistic or communistic. That is only their stratagem, their campaign demagogy . . . addressed to the middle classes and propertied folk to frighten them into accepting fascism as the alternative to a non-existent threat of socialist confiscation . . . they are trying to discredit socialism by identifying it with the failures of the New Deal . . . there is nothing of socialism in Roosevelt's policies or in the Democratic platform. . . ." He puffed deeply on one of the nickel cigars he alternates with his pipe. "It's significant to observe" he went on, "the similarity between the shibboleths employed by the fascist opposition to the present government in Spain and the slogans hurled at Roosevelt by the men who control the wealth of the nation and who are not only playing with fascist ideas, but are working on them. . . ."

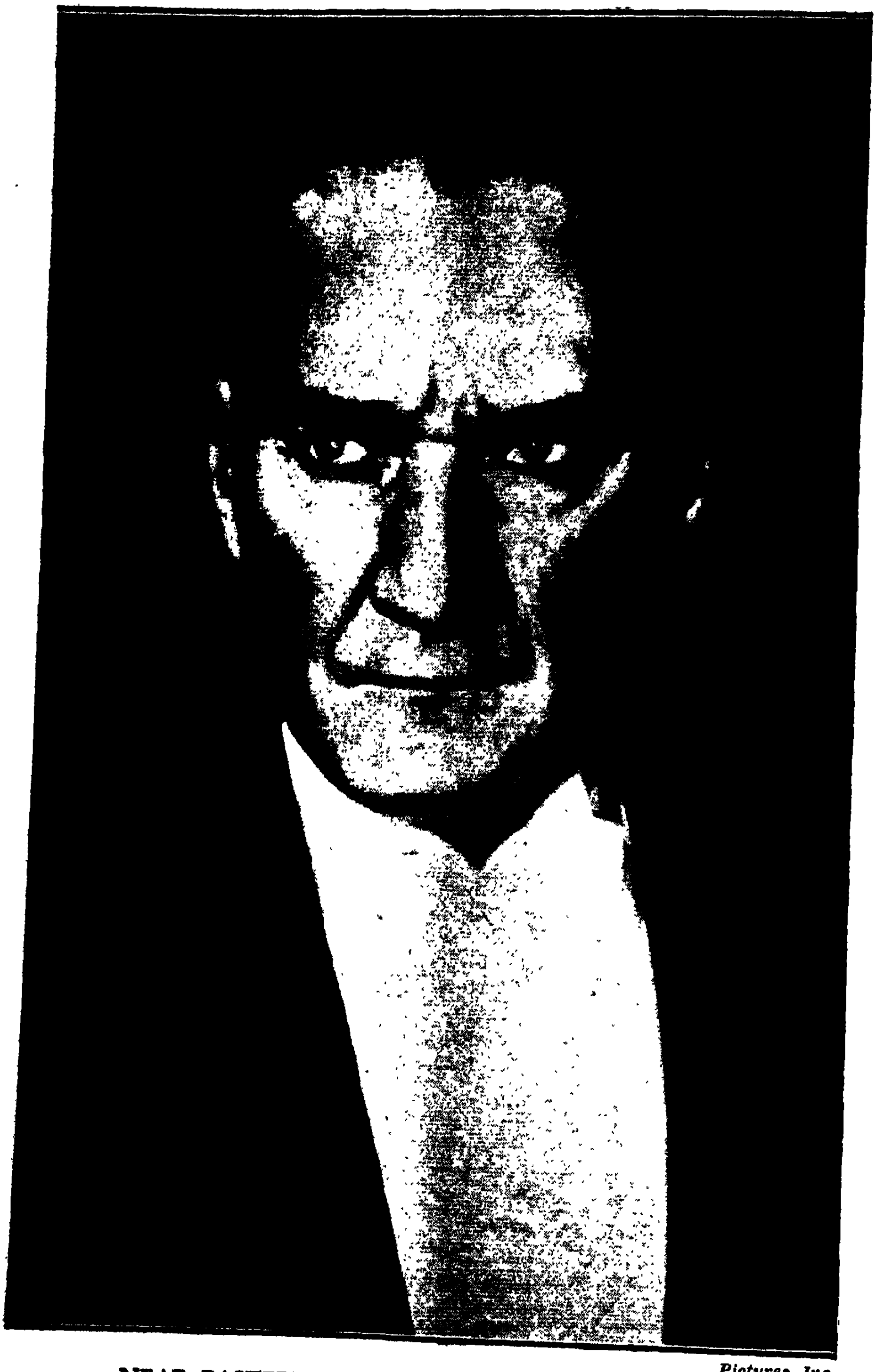
"How about the war that seems to be brewing in Europe?" we asked. "Do you believe America will be drawn in?"

Mr. Browder nodded, pursing his lips. "I think the chances of America staying out of any general war are very slight because the forces for peace are so timid and unrealistic. Our very isolationism is in itself a pathway towards war. . . . Despite the fact that every foreign purchaser is today a defaulting debtor, in the very nature of the case, our imperialist ambitions or a new saviour delusion will draw us in. . . . Of course we shouldn't be too pessimistic about it—there is a deeply ingrained will for peace in the country, especially among the youth, and that may save us. . . . My own attitude is best summed up by our party's recent declaration which . . . insists that

peace must be maintained and defended at all costs. We also favor the strengthening of all measures for collective security, especially financial and economic measures directed by the League of Nations against Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and imperialist Japan. We feel sure that such measures should be supported by the American government. . . . The United States, in our opinion, should develop an American peace policy in close collaboration with the Soviet Union. . . . Any such understanding should be based on completely prohibiting the sale or delivery of goods and the granting of loans to nations engaged in a foreign war contrary to the provisions of the Kellogg Peace Pact. . . . Of course, we demand the nationalization of the entire munitions industry. . . ."

When we talked with Mr. Browder he was immensely saddened by the death at 44 of Floyd B. Olson, Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota. "He was a remarkable man," he said, "and a great and courageous leader. . . . The best monument he has left, I think, is that he built up something that will last and surrounded himself with people who can carry on, now that he is gone."

That attitude, of course—"the cause above all else"—is congenial to Mr. Browder. He has subordinated himself to the party like a monk to his God. Despite the pressure of work, however, he retains certain simple self-indulgences: he likes to play billiards and stud-poker and to bowl; and in the summer when he gets an infrequent afternoon off he goes up to the Yankee Stadium where he eats peanuts, drinks pop, and yells. Indeed, in many respects he is so much the "average American" that he is a caricature of the very concept. For example, the party's latest catch-word, his own invention, is "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism", an ideal specimen of the American "sloganeering mind." He believes it, too—passionately, fanatically. It is, you feel, the thing which sustains him, gives meaning and purpose to his life.



Pictures, Inc.

NEAR EASTERN DYNAMO: Mustafa Kemal Ataturk

—"planned economy" in the Near East

TURKEY *goes* INDUSTRIAL

BY HARRY N. HOWARD

IT HAS been said repeatedly that the new Turkish Republic has been undergoing the processes of nationalism, secularism, and industrialism. Perhaps the basic changes which are being wrought in Turkey today are economic. Essentially, these changes are from an agrarian to an industrial order, in which the machine technique prevails. It is characteristic, it would seem, that the economic changes should be undertaken within the framework and ideology of a five-year plan, after the successful Russian model.

It is our purpose here to describe the conception, aims, and purposes of the Turkish planned economy, to outline its methods and operation, to indicate the natural resources on which the Turkish economy rests, and finally to estimate the successes and shortcomings of the Turkish system.

The Ottoman Empire was a medieval political, social, and economic structure built upon an agrarian basis. Thanks to a free-trade commercial policy, the industrial Western countries almost made an economic colony of the empire. But following the World War, and particularly after the defeat of the Greeks in 1922 and the establishment of the republican regime under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1923, the Turks were determined to achieve economic, along with political, independence. This entailed a fundamental alteration in foreign commercial policy and the encouragement of home industry. The new political structure was declared to be republican, nationalist, populist, statist, secular, and revolutionary. The Treaty of Lausanne, however, forbade any tariff changes until 1929, which marks the end of the first stage in Turkey's economic policy. During this period little industry existed. The census of 1927 listed only 65,245 industrial establishments and only 257,000 employees. Only three factories employed more than one hundred men, while the number employing fifty or more persons was only 321. Industrial establishments used no more than 165,000 horsepower. Raw materials used in all industrial concerns in 1927 were valued at 232,666,000 Turkish pounds, and the total value of industrial production reached £T432,740,000. Agriculture, metal, textiles, and woodwork made up 93% of all industry. From 1923 to 1932 the industries which made the greatest progress were: textiles, cement, animal skins (leather), sugar, confectioneries, and

£T1 = 80 cents approximately

wood construction. Eighty-three per-cent of Turkey's imports were manufactured products; 95% of her exports were animal and agricultural products.

Adoption of the Plan

On June 8, 1929, the Grand National Assembly passed its fir . real protective tariff, designed especially to stimulate the textile and sugar industries. This was the beginning of that economic nationalism which was to encourage native industry, achieve a balance in foreign trade, and arrive at a great degree of national economic self-sufficiency. Not until 1933, however, was a system of planned economy worked out. The plan was formally announced on January 9, 1934, and went officially into effect on June 14 the same year. Until 1933 private enterprise was stressed; under the new plan state capitalism was emphasized, as it was felt that state intervention in the nation's economic life was a prerequisite to the industrialization of the country. The fundamental aim of the economic plan was stated as follows:

> "The true meaning of the determination to make Turkey an independent nation is to make her an economically independent and integrally organized unit. In view of the insufficient means for realizing this economic reconstruction, the state is forced at present to take effectively and immediately all measures necessitated by this economic development. For this reason the application of such a large program becomes a necessity for the purpose of preserving the national resources and of protecting the national economy against the threatening tendencies of world economics."

The creation of a national industry proposes on the one hand to find within the country a market for raw materials, making Turkish industry an outlet for Turkish agriculture, and on the other to assure to the Turkish peasant the necessary manufactured products. Turkey would then become a "complete economic unit." Had not the depression of 1929 and the years following intervened, it was felt that the industrial development of Turkey would have followed its so-called natural course. But this was not to be. The aim of state capitalism is to prevent the arresting of industrial development. Another principle is the creation by the state itself of (1) industries whose development is indispensable from the point of view of the national interest and of (2) those which could not be created by private capital. There is no doubt, too, that the Government was definitely concerned, as were the directors of Soviet Russia, with providing an economic basis for a system of national defense.

In May 1935 the People's Party, the only political party in Turkey, laid down what may be considered the broader social and economic aims of planning in Turkey. So far as industry was concerned, the program declared:

> "The industries which the state or individuals shall establish for the industrialization of the country shall conform to a general program. The state program [proposes] to render the country an industrial unit. The industrial undertakings shall not be concentrated in certain parts of the country, but shall, instead, be spread all over the country, taking into consideration the economic factors. The state shall organize price control * * * We shall emphasize the rationalization of labor. Trusts or cartels which establish unity of price against consumers shall not be allowed. Those undertaken for the purpose of rationalization are excepted."

Concerning labor it was stated:

> "Every economic enterprise shall harmonize with united national labor as well as with the general interest * * * With the Labor Law the mutual relations of workers and employers shall be regulated. Labor conflicts shall be dealt with by means of conciliation, and where this is impossible, through the arbitration of reconciliation agencies [of] the state. Strikes and lockouts shall be prohibited. We are interested in the life and rights of the nationalist Turkish workers within the framework of these principles."

Nor was the Turkish peasant to be neglected. Cheap credits were to be extended to the peasant, who was to become the "owner of sufficient land." Agricultural advancement was "one of our main tasks." Moreover:

> "To exploit and render valuable our underground wealth, our water power, and our forests shall be a special part of our work. We consider the electrification of the whole country one of the main items in the progress of the Turkish Fatherland. We shall continue our researches in order to determine the real value and extent of our wealth in this category * * * We shall endeavor to encourage, ameliorate, and increase the breeding and rearing of livestock, and to advance the livestock industry."

The different branches of industry which were to be organized and developed under the plan were: (1) Textile industries: cotton, hemp, wool; (2) Metallurgical industries: iron, coal coke (and derivatives), copper, sulphur; (3) Paper and celluloid industries: paper, celluloid, cardboard, artificial silk; (4) Ceramics: bottles, glass, porcelain; and (5) Chemical industries: vitriol, chlorine, sodium-bicarbonate, and superphosphates. The amount to be invested in the course of the operation of the plan was a modest sum which was to be divided as follows:

		Production
Cotton	£T18,538,000	100,000,000 meters
Hemp	1,700,000	600,000 tons
Woolen thread ..	1,650,000	1,000,000 kgrs.
Iron	10,000,000	100,000 tons
Semi-coke ..	1,000,000	60,000 "
Copper	550,000	20,000 "
Sulphur	300,000	5,000 "
Paper	3,790,000	20,000 "
Cellulose ...	1,025,000	6,000 "
Artificial silk	490,000	300 "
Glass and bottles ...	1,250,000	300 "
Porcelain ..	800,000	75,000 "
Chemicals:		
(a) Sulphuric acid	600,000	3,500 "
(b) Superphosphates	400,000	3,000 "
(c) Sodium-bicarbonate and potassium	1,400,000	2,500 "
Allocations to students . .	500,000	

Financing the Plan

But economic planning requires financing. The financial aspects of the plan were entrusted primarily to the Sümer Bank, founded in Ankara on June 3, 1933, and the Türkiye Is Bankasi, founded in 1924. The Sümer Bank, established expressly to finance the planned economy, is by far the more important. According to its articles of incorporation, the Sümer Bank, a state concern, is to constitute the financial basis of the industries, to control, guide, and plan state participation in industry, and to act as a trustee for the state in grants to private enterprises. The Sümer Bank is the only great industrial bank in Turkey and serves, in effect, as a state planning commission. Its original capital was £T20,000,000, but the Government increased its working capital to £T62,000,000 and allots £T6,000,000 annually to it during the period of the plan. Immediately after its foundation, several industries were turned over to it, and it had a capital participation in eleven other principal enter-

prises. The bank also manages stores in all the leading cities in order to sell the products of its industries.

The Sümer Bank began its operations under the plan with the establishment of cotton and paper mills. The first cotton mill was founded at Kaysèri in 1934. The second was established in 1934 at Eregli, the third at Nazilli, and a fourth was to complete the series. Together with the cotton mill at Bakirköy, these five factories under the Sümer Bank were expected to produce 80% of the cotton goods consumed in Turkey. The cotton mill at Kaysèri is said to be one of the largest and most modern in Europe. It has 33,000 spindles, 1,100 automatic and weaver's spindles, and will produce 30,000,000 meters of cloth annually, and consume 5,600,000 kilograms of Turkish cotton. The mill at Nazilli will have 25,000 spindles and will produce 17,000,000 meters of cloth. Eregli will have a capacity of 7,000,000 meters. The paper and cardboard factory at Izmit is expected to furnish about 50% of the needs of the country. The Sümer Bank began in 1935 to lay the foundations for the development and organization of the iron industry, very significant both for the national economy and the national defense.

The other important bank, noted above, which plays a fundamental part in the financing of the industrialization of the country, is the Türkiye Is Bankasi, or Bank of Affairs, founded in 1924 with an initial capital of £T1,000,000 (at present £T5,000,000). It is controlled by prominent members of the People's Party, and, technically speaking, is a private bank. It created the first sugar industry in Turkey in 1928. From its foundation, the bank has been especially interested in the national mining industry, particularly coal. In 1926 it created the Turkish Coal Mining Company at Zonguldak, with a capital of £T1,000,000. Later the Kömüris Coal Mining Company at Kozlu was established, its capital growing from £T500,000 to 3,000,000 by 1929.

A third bank, the Merkez Bank, or Central Bank of Issue, determines the value of the Turkish pound and the discount rate, regulates the monetary circulation, and has charge of the state's financial operations. It therefore plays a very significant role in Turkish economic life.

Turkey's National Resources

Such is the general outline of the Turkish five-year plan. Such is its aim and direction. But what are the basic natural resources on which the success or failure of the plan must, in the last analysis, depend? The Turkish Republic is a nation of about 15,000,000 people living within an area of 294,492 square miles, of which 285,235 square miles are in Asia. Turkey has long been known to be rich in mineral resources. It is the richest country in the world, perhaps, in chrome and emery. Its deposits of gold and copper have been exploited since the dawn of history. The *vilayet* of Zonguldak, on the Black Sea, is the greatest coal basin in the Near East, with a production which increased from 597,000 tons in 1923 to 2,288,000 tons in 1934. In the same region are the coal deposits of Eregli, Kozlu, and Amasra. Silver-bearing ores, concentrated in the Aegean region, rank next after coal with an annual production of about 8,000 tons. Then come mines of chrome, emery, manganese, lignite, boracite, and lead, the production of which reached 120,000 tons in 1934. The sulphur deposits are also significant. Rich copper mines exist, especially in the eastern *vilayets*; the deposits of Ergani, for instance, will

yield 15-20,000 tons annually. There are deposits of iron, and it is thought that oil may be produced in some quantities.

The program, as we have seen, calls for a fundamental development of these resources. As early as 1926 the iron industry was developed. The present program envisages the creation of a national iron industry for the production of cast-iron, steel blocks, wrought iron, wire, etc. The coke industry is to be considerably developed, the annual consumption of coke reaching 70,000 tons in 1933; the rate of increase has been from 8,000 to 10,000 tons annually. Copper occupies a primary place in the program, though its annual average value for several years has only reached £T2,500,000; however, production is to be raised to about 24,000 tons annually. It is expected that the production of sulphur will reach 1,500,000 tons a year from the present average of only 3,500 tons.

Rich Farmlands

Turkey is also a rich agricultural and forest country. Until recent years, indeed, agriculture and livestock raising were almost the exclusive industries of the country. There are more than 23,157,300 hectares of arable land, 10,000,000 hectares of valuable forest land, and 27,000,000 hectares of pasture. Almost 90% of the arable land is sown in cereals. Wheat and barley make up 85% of the cereals. Tobacco, as is well known, is a very important product. The production of cotton is of growing importance, the major centers being Adana and Izmir. Turkey is also a significant fruit country. Among the important fruits, a large proportion of which are exported, are dried raisins, figs, olives, hazel nuts, pistachio nuts, etc. The plan aims to increase production on the farm and to improve the quality.

Progress of the Plan

That significant progress has been made under the five-year plan is beyond question. Two industries, textiles and sugar, have shown distinct advances. The extension by Soviet Russia, in 1934, of an $8,000,000 loan without interest for twenty years, the first foreign loan taken by Turkey, aided the textile industry in importing large amounts of machinery from that country. There has been a very substantial increase in textile production. Turkey has almost become self-sufficient in sugar production.

Perhaps the best notion of what has been accomplished, however, may be obtained from the official statement of Djelal Bayar, the Minister of Economics, made in December 1935. He declared:

> "The economic life of Turkey is dynamic. In every area the concrete manifestations of a constructive, guiding, and national perseverance and will are seen. Our economic program is controlled by such principles as movement, adventure, and change. Our method is founded on scientific and technical bases, on positive experiments. The principle of increasing the productive ability of our country each succeeding year must be supplemented by that of producing the best at the lowest cost."

Production of grapes, he announced, was 80,000 tons, 60% above that of 1934; that of figs 32,000 tons, 15% above 1934; that of peanuts, 76,000 tons, a 50% increase. Tobacco production, which had fallen to 18,000,000 kilograms in 1932, reached 38,000,000 in 1935.

Factories which had been set up under the industrial plan and were ac-

tually operating included the following: (1) The Camis glass factory at Pasabahçe (Istanbul), which is being enlarged; (2) the semi-coke or anthracite furnaces at Zonguldak, also being enlarged; (3) the cotton mill at Kayséri, opened on September 15, 1935; (4) the cotton mill at Bakirköy, to which 10,000 spindles are to be added; (5) the perfumerie at Isparta; (6) the sulphur factory at Ketçiburlu; and (7) the sponge factory.

The following enterprises are under construction: (1) The paper mill at Izmit, which is to be enlarged; (2) the weaving mill at Eregli; (3) the cotton mill at Nazilli; (4) the woolen mill at Bursa; and (5) the artificial silk factory at Gemlik.

The following are to be constructed: (1) The cotton mill at Malatya; (2) the iron foundry; (3) the chemical industry; (4) the cement factory; (5) the hemp factory; (6) celluloid factory; and (7) the porcelain factory.

Some additional enlargements have been planned. The sugar refinery at Usak is to be remodeled to enable it to work no less than 850 tons of beets per day. Moreover, a new factory near Usak will enable it to obtain sugar from molasses. It was estimated in 1935 that more than 30% of the plan had been achieved.

The capital of these industries was estimated at £T36,000,000 and the output at £T37,000,000. In 1924, to indicate the financial development, it was estimated that the capital in the national banks was only £T19,217,484; today it is about £T160,000,000. The gradual increase in foreign trade, despite the drastic nature of Turkey's economic nationalism, is another indication of advance. Still another feature has been the construction of railroads and highways as a part of the industrialization of the country. The total railway mileage constructed by the state by the end of 1935 was 6,076 kilometers. Lines to be constructed between 1936 and 1940 will make a grand total of 7,092 kilometers. More than £T200,000,000 have been spent on railway construction. With a single small exception all railways belong to the state. Since 1928 £T50,000,000 have been spent on highways, and today Turkey is said to have some 30,000 kilometers of good roads.

It would appear from this brief analysis that Turkey has been laying the foundations of a new industrial society. No doubt the country will continue to be primarily an agricultural region, but the foundations laid and the progress thus far made would indicate a rather healthy balance in the future of industry and agriculture. Essentially it is the development of a planned economy under state capitalism rather than socialism. It will be interesting to observe the development of a state-controlled industry in relation to what appears to be an individualistic peasantry. Indeed the question might be raised as to whether a real planned economy can be operated under a capitalistic system of production. While the scope of the plan for industrialization is necessarily limited, its results are almost bound to be far-reaching, not only in Turkey, but throughout the Near East. Turkey is being economically transformed into a modern state—her basic structures are being fundamentally changed. Hand-in-hand goes another change of a gradual but revolutionary nature—the intellectual and spiritual transformation. But this is only beginning.

A digest of comment quoted or translated from the original—

THEY SAY:

sometimes important . . . often amusing . . . always authentic

A UNITED FRONT AGAINST the surrender of former German colonies to the Hitler regime will be presented by Britain and France when Germany makes a move to demand their return. It is the consensus of French public opinion that France can no more think of giving up her mandated territories than can Great Britain. Statistics were quoted and shown that since the Cameroons were placed under French mandate, the territory had enjoyed prosperity from which the natives had been the first to benefit. In the last fifteen years the number of natives had increased by 300,000. The German racial theories as propounded by the present German regime have definitely shut out all chances of Germany ever getting back any of her former colonies. What is more ridiculous than Herr Hitler's childish pronouncement of the superiority of the Nordic race which means that the yellow or non-white race possesses the inferiority complex? The natives comprising the inhabitants of former German colonies are all non-whites and what will happen to them when the Germans with their assumed racial superiority become the masters again of those lost colonies? The peoples of China and Japan have definitely spoken out their minds against the German racial theories if the Germans ever attempt to apply them in their respective countries. Britain is equally determined not to consider the handing over of former German colonies to Germany. German peace proposals are made to enable Germany to perfect her war machine for another world war. No reliance can be placed on German promises, since she has already shown scant respect for treaties; any new one is liable to be broken as have been the others, so it is useless to enter into any new treaties with Germany which has no intention to keep them.

—*China Outlook*, June 27, 1936.

In 1884, Portugal had 45.5 inhabitants per square kilometer; in 1890, 55; in 1930, over 74 per square kilometer. It will be impossible to maintain such a population on Portuguese soil—as in Europe, the standard of living would gradually decrease—unless we are able to open up new fields for activity.

Portugal has about 7,000,000 inhabitants, which population is on the increase. Even if Brazil continues to give preference to Portuguese immigration, in thirty years' time we shall have to support and feed about 10,000,000 Portuguese citizens.

Consequently, Portugal needs every inch of her colonial territory, particularly because the present increase in agricultural production forbids expansion at home; every square foot of land is under cultivation, while industries have been developed to the utmost under present conditions.

—From a speech by Dr. Oliveira Salazar, Premier of Portugal, before the *Portuguese Empire Conference* at Lisbon, August 10, 1936.

It is to be hoped that neither the people of England or the Union will have anything to do with another imperialist scramble in Africa. Only a powerful League can prevent any further aggressive designs by Mussolini. In any case it would be nothing short of disaster for Britain to try to pit Germany against Italy on the African Continent, for there is nothing to prevent these two hungry fascist Powers uniting against Britain herself.

There has been much loose talk about the

Union becoming the dominant Power on the continent of Africa—in short, a South African imperialism. It may suit Mr. Pirow who appears to be trying to become the South African Napoleon. But we doubt whether history will afford him the opportunity of usurping this title from Chaka. The problem today is not to conquer new lands but how to restore them without upsetting the balance of power.

We are against the return of colonies to the present-day Germany as they would only be used as strategic military bases and not for economic relief. The whole of the economy of Germany has been sacrificed for the sake of rearmament and war; nothing must be done to promote the success of this project. In this respect we can do no better than quote the resolution on mandates moved by General Smuts at the Peace Conference at Paris, and carried unanimously:—

> "Having regard to the record of the German Administration in colonies formerly part of the German Empire, and to the menace which the possession by Germany of submarine bases in many parts of the world would necessarily constitute to the freedom and security of all nations, the allied and associated Powers are agreed that in no circumstances should any of the German colonies be restored to Germany."

—*South African Opinion*, July 24, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Spain in Upheaval

The murder of priests and nuns and the destruction of churches and convents, preventing the holding of religious services, could call for nothing but a protest from the Holy See.

While we admit that the Madrid Government is facing difficulties in suppressing the excesses of those whom it has armed, we cannot forget that in the past the repeated appeals made by the Holy See have not prompted the Government to intervene and punish acts of violence committed against the Church. Until now that Government has given no satisfaction to the Holy See.

—*Osservatore Romano*, Vatican City, August 14, 1936.

The conduct of the [Spanish] women is for many a marvelous surprise. They have fought on the barricades and rushed everywhere that fighters were needed. They were at Saragossa, Cordoba, Toledo, Segovia, etc., eyes aflame with enthusiasm.

When a people who fight for their liberty as the Spaniards are fighting see in their ranks women resolved to conquer freedom for all time, exposing themselves to the greatest dangers, no enemy can subjugate it. We have triumphed at Madrid and in Barcelona and will soon triumph in the whole of Spain.

—*Solidaridad Obrera*, Barcelona.

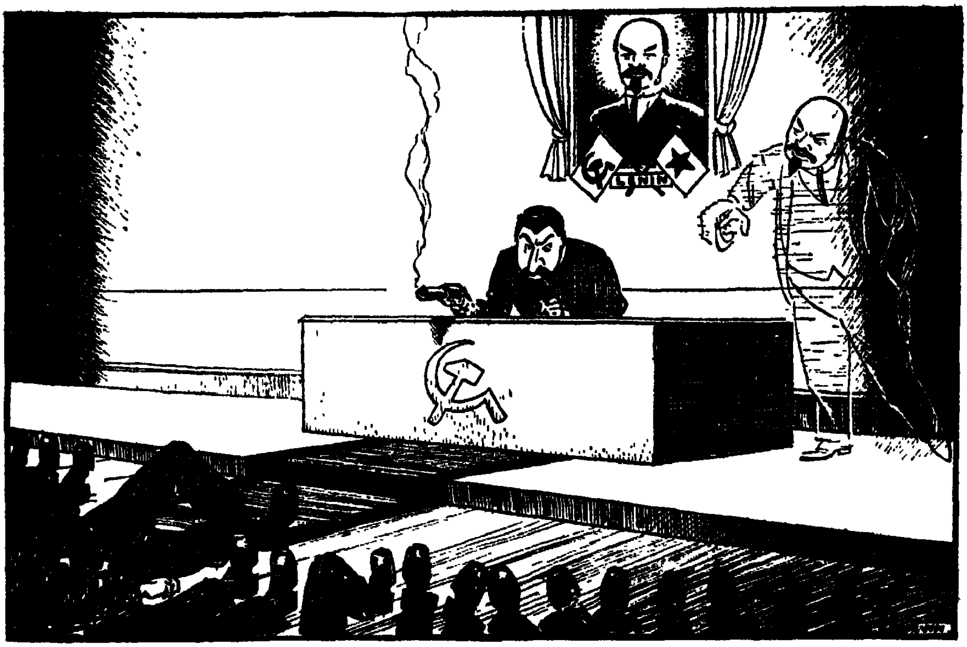
If the French Government will once and for all renounce giving supplies to Madrid which is now apparently a permanent center of rioting, it will have much greater force to impose the respect of treaties and maintain a Mediterranean equilibrium, safeguard the Shereefian empire and maintain the communications on which the mobilization of the French Army relies. If we deviate from prudence and participate in the crusades of the Popular Front, we shall give our adversaries the opportunity to proclaim the revolutionary peril to counterbattle our Mediterranean and African possessions.

—*Echo de Paris*, Paris, August 8, 1936.

I should like to add a few words concerning the role of the German Nazis in Spain. The German Government asserts that four Germans had been court-martialed and ordered shot. During the first stages of the struggle we searched the houses of several notorious Nazis in Barcelona and found proof of their connection with all the reactionary organizations in Spain and in Spanish Morrocco.***Still, we let them go free, because we found no ammunition on their premises. Among the apprehended ones was Herr Hellerman, one of the leaders of the German Nazis in Barcelona.***Him, too, we let go free, in order to avoid complications, and he proceeded hale and hearty to Berlin. The Government police likewise arrested the Nazi Chief Otto Philip in the act of presiding in Barcelona over a secret Nazi meeting***whose avowed object was to furnish the rebels with a set of anti-Government plans.*** However, he too, went free.

Since we released proven ringleaders of the rebel conspirators, despite the evidence we had against them, would we, willingly permit the shooting of four unknown Germans? The truth is that the aforesaid four Germans voluntarily had joined the Government militia against the rebels, and they fell in the struggle.*** Is Herr Hitler, perchance, chagrined also over the fact that the Nazi leader, Baron Kurt von Behr, Gestapo agent, is now engaged on the Island of Majorca in the business of organizing and directing the rebellion against the Government? Will we somehow be held accountable for his death also, should he fall?

—Statement by Hilario Arlandis, head of the Catalonian United Front Party, recorded in the *Pariser Tageszeitung*, August 12 1936.



GHOST OF LENIN—This is a strange way to treat my friends.
STALIN—Yes? But you see, Vladimir Ilyitch, you're only a picture nowadays.

—*Glasgow Bulletin*

"Nearer to War"

Fascism is costly. In order to divert the attention of the people from the growing poverty, it is forced to follow an aggressive foreign policy, a policy of rapidly increasing armaments.

Consequently, it forces the European democracies to arm as rapidly as they can. Democracies desire peace, but they are forced to follow the rhythm and the pace set by the fascist states, to avoid finding themselves, as in the case of Ethiopia, powerless against a sudden armed attack of fascism.

We, of the Balkans, are nearer to war than any other nation.***During the Ethiopian adventure fascist intrigues abroad had somewhat decreased. Now in all Danubian and Balkan states they have restarted***

In the world today there are only two fronts: that of democracy and that of fascism. Democracy is peace; fascism is war.***He who desires peace should work to foster democracy in his own country. That applies with special force to the peoples of the Balkans and of the Danube. No citizen is free in our countries without democracy, which for small nations is closely identified with national independence. In the struggle of the present hour all ought to join—workers, peasants, lower and higher middle-class, the leaders of thought.

It is only by a bloc of these forces that the independence and the material progress of Yugoslavia, of Bulgaria, and of Rumania can be assured.

—**Dr. Bogdan Krekitch of Yugoslavia in an interview recorded in the *New Times and Ethiopia News*, London, August 15, 1936.**

❖ ❖ ❖

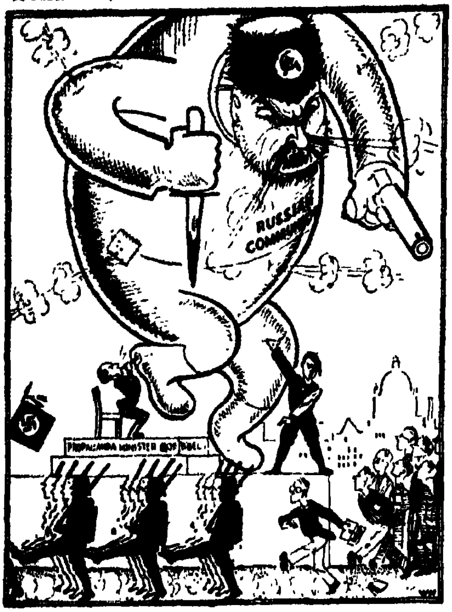
Soviet Strategy

The guiding idea of Soviet war strategy is that the outcome of a future war must not be determined by victories or defeats on the first line of hostilities; that the entire district from this first line to the center of a country should be regarded as a battlefield in the case of a future war and that therefore, the quickest way to win a war is to cause commotion in the center of the enemy land and lead this commotion to class strife so that the enemy country may collapse from within.

It is in this perspective that the Red Army leaders found it necessary to possess a big squadron of large aeroplanes with a long cruising radius. Should an emergency occur, these aeroplanes are to be used to bombard the center of the enemy country***

—**Colonel Hikosaburo Hata, Tokyo War Office.**

ROLL UP, BOYS! SEE WHAT'S COMING!



—*Glasgow Bulletin*

Notes from Germany

Even the statesmen who recognize the necessity to satisfy the "have-nots", or those without raw materials, lack power to translate their convictions into deeds.

The world drifts ever further from the spirit of understanding and reason, instead of trying to retrace its steps.

—*Uebersee Post* (Universal Economic Review), Leipzig, July 1936.

Ten years' development have given new uses for the small motor in doing work formerly performed by manual labor. Two of these are hoeing and hedge-clipping. A 1 h.p. motor can now be used on wheels or carried on one's back like a haversack. In a truck garden the most inaccessible corners can thus be reached.

—*Das Echo*, Berlin, June 1936.

From time immemorial Hamburg's task has been that of a mediator between German economy and the rest of the world. Today the population of the Reich's second largest city lives chiefly off German foreign trade. Hamburg's seaward trade (in 1935) totaled 20,160,000 tons. This was only 74.7% of the total reached in 1929 (the boom year of world trade).

—*Das Echo*, Berlin, June 1936.

They Like Roosevelt

It was courageous of Mr. Roosevelt to make his Chautauqua speech at the opening of his campaign for re-election. His protest against those nations which tear up treaties and enthrone cruel fanaticism is likely to offend hundreds of thousands of voters of Italian and German origin. Tireless propaganda, trading on a sentimental feeling for the "old country", has infected many members of these national groups with Fascist and Nazi sympathies*** But every man and woman on both sides of the Atlantic who values honesty in politics, every genuine democrat, every lover of the old freedoms and tolerances, will applaud Mr. Roosevelt***

The Chautauqua speech is best read in the light of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy. Its two pillars have been the idea of the good neighbor and a carefully planned neutrality. Mr. Roosevelt has always been at pains to represent neutrality as a more positive force than old-fashioned isolation. It is a system which is capable of discriminating between aggressor and victim. There is little doubt that if Britain and France had taken a stronger line with Italy from the start of the Abyssinian adventure we should have seen what a positive force for good the Roosevelt neutrality system could become.

That chance was missed, but Mr. Roosevelt's words suggest that fresh opportunities of common service for peace will present themselves*** As the shadows of the Dark Ages gather around the dictatorships, the surviving democracies will inevitably be drawn closer together. Possibly, too, events will force them to act naturally and instinctively in concert without the need for any formal alliance. There is a union of hearts stronger than any treaty.

—Editorial in *The Star*, London, August 15, 1936.

The American masses live in the illusion that America and Europe are two entirely different worlds, the crisis in one not having any serious repercussions in the other, and that the Atlantic is a gulf behind which Americans are sheltered. This is a form of "sacred egotism" that is not without danger for a big people who let themselves confidently drift in it.

President Roosevelt guards himself against this error but is obliged to take note of the opinion of most Americans. "We are not isolationists," he said, "but only wish to avert being drawn into war."

Neutrality as conceived by the President offers resources that are not negligible.

Between profits and peace, said the President,

the nation will reply, "Let us have peace." This is a language of reason, and let us hope it will be understood by the American people.

—From a leading editorial in *Le Temps*, Paris, August 18, 1936, commenting on President Roosevelt's Chautauqua speech.

❖ ❖ ❖

Dark Horizon

Just as the great powers, having liquidated the Italo-Ethiopian crisis by lifting sanctions against Italy, were preparing to open negotiations for a Locarno Conference to be subsequently enlarged into a general conference of European states, the political horizon was darkened once more by the conclusion of the Austro-German accord, which spread alarm in Eastern Europe, and by the outbreak of civil war in Spain which threatened to create grave international complications.

These events seemed to emphasize the rapidly growing tendency of most European countries to group themselves under the banners of either fascism or communism—in France under a semi-socialistic government vigorously opposed to fascism, while Britain attempts to hold the balance between the two which it considers inimical to democracy.

—*Geneva*, monthly review of world affairs, Geneva, Switzerland, August, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Spanish Civilization

Even after a whole century of independence, foreign influences are still powerful in South America—the Spanish are still influencing her civilization, the French her culture, and Anglo-Saxons her commerce and everyday life. We never emphasize sufficiently the strength of Spanish civilization. The massive might of the United States has not yet stamped it out of Florida, Texas, and California. Today Mexico is strictly Spanish in atmosphere, as Havana.*** It is the same in South America; in fact all the capital that Americans invest will not cause much change. This racial formation is proof against Anglo-Saxon influence.***The Spanish tongue, the Catholic influence, and above all, the family influences of the Iberian Peninsula are ramparts that the American invasion cannot scale. The Anglo-Saxons, English or Americans, may make their presence felt, even play the role of conquerors, but their civilization, curiously enough, sheds a light inferior to their power.

—André Siegfried, noted French writer, in his book, *Impressions of South America*.

China Not So Weak

The Nanking Government is reported to be making preparations for war with Japan. The rumor is unfortunate, remembering the fact that the new Minister to China, Mr. Shigeru Kawagoe, now at his post, is going to open negotiations with the Nanking Government for an adjustment of Sino-Japanese relations. Anti-Japanese agitation is no new thing in China. But the present anti-Japanese movement in China is not like that which has marked China's relations with this country in the past. It is rapidly assuming the proportions of a popular movement.

The Japanese at large are apt to think that China is no match for this country militarily. The view is mistaken. China is not what it used to be in former days. It has an army which would give a good account of itself in a war. As for the Chinese air force, it is being expanded rapidly and by the end of this year the Nanking Government will have 350 scouting planes, 300 pursuit planes, more than 200 light bombing planes and about 100 heavy bombing planes. The Kwangtung and Kwangsi factions between them have more than 300 fighting planes. We mention this only to show that China is not so weak and ill equipped as many of us would imagine.

In this connection, an important point to remember is that the Powers are aiding China in its program of armed resistance against this country. The latest reports tell of the signing of an agreement between China and Germany under which Germany is to supply war mate-



"I'm spreading civilization in Africa."
"Dat's all right—I'm spreading it in Europe."
Daily Herald, London

rials to China in exchange for raw materials. If the report is accurate, we cannot rule out the possibility of Japan and Germany, which today are in friendly relations, finding themselves in opposing camps.

—*Trans-Pacific*, July 16, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Cardenas Speaks

The aspiration of the Revolution is that every man in every village shall find work, so that human life may be pleasanter, less miserable, and nobler in this sense: that it shall allow the individual to cultivate his physical and intellectual faculties, and therefore achieve full realization of his own personality.

I should deem it very hard indeed to carry into effect the principles of the Six-Year Plan, if I did not rely on the cooperation of organized rural and industrial workers, disciplined and united.

Capitalism never fails to take advantage of a single conflict between labor unions.

Divisions between workers are criminal and sterile in results. Workers and peasants must remove all obstacles in the way of union between them.

I shall always be at the service of workers and peasants.

The fundamental problem calling for immediate solution is that of the Land***The Six-Year Plan deals in the first place with the agrarian problem***which is acute in all the States of the Republic.

Every measure of a political nature must rest on an economic foundation and have an economic sense. Formation of our own economy will free us from a certain kind of capitalism, the incentive behind which is none other than to obtain raw materials by means of cheap labor***

Higher education must abandon its tendencies in favor of the liberal professions in order to become eminently technical. In every industrial center and by the side of every factory, there must be a technical school for wage-earners.

For many years our governing classes looked on the Indian as a being beyond the pale of humanity. Upon the Revolution rests the sacred responsibility of not forgetting the blood shed by the Indians***for the triumph of its social cause.

Women must organize. Home for them must cease to be a prison. They must become a factor in production and the increase in wealth. They must improve standards of domestic economics and, in fine, be man's companion in every aspect of his existence.

—General Lázaro Cárdenas, President of Mexico, in *Policies of the Present Administration of Mexico*, published in Mexico City, 1936.



Spanish front fighter (in troubled waters): "Help, Blum! Give me a hand—remember it is me today, you tomorrow."

—*Il 420, Florence*

❖ ❖ ❖

Danubian Question

The Austro-German agreement and German-Italian rapprochement have created a new situation in Central Europe which will once again bring up all questions relating to the Danubian Basin. No major power can look upon the basin as a colonizing domain.*** Advantage must now be taken of the chance offered to organize an economic rapprochement and create a large market for all. Once this is done, the heterogeneous peoples of the Danube Basin will soon find themselves.

—Professor Elemer Hantos of Budapest, former Hungarian Secretary of State, in *Journal des Nations*, Paris, July 30, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

France Should Reflect

The frontier of France is now in the Guadarrama Mountains, close to Madrid. If fascism is victorious it will hold the Pyrenees Mountains. Then the worst eventualities will have to be envisaged. Think of the Mediterranean; of your [French] African communications; of a strong Balearic Islands naval base, in whose hands? France's great public should reflect, weigh, and conclude, without distinction of party.

—President Manuel Azaña of Spain, in an interview with the French Radical-Socialist newspaper, *La Dépêche de Toulouse*, August 14, 1936.

Manhattan Anarchy

Spanish anarchists and syndicalists are now publishing in New York two weekly newspapers which have gained considerable influence in Spain, especially in Catalonia.

In the past, Communist raids on the anarchist papers' plants in Barcelona, resulting in destruction of printing equipment, convinced the editors that it would be far safer to publish their journals in New York. Now the papers are sent each week by fast steamship to Barcelona, where they circulate widely.

Financially the anarchist papers have not scored so well. The difficulty is that the Spanish anarchists do not like to pay for the papers. They think they are entitled to them as members of the radical organization.

The Spanish anarchists and syndicalists, closely akin, publish here the newpapers *Solidaridad Obrera* and *Cultura Proletaria.*

About two months ago, before the murder in Madrid of the Monarchist leader, José Calvo Sotelo, unleashed the civil war, a warning editorial in one of the New York organs above named had violent reverberations in extremist circles in Spain. It was a warning to the Communists.

"For the dictatorship of the proletariat to be established in Spain," it said, "and for it to become an immediate reality, they (the Reds) would have to fight another enemy as powerful as the bourgeoisie itself. Never will the National Confederation of Workers (Syndicalist) or the Iberian Anarchist Federation submit voluntarily to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Spain.

"If, after the triumph of the proletarian insurrection, the Marxists should be crazy enough to establish by force a proletarian dictatorship, they would have to stifle a Libertarian (Anarchist) movement, which in numbers, dynamism and revolutionary decision is far ahead of all the Marxist organizations."

—New York *Times*. Aug. 21, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

German Economy

The economic policy of the National Socialist Government is based on the principle that it is not the state's function to compete commercially with free business. The state is merely concerned with leadership.

German economy is based on the former Economic [trade] Associations. It is not a continuation of these bodies***which became useless when the National Socialist Party came into power and were dissolved at the end of 1934. Present German economic associations are forbidden to formulate social policies. They cannot establish special market or price policies. These are governed by the cartels.

Germany's economic policies—trade, money, banks, credit, foreign exchange, laws and taxes, come under the province of special groups of German industrial organizations.

—From a Report by the *German Institute for Business Research*, Berlin, March 11, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Pressure on England

Let it not be imagined that France and England will suddenly show great confidence in Germany. There is nothing to this, as the British plans for rearmament plainly show. But whatever the conditions, Germany is now convinced that it is only necessary to bring pressure on Great Britain to get all it wants.

We who are partisans of peace in the West as in the East, believe that any English statesman will be obliged to note that peace cannot be guaranteed in the West unless it is guaranteed in the East at the same time.

—Karl Radek in *Izvestia*, Moscow.

We ask our English friends if they want the Third Reich to dominate Central Europe, as there is no doubt Germany will realize its plan for a *Mitteleuropa* if she can subjugate Czechoslovakia. We ask our English friends if they want Germany, after it assures itself of the raw materials and cereals of Central and Southeastern Europe, to throw its enormous power



Blum: "If you don't start, I will stop."
—*De Groene Amsterdammer*

against the West.***We want friendly relations with Germany, but not by exposing Czechoslovakia to the danger of becoming a vassal to the Reich.

—*Lidove Noviny*, Prague, July 29, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Hungarian Aims

The new objectives of Hungarian foreign policy are:

1. Calling of a new peace conference that will declare the decrepitude of the Treaty of Trianon.

2. Equality of rights for Hungary in all military matters.

3. Organization of plebiscites in all the territories formerly belonging to Hungary so as the people can, by a simple majority, vote on their return to Hungarian sovereignty.

—Josef Szirtsey, editor, in *Nemzeti Fgyclo* (Nationalist organ), Budapest.

❖ ❖ ❖

Streicher Again

Even a cow can be put into a terrible rage by the sight of a Jew, as proved by the following amusing incident which occurred in Feldkahl, Mainfranken. It appears that a Jew had approached a local peasant to persuade him to sell some cows. One of them, usually a quiet and peaceable beast, instinctively seemed to see in the Talmud-Jew an unsavory object. No sooner was it unyoked than it turned around and rushed upon the Jew, giving him a breathless chase into a neighboring farm and up some steps.***The cow that day earned a double portion of clover. Through its instinct it has shamed many a German peasant who has not yet realized that the Jew is an alien.

—*Der Stuermer* (anti-Semitic newspaper of Julius Streicher) No. 31, Nuremberg, Germany.

❖ ❖ ❖

Rickshawmen

Development of modern facilities for transport and the high cost of living are menacing the life of the rickshaw pullers in Nanking, according to an investigation recently made by the Nanking Association for the Promotion of the New Life Movement.***The Association investigated the circumstances of 1,350 rickshaw pullers.***The monthly earnings of a rickshaw puller are from $10 to $14. In face of the present high standard of living in the capital this is barely sufficient to support himself, let alone his family. The average monthly expenses of the family of a rickshaw puller are between $15 and $30. As a result, most rickshaw pullers who have families are in debt.***It appears that most rickshawmen work about 10 hours a day. In some extreme cases it is as many as 20 hours.

Of the 1,350 rickshawmen more than 68 percent are illiterate.

A rickshawman's career is short. Of the total of 1,350 rickshawmen investigated 239 have been pulling rickshaws for more than a year, 196 for more than two years, and 128 for more than three years.

There are at present 10,492 rickshaws in Nanking, of which 9,394 are rickshaws for hire and 1,098 are private rickshaws. Very few rickshawmen can afford to own rickshaws themselves, the total number being only 2,195. Most of them hire their rickshaws from rickshaw hongs. There are about 800 such hongs in Nanking. The largest hongs own about 300 rickshaws, but the smallest only three or four rickshaws.

The rickshawmen may hire the vehicles from the hongs by day or by month, the daily rent being from 40 cents to 50 cents and the monthly rent $9.

—*China Weekly Chronicle*, July 29, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Italy Buys

Italy will henceforth buy where she can sell ***she will import only those things which are essential for her needs and which she cannot produce. Her commercial policies will keep steadily in view the need of reducing the [Italy's] adverse trade balance to the vanishing point.

As former Finance Minister de Stefani expresses it, Italy is determined to safeguard her gold reserves and national independence. In this***Italian business***fully concurs.

—*Revista Commerciale Italo-Americana*, New York, August 1, 1936.

Correction

In *They Say* for September, two items were inadvertently run together on page 103, and both credited to Niceto Alcala Zamora, ex-President of Spain. Only the last paragraph of the first item on this page was taken from the Spanish statesman's forthcoming book, the comment preceding it having come from another source.

Docile Greeks?

From information gathered in Belgrade where Greek events are closely followed, it is learned that General Metaxas is really planning a new Constitution embodying an authoritarian régime based along Fascist and Nazi lines, creating a unified nationalist party as the right hand of the state and the systematic organization of youth. It remains to be seen whether the Hellenic people who have known so many upsets in the past fifteen years will show the needed docility for this experience.***

General Metaxas says Greek foreign policy will***remain faithful to the Balkan Entente and Greco-Turkish friendship, but only the proof of events will show that this is certain.

—*Le Temps*, Paris, leading editorial, August 10, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Free Puerto Rico

The political situation in Puerto Rico has become, in the last year, increasingly grave. The party fighting for the independence of the Island—it appears the most powerful and is considered the best organized—persists in provoking constant agitation in spite of the rigor with which the United States Government has repressed this movement.***

It is certain, in any case, that the United States can cope with any attempts at emancipation. But it is very difficult to relegate to the realm of ideas the rebellious spirit stirring the Island which causes serious prejudices for those involved and injures good relations with the Government at Washington.***

Absolute independence and creation of a new state appear as the only solution for peace in the Island.

—Editorial in *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, August 4, 1936.

❖ ❖ ❖

Magic

A new cult, known as Huang Sha Hui, or the Yellow Sand Society, has made its appearance at Miyun, a district in the Demilitarized Zone, according to Chinese press reports.

The leader of the cult is an old Taoist priest who often appears to his followers, mostly farmers, in an "eight-diagram" robe, wearing a sword. He teaches his adherents "magic" and incantations, claiming that he is immune to attack by gunfire.

Members of the cult clashed with a group of so-called "international police" led by one Ma on July 6 and succeeded in defeating them. On hearing of the incident the Japanese at Kupeikow sent a detachment of troops to Miyun ***to suppress the cult.

—*China Weekly Chronicle*, July 2, 1936.



SOME DAY: Mussolini ridicules the idea of perpetual peace as absurd.

—*Birmingham Gazette*

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Aug. 11--September 10

DOMESTIC

AUGUST 11—Pacific Coast Employers' Association requests union officials negotiate new terms before expiration of longshoremen contracts September 30.

President Roosevelt redrafts PWA rules to permit municipalities wider scope in obtaining skilled craftsmen.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America appropriate $100,000 to organization fund of Committee for Industrial Organization.

District of Columbia grand jury returns indictment of former Lieut. Commander John Semer Farnsworth; Japanese officers Yosiyuki Itimiya and Okira Yamaki named as co-conspirators.

Tennessee Electric Company draws restraining order from Chancellor T. Lou Foust of Chattanooga prohibiting sale of $8,000,000 public power bonds and any move to begin municipal power distribution plant by city of Chattanooga.

AUGUST 12—The La Follette Senate Committee investigating labor spying, strikebreaking agencies and other interferences with rights of labor, begins Nation-wide drive; subpoenas duces tecum issued in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Atlanta, and New Orleans.

AAA considers unlimited planting of corn and wheat for 1937 to offset current drought damage.

National Union for Social Justice under Father Coughlin convenes at Cleveland.

AUGUST 13—Roosevelt Administration announces no new taxes for 1937; reports increasing yields from existing levies.

Germany lifts Government subsidies from exports to United States.

President Green of A. F. of L. states that unions affiliated with Committee for Industrial Organization were suspended for breach of union charters and for forming a dual labor organization.

AUGUST 14—AAA prepares plan for farm relief designed to stabilize farmers' incomes and prevent violent fluctuations in consumer food prices; plan will be submitted to next Congress.

United States Treasury Department lifts all countervailing duties on imports from Germany.

WPA allots $4,288,377 for flood control in Pennsylvania, Maine, Massachusetts, and West Virginia.

Social Security Board completes one-year tenure; reports 1,000,000 individuals receiving grants in various forms.

Ten thousand persons view public hanging of Negro at Owensboro, Kentucky; storm scaffold for souvenirs, ripping off death mask.

AUGUST 15—WPA announces it will complete 506 airport projects at cost of $71,540,999.

Delegates to Union for Social Justice convention endorse William Lemke for President of U. S. by vote of 8,153 to 1; lone dissenter ejected.

AUGUST 16—United States Navy opens bids for six submarines and twelve destroyers.

A. F. of L. reports 1,320,000 new homes yearly for ten years as outstanding need of country.

AUGUST 17—Relief officials predict 2,000,000 farmers and families in drought area will be on relief with closing of WPA projects in winter.

PWA urges long-term housing program involving rentals not to exceed $6 a room per month.

AUGUST 18—AAA expands livestock purchase program to include market stabilization operations in sheep and lambs, because of drought.

PWA projects halted to await clarification of new policy by President Roosevelt.

AUGUST 19—Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* refuses to treat with Newspaper Guild on discharge of two Guild members; suspends publication charging outside strike interference.

National Industrial Conference Board reports a $4,000,000,000 national income gain in 1935 over 1934.

AUGUST 20—Federal Relief costs increased $100,000,000 by drought damage.

AUGUST 21—American communists riot on the Hapag Lloyd liner *Bremen;* protest against Nazi interference in Spanish civil war.

American Federation of Teachers' convention at Philadelphia votes boycott of all agencies of communication under Hearst control.

Twenty-two Black Legion terrorists indicted at Detroit for plotting armed uprising to take over Federal Government.

AUGUST 22—Governor Landon, Republican Presidential candidate, speaking in Pennsylvania pleads for return to American way of life.

Governor Floyd B. Olson of Minnesota, dies.

AUGUST 23—Cunard-White Star liner *Queen Mary* sets new Atlantic speed mark for western crossing.

War Department declares its opposition to nationalization of munitions factories on grounds that such a plan would fail in time of war.

Secretary Wallace plans seed-corn loans in drought regions.

Hjalmar Petersen succeeds Floyd B. Olson as Governor of Minnesota.

American Newspaper Guild rests case upon asserted legal right to organize under Wagner-Connery Labor Relations Act; publication of Seattle *Post Intelligencer,* Hearst newspaper, is still suspended.

Five more Black Legion terrorists indicted at Detroit for attempted murder.

AUGUST 25—President Roosevelt names William C. Bullitt, Ambassador to Russia, to be Ambassador to France, succeeding Jesse Isidor Straus, who resigned because of ill health.

Navy Department awards contracts for the construction of ten 1,500-ton destroyers and five 1,300-ton submarines.

War Department allots $11,981,964 for flood-control projects in the North Atlantic, South Atlantic and Ohio River divisions under the Emergency Appropriation Act passed this year.

Management of the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* calls on public to suppress American Newspaper Guild strike.

President Roosevelt reported considering a world peace conference of rulers if reelected.

AUGUST 26—Federal survey shows ample food supply for nation despite drought losses.

Governor Landon assails President Roosevelt for extravagance.

AUGUST 27—General Motors begins decentralization program; to build assembly factory at Linden, New Jersey.

George H. Dern, Secretary of War, dies.

Morris L. Cooke, head of drought committee, warns President Roosevelt that great plains area is turning into desert.

American Bar Association convention at Boston refuses to endorse Federal Child Labor amendment.

AUGUST 28—Department of Agriculture reports farmers' cash incomes in July was $735,000,000—the largest total for any month since 1929.

American Bar Association meeting blocks attempt to introduce reports denouncing New Deal.

AUGUST 30—Charles P. Howard, president of International Typographical Union, proposes rank-and-file referendum in A. F. of L. to settle C.I.O. quarrel.

AUGUST 31—Senate inquiry begun into the activities of Carnegie-Illinois and Jones-Laughlin Steel Companies of Pennsylvania, charged with coercion of employees.

Rust Cotton Picker demonstrates high efficiency in public test at Stoneville, Miss.

Management of Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* challenges constitutionality of the Wagner Labor Relations Act and jurisdiction of Regional Labor Relations Board.

SEPTEMBER 1—David Dubinsky, president of International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, an affiliate of the Committee for Industrial Organization, resigns as vice-president of A. F. of L. and as member of executive council.

President Roosevelt predicts gross Federal deficit for fiscal year 1936-37 of $2,096,996,300.

Gas and coke workers surrender federal charters to A. F. of L.; join United Mine Workers of America under John. L. Lewis.

SEPTEMBER 2—Department of State begins investigation of four steamship companies charged with violation of neutrality in Spanish civil war.

United States notifies Great Britain it will keep in service 40,000 tons of over-age destroyers in excess of the 1930 London Naval Treaty total.

SEPTEMBER 3—Secretary of Treasury Morgenthau announces Government will maintain $1,000,000,000 balance against emergencies.

President Roosevelt and Governor Landon meet at Des Moines; engage in nonpolitical talks on drought relief.

SEPTEMBER 4—President Roosevelt extends merit system in Government service to include the Home Owners Loan Corporation and subsidiaries.

President Roosevelt announces that the credit of the nation is on "a sounder basis than ever before in its history."

SEPTEMBER 5—Ten international unions composing one third of membership of the A. F. of L. are deprived of the privileges and benefits of federation affiliation because of refusal to withdraw from the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The Alabama Power Company and the Texas Utilities Company challenge, before the United States Supreme Court, the constitutionality of Public Works Administration loans for the construction of municipally-owned systems.

Mrs. Beryl Markham, English aviatrix, in attempted flight from England to New York, is forced down in Nova Scotia.

SEPTEMBER 6—New York stores combine to resist rise in milk price.

Secretary of Labor Perkins reports 1,000,-000 men have been returned to work during past year.

SEPTEMBER 7—Secretary of State Hull opens Third World Power Conference with warning that war is imminent.

SEPTEMBER 8—President Roosevelt announces contemplated reform of Government; many major departments to be abolished or consolidated.

Relief agencies expended total of $276,-016,564 during month of July.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics reports farm taxes reduced by 36 percent since 1929.

SEPTEMBER 9—Secretary of Navy Claude A. Swanson announces a naval building program to include two new 35,000-ton battleships.

SEPTEMBER 10—State of New Jersey contemplates suit in U. S. Supreme Court to enjoin collection of payroll taxes under Federal Social Security Act.

Harry L. Hopkins, Works Progress Administrator, reports that 500,000 farm families in drought area will require relief until Spring.

President Roosevelt, speaking at Charlotte, N. C., asserts that depression is conquered.

National Labor Relations Board overrules Hearst's attempt to show *Post-Intelligencer* strike as result of paper's attacks on communism and radicalism.

INTERNATIONAL

AUGUST 11—Herr von Ribbentrop appointed German Ambassador to London.

Great Britain agrees to stand by ancient treaties with Portugal.

AUGUST 16—Olympic games concluded.

AUGUST 17—Japanese delegates to Institute of Pacific Relations conference at Yosemite, speaking with approval of Tokyo, urge treaty guaranteeing independence and neutrality of Philippines.

AUGUST 18—A. V. Alexander, former Labor Lord of British Admiralty, warns Japan against imperialistic expansion at I.P.R. conference.

AUGUST 19—At I.P.R. conference, Russians allege Japan condones policy of force in the Orient; charge denied.

In Japan, prospects for agreement with Great Britain fade.

Great Britain refuses League Mandates Commission information on Arab revolt in Palestine.

AUGUST 20—Germany, Poland, Austria, Hungary, and Albania to send military missions to Italian war maneuvers on August 25.

French army maneuvers, divided between German, Spanish, and Italian frontiers, commence.

At I.P.R. conference: French delegation urges world conferences on arms and economic problems; Japanese delegate foresees possibility of a socialistic Japan; Japanese and Chinese reach unexpected agreement, urging cooperation in North China.

AUGUST 21—Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese philosopher, tells I.P.R. conference war is only method of settling differences between China and Japan.

Five years of broken diplomatic relations between Bolivia and Paraguay ended at Chaco peace conference.

AUGUST 23—Admiral Horthy, Hungarian Regent, plans meeting with Hitler to discuss German-Austro-Hungarian front against communism.

AUGUST 24—Germany increases term of compulsory military service to 2 years, reestablishing Germany as greatest military power in Europe; Russian rearmament given as reason.

AUGUST 25—Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Reich Finance Minister, visits France.

At I.P.R. conference ex-Foreign Minister Yoshizawa admits mistakes in Japanese foreign policy; claims China also guilty.

Two Japanese killed by Chinese mobs in Szechwan Province.

AUGUST 26—Killing of Japanese in Szechwan looms as grave Sino-Japanese issue.

Russians and Japanese clash on Manchurian border.

AUGUST 27—Anglo-Egyptian treaty concluded; concessions granted to Egyptian nationalists, but essence of British power retained.

AUGUST 28—General Rydz-Smigly visits France with members of Polish General Staff.

U. S. urged to abandon isolation by A. V. Alexander, British delegate to I.P.R. conference. In secret meeting, Australia and New Zealand state that they will follow Great Britain into war, Canada asserts that she will not.

AUGUST 29—Propaganda chiefs of Germany and Italy meet to discuss anti-communist campaign.

Admiral Kobayashi appointed Governor General of Formosa, in accordance with "southward policy" of Japanese navy.

AUGUST 30—Mussolini reiterates Italy's desire for peace, but declares that Fascists can mobilize 8,000,000 men.

General Rydz-Smigly welcomed to French army maneuvers; possible defection of Rumania may persuade French to grant Polish loan to insure allegiance.

AUGUST 31—Dr. Goebbels asserts that both

Italy and Germany are seeking peace through might.

First World Youth Congress to Prevent War and Organize Peace opens at Geneva.

Japanese charge secret agreement between Chiang Kai-shek and communists.

SEPTEMBER 2—Former Prime Minister Lloyd George visits Germany to study unemployment.

Japanese controlled forces in Manchuria estimated at 300,000.

SEPTEMBER 4—Russia warns Japan against violations of Soviet frontier.

SEPTEMBER 5—League of Nations to consider return of Italy and dropping of Ethiopa.

Japan warns China that mob killing of Japanese must cease.

SEPTEMBER 7—Premier Stoyadinovitch of Yugoslavia leaves for Rumania; Rumano-Yugoslav front against Czech-Russian alliance predicted.

SEPTEMBER 10—France to negotiate with Turkey for mutual assistance treaty.

FOREIGN

Spanish Civil War

AUGUST 11—Rebel forces receive thirty-two German and Italian war planes; Alcazar fortress at Toledo enters twenty-second day of siege with 1,200 Rebel defenders.

U. S. declares strictly neutral position.

AUGUST 12—Generals Goded and Burriel executed at Barcelona; Loyalists report defeat of Rebels at Irun in northern drive.

AUGUST 13—Rebels damage San Sebastian in aerial bombardment; Malaga objective of Rebel drive in south.

AUGUST 14—Rebels demand full surrender of Madrid régime; Loyalists gain slightly in the north.

AUGUST 15—Madrid Government socializes many industries; Rebels consolidate Badajoz and make gains at Irun.

British Government warns against trading with either side in civil war; three British planes destined for Rebels forced down in France.

AUGUST 16—Rebels advance on Malaga from two directions; advance on San Sebastian; Madrid Government seizes church funds.

AUGUST 17—Rebel warships shell San Sebastian and Irun; Italian sailors in Seville welcomed as Rebel allies.

Madrid Government reports gains; Loyalists intrenched on Island of Majorca.

Great Britain detains five planes destined for Spanish Rebels.

AUGUST 18—Italy threatens to invade Spain with air force if France continues to aid Loyalists; United States silent on plea from Uruguay to act as peace mediator.

AUGUST 19—Great Britain bans all arms exports to Spain; Italy delays neutrality accord; French fascists collect funds and arms for the Rebels.

Catalonia moves toward secession; all industries socialized.

Great Britain urges U. S. act as mediator.

AUGUST 20—Germany orders warships in Spanish waters forcibly resist search of vessels; U. S. formally declines Uruguay's bid to mediate in Spain.

Report Mexico sells munitions to Loyalists; later confirmed.

Loyalists shell Palma, Majorca; Rebels make gains in south.

AUGUST 21—Rebels lose ground at Cordoba; Loyalists repulse early drive on Madrid.

Italy accepts French proposal for neutrality in Spain; Germany accuses Russia of propagandizing in Spain via radio.

AUGUST 22—Rebel drive reaches Toledo; Loyalists capitulate to British demands and end indiscriminate search of ships.

U. S. Shipping Board warns ships obligated to Government that they must comply with the moral embargo against arms shipments to either side.

AUGUST 23—General Franco, Rebel leader, prepares to capture Madrid in five days; Rebels report air raid on Madrid; Loyalists claim victories.

Madrid Government takes control of 600 industries

AUGUST 24—Germany and the Soviets forbid arms exports to Spain; Madrid assures the United States Government that it will respect property rights.

Rebels bomb Irun and San Sebastian; Loyalists attack Granada.

AUGUST 25—Rebel forces claim victories at Guijoza and Aragon; Loyalists report gains on island of Majorca.

French and Russian aviators reported active in Madrid air force.

AUGUST 26—Rebels defeated at Irun; Catalonian Socialists and anarchists refuse Soviet régime.

U. S. will not recognize Loyalists' blockade unless it is effective.

AUGUST 27—Rebels again defeated at Irun; bomb Madrid, causing slight damage.

AUGUST 28—Rebels plan fascist dictatorship; will hold plebiscite on the return of King Alfonso; attack Irun; claim victories before Madrid.

Italy embargoes all arms shipments; British labor supports full neutrality.

AUGUST 29—Rebel planes bomb Madrid.

Argentine Ambassador to Spain invites eleven European nations to humanize war; Pope rallied from illness by reports of religious revival in Spain.

AUGUST 30—Rebels threaten Irun in three-way attack; Loyalist artillery batters Alcazar stronghold.

President Roosevelt protests to Loyalists and Rebels on attempted bombing of American warship *Kane*.

AUGUST 31—Secretary of State Hull prepares to recall American warships from Spanish waters.

SEPTEMBER 1—Irun held by Loyalists despite fierce Rebel attack; prepare to dynamite Alcazar fortress at Toledo.

Both Loyalist and Rebel spokesmen deny responsibility for bombing American warship; German Government would empower Great Britain to enforce neutrality.

SEPTEMBER 2—Fall of Irun imminent as Rebels attack; General Franco speeds drive in the south.

SEPTEMBER 3—Italy sends warships to Spain when citizen is killed at Barcelona; Rebels push attack at Irun.

SEPTEMBER 4—Rebels capture Irun; Loyalists evacuate city after firing it.

New Cabinet formed at Madrid composed of Socialists, Communists, and Marxists.

SEPTEMBER 5—Rebels occupy Irun and adjacent territory; Loyalists repulse Rebels in south.

SEPTEMBER 6—Madrid Government reports defeat of Rebels at Talavera; Rebel columns advance on San Sebastian.

Rebel fascists issue manifesto asking abolition of capitalism.

Premier Blum of France ignores workers' plea to aid Madrid Government.

SEPTEMBER 7—Loyalists in San Sebastian offer to surrender city if full amnesty is promised defenders.

SEPTEMBER 8—Rebels close in on San Sebastian.

General Franco admits to U. S. that a Rebel plane may have bombed the American warship *Kane*.

Delegates from twenty-three countries gather at London to plan strict neutrality in Spanish civil war.

SEPTEMBER 9—Truce halts battle for San Sebastian.

Italy and Germany anger neutral powers by refusing to submit arms embargo data.

SEPTEMBER 10—Rebels attack San Sebastian, ending truce; Madrid receives 5,000 Catalonian reinforcements in exchange for gold.

U. S. orders warships withdrawn from Spanish waters; British trade unions support full neutrality.

Australia

AUGUST 18—Philip Collier, known as Australia's most able labor leader, resigns Premiership of West Australia.

SEPTEMBER 10—Australian budget shows surplus, despite largest defense estimates in history.

Austria

AUGUST 24—Anti-Nazi coup by Heimwehr feared, but denied by Heimwehr leaders. Catholic Storm Troopers and police ordered to maintain a "state of alarm."

Bolivia

AUGUST 20—All Bolivians ordered by military Government to join employers' or employees' syndicates.

AUGUST 29—Colonel Toro's military-socialist Government announces that its 53-point socialist platform will have to wait for balanced budget.

Brazil

AUGUST 18—Liborio Justo, son of the President of Argentina, seized as militant communist.

AUGUST 25—Land grant of 2,410,000 acres to Japan canceled.

Canada

AUGUST 17—Thirty-nine-year Liberal rule in Quebec broken; new Government contains strong French nationalist and radical-fascist elements.

AUGUST 28—Bill to introduce social credit filed in Alberta.

Chile

AUGUST 18—*Patria* publishes news that soviet South American headquarters moved to Concepcion following retirement from Montevideo and expulsion from Buenos Aires.

China

AUGUST 18—Canton Government sends appeal to remaining rebel Generals in Kwangsi to submit or be expelled by military force.

AUGUST 24—As peace missions fail, war with Kwangsi thought inevitable.

Communist reported moving north from Szechwan into Kansu in attempt to unite two widely separated Red armies against the Government.

AUGUST 30—Opposition to National Government rising in Kwangsi, Shantung, and Szechwan.

SEPTEMBER 8—Peace with anti-Japanese Kwangsi precarious.

Czechoslovakia

AUGUST 19—President Benes states that Czechoslovakia is willing to make utmost concessions to minorities, but that she would reject external attempts to interfere in her domestic affairs. Denies that Russian alliance aims at stirring up revolution in Europe.

France

AUGUST 18—New regime of Bank of France inaugurated; Governor Labeyrie warns workers that some of their demands may have to be resisted in the general interest.

SEPTEMBER 7—New arms budget to enlarge Army and Navy, hasten mechanization, and double air force.

SEPTEMBER 8—Struggles between Leftists, demanding Government intervention in Spain, and Rightists threaten political crisis.

SEPTEMBER 9—Administrative committee of General Confederation of Labor breaks with Communists over neutrality.

Germany

AUGUST 19—Captain Fuerstner, non-Aryan constructor and organizer of Olympic village, mysteriously killed.

AUGUST 20—Fuerstner's death revealed as suicide over dismissal from Army. Army heads eulogize him.

AUGUST 22—Confessional opposition within German Protestant Church declares open warfare on Nazi neo-paganism; campaign to open with manifesto to be read in all confessional churches in Germany.

AUGUST 23—Communism as world menace to be subject of Nazi party congress in Nuremberg on September 3.

AUGUST 28—Hitler suspends trial of Catholic monks; Catholic church indorses anti-bolshevik policy, although condemning neo-paganism.

SEPTEMBER 3—Fourth Reich Congress of Germans Abroad attended by 5,000 representatives of Nazi foreign organizations.

SEPTEMBER 6—National Socialist Congress to see Army display; Lloyd George, Pierre Laval and possibly Mussolini to attend; representatives of Austria and Little Entente to be present for first time.

SEPTEMBER 8—Hitler asserts that he has restored "full arms sovereignty" to Germany.

SEPTEMBER 9—In speech to Nazi congress, Hitler disavows war but claims right to colonies.

SEPTEMBER 10—Virulent anti-bolshevik campaign initiated.

Great Britain

AUGUST 25—Cabinet meeting adjourned, Ministers finding international situation undisturbing.

AUGUST 26—Proprietor and printer of *The Fascist* to be tried for libels on Jews.

SEPTEMBER 3—Army maneuvers called off, crack regiment being sent to Palestine to enforce stronger measures.

Irish Free State

AUGUST 18—President de Valera's policies endorsed in Wexford by-election; Cosgraveite, Separatist, and Labor candidates decisively defeated.

AUGUST 23—General Owen O'Duffy, leader of Blue shirts, reenters political life in crusade against Spanish Popular Front.

Palestine

AUGUST 16—New outbreak in Jerusalem raises number of riot victims since April 19th to 66.

SEPTEMBER 5—Arab Supreme Committee decides to continue Arab strike, now in twenty-first week.

Rumania

AUGUST 29—Foreign Minister Titulescu dropped from cabinet; reported to have been threatened by fascist "Iron Guard."

SEPTEMBER 1—Hand of German Gestapo seen in Titulescu's dismissal.

Russia

AUGUST 17—Trotskyites Zinoviev and Kamenev to be tried by military tribunal of Supreme Court.

AUGUST 18—Sixteen Trotskyite prisoners vie with each other in claiming complicity in anti-Soviet plot; Trotsky claims trial "frame-up."

AUGUST 20—Trotsky emerges as real conspirator, but Zinoviev assumes full guilt, claiming to have become a fascist.

AUGUST 22—Mikhail Tomsky, head of State Publishing House, commits suicide after being named by prisoners on trial for counter-revolutionary activities.

AUGUST 24—Zinoviev, Kamenev, and 14 fellow-defendants condemned to "highest form of social defense—shooting" for conspiring to assassinate Stalin.

AUGUST 25—Trotsky, in Norway, demands trial as a terrorist in Danish, French, or Norwegian court.

AUGUST 28—Trotsky interned in Norway. Moscow asks Norway to expel Trotsky.

SEPTEMBER 2—Trotsky taken to remote retreat outside Oslo in Norway.

AUTHORS *in this ISSUE:*

John L. Lewis (*Towards Industrial Democracy*) is the militant president of the United Mine Workers of America, and, more recently, head of the Committee for Industrial Organization, which has split the American Federation of Labor. Time, and the issues he represents, may make him a historic figure.

❖ ❖ ❖

John Raymond Hand (*Better Unorganized*) writes: "I am just one of the common herd of steel workers. I am not an official or foreman and I own no stock in the company. I am just an ordinary machine operator in a strip mill and my antagonism to the union is from principle."

❖ ❖ ❖

William Green (*The Majority Must Rule*) is president of the now divided American Federation of Labor. A leading American figure for many years, it was once said of him that he possessed more power than the President of the United States.

❖ ❖ ❖

William A. McGarry (*As Employers See It*) is a well-known writer on American business topics. His articles have appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*, among other publications.

❖ ❖ ❖

Elmer F. Cope (*We Shall Be Free*) was a skilled laborer in the steel mills at the age of fifteen, following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather. Now thirty-three, he has worked intermittently in the industry for eighteen years. "I graduated from the Republic Steel Corporation without a degree," he writes. "On three occasions I escaped and attended college, having received degrees from Swarthmore College and Western Reserve University and graduated from Brookwood Labor College. I am actively engaged in organizing steel workers into an industrial union."

❖ ❖ ❖

Norton Webb (*State Capitalism*) has spent twelve journalistic years in Europe since the war, in which he served. He was deputy correspondent for *The Manchester Guardian* in Paris, and, in this country, special correspondent for *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh. He contributes frequently to the *Christian Science Monitor, The Boston Transcript, Barron's* and other publications, writing principally on financial and international affairs.

❖ ❖ ❖

Harold Fields (*America's Emigrants*) is executive director of the National League for American Citizenship. He is social science chairman in one of New York City's largest high schools, and has written several textbooks on economics.

❖ ❖ ❖

W. Walter Crotch (*France Outbluffed*) is editor-in-chief of the International Press Bureau, Paris. His last contribution to CURRENT HISTORY (*Eyes on Danzig*) appeared in September.

❖ ❖ ❖

Edward Levinson (*Norman Thomas*) is an old associate of the Socialist leader, and at present labor editor of the *New York Post*. His first book *I Break Strikes—The Technique of Pearl L. Bergoff*, published last fall, was instrumental in bringing about a Senatorial investigation of the strikebreaking industry. Another article by Mr. Levinson, *The Right to Break Strikes*, will appear in CURRENT HISTORY shortly.

❖ ❖ ❖

Herbert Harris (*That Third Party*) appeared in the July CURRENT HISTORY with *Madison and the Constitution*. He is a former newspaper man, and was research director of the New York City's Fusion Party.

❖ ❖ ❖

Harry N. Howard (*Turkey Goes Industrial*) is a member of the Department of History at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, although now teaching temporarily at Indiana University. He is author of *The Partition of Turkey, a Diplomatic History, 1913-1923*, and, in collaboration with Professor Robert J. Kerner of the University of California, wrote *The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente, 1930-1935.*

Protect Teeth . . . for Health

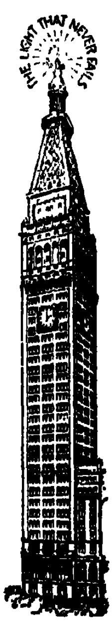


"No one can see where that tooth is filled, Ruth. But we wouldn't have had so much trouble if you had been here six months ago."

HEALTH depends a good deal upon sound teeth. While your daughter is growing into womanhood or your son into manhood, during the critical adolescent years, your family physician is an invaluable health counsellor. But, he must have an able ally—your dentist.

Good teeth do not just happen. They are living parts of the body built by food. They need the elements contained in eggs, milk, meats, green vegetables, fruits and cereals, but in addition they should be cared for regularly because, unlike most other parts of the body, they cannot heal themselves when injured. Besides brushing your teeth carefully at least twice a day, choose some hard and "crunchy" foods that give the teeth and gums real work to do.

If you would save a great deal of needless trouble and expense, have your children visit the dentist every six months in order that small cavities, of which they are unaware, may be discovered and treated before they can do any real damage. The dentist will also encourage systematic and correct toothbrushing in order to lay a foundation for lasting health habits.



Sometimes teeth need to be examined from the inside as well as from the outside. A tooth which looks sound and which has neither ached nor shown decay may yet hide unsuspected infection. With X-ray photographs your dentist can discover whether or not you have any tooth infected at the root which needs treatment.

A diseased tooth is a menace to health. Poison from it may damage vital organs; may cause eye, ear, nerve, joint or digestive trouble, or any one of a long list of serious ailments. Write for the Metropolitan's free booklet, "Good Teeth," which tells many things that you should know about the care of your teeth and gums. Address Booklet Department 1036-K.

Keep Healthy—Be Examined Regularly

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

FREDERICK H. ECKER, Chairman of the Board ~ ONE MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. ~ LEROY A. LINCOLN, President

—Speaking of Travel—

Americans Cannot Always Act Part of "Roman While in Rome"

WHETHER the American traveler likes it or not, he will find that the rest of the world is anxious to make him feel at home, literally speaking, in his own language. He may travel with the express purpose of capturing the native atmosphere of strange places, but will discover that he might just as well have brought the United States with him on his trip, along with his baggage and passport. For foreign tourist officials go to unbelievable lengths to provide the American with American atmosphere. They direct him to American hotels where even the bellboys speak the American language. They show him standardized American amusements and even go so far as to provide him with that fourth partner for bridge. These are obstacles before any traveler who would be a Roman while in Rome.

But those hardy travelers who insist on foregoing being at home abroad will have to reconcile themselves to abrupt changes of customs and food. There are few Americans, for example, who can be sold on the idea of live, squirming insects as a substitute for apple pie after the evening meal. Yet in China, Americans who are invited to any of the dinner functions given by the upper social strata, discover after a three- or four-hour meal that their dessert is a multi-legged crawling object of deep brown color. One familiar with this particular dish knows that the trick is to reach into the bug-bowl with his chopsticks, grab a wriggling insect, pop it into his mouth, and crush it before it has a chance to crawl around. Since it is bad form to leave out a course, many Americans have to resort to sleight of hand to dispose of the insect surreptitiously while yet giving the appearance of eating it.

Watermelon pits comprise another Chinese dinner dish which add to the discomforts of first-time visitors. Through years of long practice, the Chinese can perform the multiple operations of opening and chewing many of the seeds at the same time. The pit yields its meat only when opened in a certain manner, and Americans who have mastered the trick say that eating watermelon seeds is a definite art.

The Durain

In the Malay Archipelago, one may be introduced to the *durain*, a dusty colored and bristly fruit slightly smaller than a baby grapefruit. The *durain* is said to have a pleasant taste, but there are few, even among the native inhabitants, who can be persuaded actually to eat it. For the fruit is prohibitively odorous. The *durain*, more than any other plant or even animal, is most repulsive to the respiratory organs of man. As it ripens, its seeds inside turn black. When the fruit reaches full growth, it can effect the rout of an entire community, penetrating everything, even closed windows and doors.

The *durain* is seldom served at dinners of importance. At these functions, distinguished visitors eat Japan's choicest delicacies other than the strong-scented fruit. In this, they are aided by geisha girls. The geisha girl, who in most cases speaks English, kneels directly opposite each guest and assists him with each dish. She helps serve *sake*, an alcoholic beverage which the Japanese drink much in the same manner and quantity as Americans with their coffee. Part of the custom in drinking *sake* entails standing up. This supposedly simple ceremony is often the despair of most strangers, for one's feet are hopelessly inactive after two hours of squatting in the customary manner.

Japanese accommodations for visitors are of the finest. But if one should choose to room at one of the old hotels usually patronized for the most part by native Japanese, he may find one discomfort: the bed may be too small. He may be surprised to learn, too, that few hotels or even homes have locks on each door. The Japanese have little trouble with house burglars and see

little sense in contrivances which indicate distrust or suspicion of one's neighbors. Hotel doors are unlocked and during the night attendants may enter to close the windows if they think it is too cool.

Moros and Spitoons

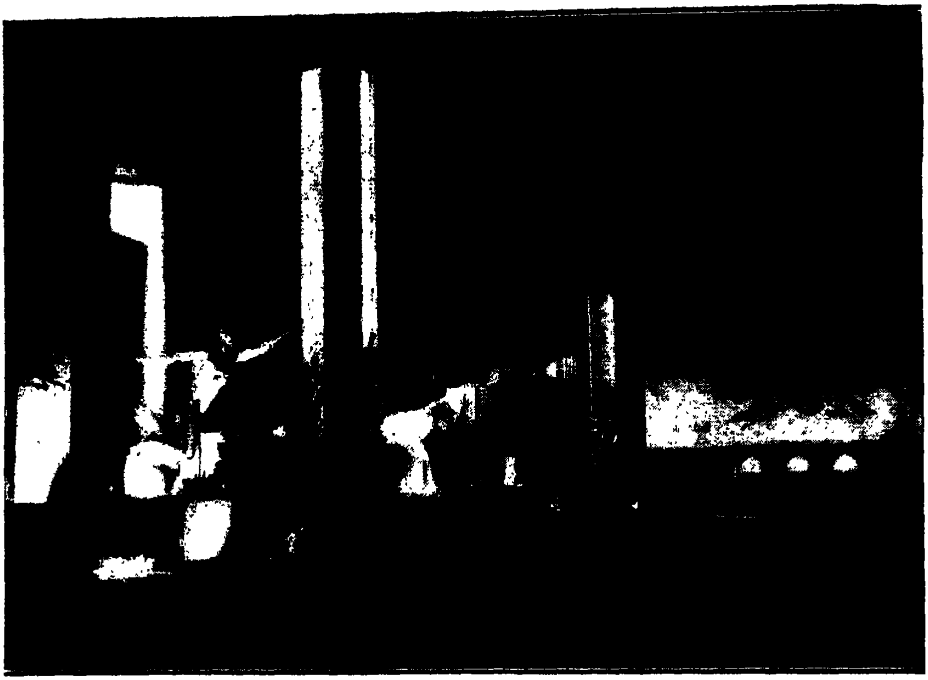
This system of unlocked doors and freedom is in marked contrast to the native laws of the Moros, one of the races of the Philippine Islands. Should one of the inhabitants, or even a visitor, complain that his home or room was entered, the guilty party is immediately fined three spitoons. Spitoons are prized highly by the Moros, and few are willing to risk losing any of the coveted objects. The Moros may be fined three spitoons for cursing, no matter what the provocation, and the Moro fisherman is perhaps mindful of this even after a luckless day. (Incidentally, the approved fish-catching scheme of the Moros is to poison the waters).

But this is not the only instance where money is valued less highly than certain goods. In Ethiopia, before Mussolini's allegedly civilizing influence, a visitor found that the ordinary needle was accepted more gladly than money as a medium of exchange. Shopping became extremely simplified when visitors flourished cushions of needles.

Other customs in Ethiopia were equally surprising. Visitors hiring guides and donkeys were often surprised at the ceremony which ensued if a donkey happened to die before the party returned. The guide promptly severed the animal's tail as proof to the owner that it was not sold or traded. Visitors of rank in Addis Ababa were compelled by the government to accept an escort of from three to more than one hundred men, depending upon the rank of the individual. A distinguished guest could not walk fifty feet outside his door without an entourage falling in behind him.

Big Meals at Java

To Americans of robust appetites, the Dutch island of Java is the most inviting, perhaps, of all foreign lands. The biggest meals in the world are served in Java. The workday is broken up for several hours to permit employers and employees to enjoy a noon-day lunch, usually a twenty-course meal. The *pièce de résistance* is a dish called *rijstafel,* served in a soup plate the size of a wash basin. More than a dozen



TEXAS CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS: Lighting pylon and statue at the end of the Esplanade of State reflecting basin. Murals of the Hall of Varied Industries are shown at right.

different foods, with gravies and powders, are poured into each basin and then stirred and squashed into sublimated hash. After *rijstafel*, the Dutch slowly pick themselves up, move over to nearby cots, and sleep.

❖ ❖ ❖

Here and There

A feature of the Texas Centennial Celebrations at Dallas is a French exhibit commemorating the Franco-Texan pioneer, Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle. Among the souvenirs of La Salle which the French Government is sending to the exhibition is a bronze copy of his medallion, which is affixed to the wall of the cathedral at Rouen, where La Salle was born; a painting of La Salle reaching the shores of Texas, and a seventeenth century portrait etching of the explorer from the Cabinet des Estampes. In addition, there are maps, sketches, and copies of old documents which La Salle helped to compile. After the celebrations, the exhibit will be presented by France to the State of Texas for inclusion in the Texas Historical Museum.

The Texas Centennial Celebrations have already attracted 3,000,000 visitors. The five million mark probably will be reached before the end of the year.

❖ ❖ ❖

A new air service from Aberdeen, Scotland, to Shetland, requiring only one hour and forty minutes, has just been inaugurated. It is now possible for business persons and tourists to leave Aberdeen in the morning, spend a day in the famous Shetland Isles, and return to Aberdeen for dinner. With the announcement that a new steamer service will connect the airport for the Hebrides, the Northern vacation lands of the Island settlements can be reached two ways from Aberdeen.

❖ ❖ ❖

Tourists who plan to take their motors cars to France will do well to equip their machines with yellow headlights. The Minister of Public Works has decided that yellow beams of light are less blinding on the road and ac-

cordingly has issued orders for the change. The discovery that yellow lights provide good vision and do not cause a state of temporary blindness among drivers is not new; numerous communities and municipalities throughout the States have illuminated their roadways and highways with the tinted bulbs.

◆ ◆ ◆

Vienna — old, tumble-down, romantic Vienna—is to have a face-lifting. The municipal fathers have decided that Vienna can be just as gay and colorful without a number of rickety and time-worn houses, and so have ordered wide demolition. Among the structures to be reduced to the scrap pile is the "Freihaus," a huge building erected in the seventeenth century. Here Mozart lived in a modest flat and composed most of his "Magic Flute" Symphony. Another famous Viennese landmark to be replaced is the old "Baerenmuehle." Its last major renovation was in the sixteenth century when it was converted from an old mill to an inn of great renown.

The World in Books

(*Continued from page 7*)

United States and the League of Nations in the controversy between China and Japan. The book makes the point that the United States cannot afford to ignore China in making any relations or agreements it may establish with Japan. It is desirable to develop a friendship or understanding with Nippon, but it is also essential, Mr. Stimson writes, that such a friendship does not in any way involve the sacrifice of friendship with China, nor cause any abrogation of treaties with other nations.

For China cannot be dominated or driven by an outside force, he contends, into an alien or undesired form of evolution. Hers is the most persistent national culture in the world, and its loss would be a blow which would directly affect the peace of her neighbors, including America.

Mr. Stimson's work, well documented, contains the full texts of the League Covenant, the Nine Power Treaty, the Pact of Paris, and the League recommendations on the Lytton Report. It is of definite value to all students of the Far East as well as to those who wish a clearer understanding of America's relations with Japan, China, and the League of Nations.

Adventure in the Pacific

Mr. Price spent for months among the 2,550 islands and reefs of Micronesia, extending 2,700 miles along, and 1,300 miles north of, the equator. The islands, which passed from Spanish to German, and finally, to Japanese control, provide a pavement for Nippon to some of the richest lands in the world—to the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, British Borneo, New Guinea, Australia. For Japan has more than an academic interest in the long string of beads that is Micronesia; the islands give her the most effective instrument of defense known to man—Nature. "No enemy, unfamiliar with the hiding places of cruisers, submarines, and aircraft," Mr. Price writes, "could hope to get through this labyrinth. Here are 2,550 hurdles in the way of any fleet bound for the China coast."

The author finds no evidence pointing to any breach of the terms of the mandate, but he sees Japanese penetration as an irresistible and inevitable process, affecting even the Philippines.

Pacific Adventure is vivid and compelling reporting, if not a profound contribution to anthropology or even economics. It does, however, throw a new and important light upon the workings of Japan's "manifest destiny."

Biography

Biography added two distinguished titles to its shelf last month with the publication of *Haig* by Duff Cooper (Doubleday, Doran, $4), and *Seventy Years of It* by Edward Alsworth Ross (Appleton, Century, $3).

If it had not been for major wars, most of the men whom the world chooses to recognize as great, would have been fated for comparatively obscure roles. The soft-spoken, reserved Douglas Haig, for example, might have walked quietly across the English scene with little of the recognition that was to come to him later, had not the circumstances of world conflict contrived to place him at the head of one of the greatest armies ever massed by any nation. But if the World War was to foist greatness upon Haig, it did nothing to change the man himself; he remained the same mild-mannered, modest English gentleman as before. Haig had none of the bluster, arrogance, or show of might that has been popularly identified with great soldiers, yet his soldiers respected him and fought all the harder for it.

But popular as Haig was with his men, he was not always able to command a unified following at home. Lloyd George thought of him as a "stupid soldier" and coud not reconcile himself to a man of Haig's type at the head of Great Britain's army. So vexatious, indeed, did the Prime Minister become that Haig wrote: "All would be easy, if one had only to deal with the Germans."

Mr. Cooper has not only provided his audience with an absorbing biography of Douglas Haig; he has written a history of the World War the historical importance of which is without question.

On December 12, 1866, Edward Alsworth Ross was born. Since that time, as he says in the title of his autobiography, he has had "seventy years of it."

"It", in Dr. Ross' case, has consisted of a life which has seen most of the world and the world's work. Dr. Ross, at present a professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, drew public attention to college professors long before Dr. Moley and Dr. Tugwell invited the sobriquet of "brain trust." When Dr. Ross returned from Russia after a study of the Soviet in 1919, President Wilson asked him for some material which would help him on the "perplexing Russian problem." Encouraged, Dr. Ross brought out two volumes: the *Russian Bolshevik Revolution*, and the *Russian Soviet Republic*; both of which are still recognized as standard works on the Soviet.

History of Florence

One of the most important events in the book world last month was publication of the monumental *History of Florence*, by Ferdinand Schevill (Harcourt, Brace, $5). Twenty years in the making, the *History of Florence* is without doubt one of the year's most significant contributions to historical literature.

The golden story of Florentine art and culture and even legend has not found as many chroniclers as the mine of material to be found in the Arno city would seem to warrant. But perhaps this very plethora of richness has frightened away historians who did not know just where to begin: indeed, there is little of definite value to date in the Florentine field with the exception of the works of Villari, Davidsohn, and Caggese, none of which were originally published in English. Professor Schevill, therefore, is something of a pioneer in this work.

The history of Florence is the story of genius and accomplishment in every field of human endeavor—in government, industry, literature, and art. This is a firmament which has produced a Michelangelo, the Medici, a Leonardo da Vinci, a Machiavelli, a Dante, as well as a Galileo and a Savonarola. For the Arno Commonwealth set the tempo for all Western civilization from the close of the middle ages to the beginning of the seventeenth century. During that period, the well of art and culture so nobly filled by the Florentine artists, writers, and thinkers has never run dry.

❖ ❖ ❖

Another literary historical work of note is the recent publication in one volume of Leon Trotsky's three-volume masterpiece under the title of *The History of the Russian Revolution* (Simon and Schuster, $2.98). Long after the notorious exile's part as a vital figure in the Russian Revolution will be blurred or even forgotten, Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* will still be accepted as the standard work on the subject. Whether Trotsky will make his mark in history as an outstanding figure must depend upon the perspective that only time can give. But time has already established the greatness of his greatest work; there is every indication that it will continue to gain in stature.

Reference

The first of two volumes of the annual *Documents on International Affairs 1935* (Oxford, $6) has made its appearance. Edited by Stephen Heald, and issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the present volume is a reference work of the highest importance. Dealing with Germany and Europe, the work contains a full record of relations between Germany and Europe leading up to the German denunciation of the Locarno Pact and of the demilitarization clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Its value is enhanced by an Addendum of the documents originally published in the British Blue Book on "Diplomatic discussions directed towards securing an European settlement."

November 1936 Price 25 Cents

WHICH WAY, BRITAIN?

By Reinhold Niebuhr

INTERVENTION IN SPAIN

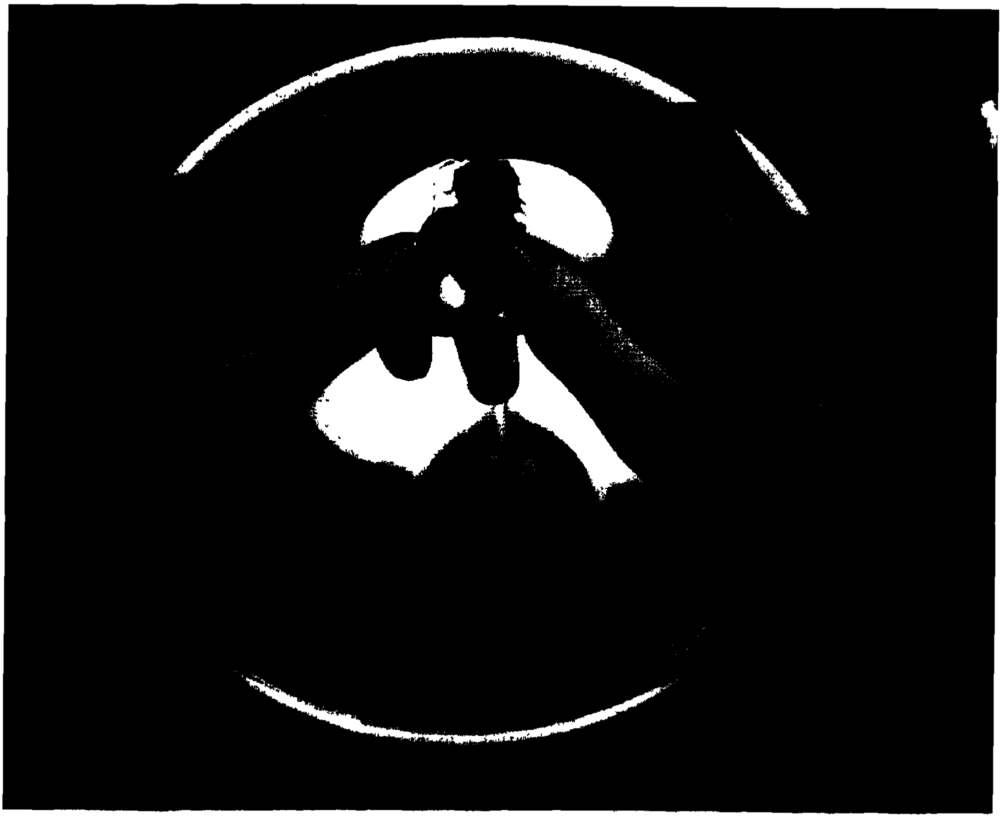
By Ludwig Lore

MEXICO THE INCREDIBLE

By Maurice Halperin

OTHER ARTICLES—LOG OF MAJOR CURRENTS
THEY SAY—CHRONOLOGY

PUBLISHED BY CURRENT HISTORY INCORPORATED



How SCIENCE Makes Good Eggs Better

VITAMIN D potency increased tenfold, taste improved, shell strong and perfect. Superior eggs—and more of them—because the poultry raiser has systematically treated his flock with ultraviolet light. More and better milk, healthier cows, a lower bacteria count—also the result of ultraviolet treatment. These are benefits which are passed on to you in the form of better-quality food products.

Superior vegetables for your table—earlier, sturdier plants are produced by electric sterilization and heating of the soil. Incandescent lighting stimulates and controls plant growth. X-ray treatment of seeds and bulbs is producing new and improved varieties of plants. These and other new movements in agriculture are increasing the certainty of a high-quality food supply.

In these movements General Electric is cooperating with many agricultural laboratories and farm experts. Some of these developments would have been impracticable without earlier G-E research, for from the Research Laboratory, in Schenectady, came the necessary tools for investigation and application of its results.

In every field of productive endeavor, G-E research is contributing to the progress toward higher standards of living

GENERAL ELECTRIC

Current HISTORY

For November

M. E. Tracy
Publisher

Leonard M. Leonard
Assistant to the Publisher

John C. Casman
General Manager

SPECIAL ARTICLES

REGULAR FEATURES

Current History, Volume XLV. No. 2. November, 1936. Published Monthly by Current History, Inc., at 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy; $3 a year; two years $5; three years $7; Canada, 75c a year additional; foreign $1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new address. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois. Entered in Canada as second-class matter.

THE WORLD
IN BOOKS

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Intelligence in Politics	Max Ascoli	Norton	$2.50
Mainland	Gilbert Seldes	Scribners	$3.00
Vital Peace	Henry Wickham Steed	Macmillan	$2.75
Spain in Revolt	Harry Gannes Theodore Repard	Knopf	$2.00
Civil War in Spain	Felix Morrow	Pioneer	$0.15
War Memoirs of David Lloyd George (*fifth volume*)	David Lloyd George	Little, Brown	$3.00
Memoirs of Count Bernstorff	Count J. C. von Bernstorff	Random House	$3.50
The War in Outline	Captain Liddell Hart	Random House	$2.00
Three Worlds	Carl Van Doren	Harpers	$3.00
Portrait of an Era	Fairfax Downey	Scribners	$3.50
The British Empire Before the American Revolution (*3 vol.*)	Lawrence Henry Gipson	Caxton Printers	$15.00
The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente	Robert Joseph Kerner Harry Nicholas Howard	University of California	$3.00
Swish of the Kris	Vic Hurley	Dutton	$3.00
Old Wires and New Waves	Alvin F. Harlow	Appleton-Century	$5.00
Presidents and First Ladies	Mary Randolph	Appleton-Century	$2.50
Sam Bass	Wayne Gard	Houghton-Mifflin	$2.50

THE ideal state, according to Plato, would see the intellectuals rule, the warriors protect, and the artisans work. But down through history the politicians have done the ruling while the intellectuals have for the most part been content to rotate on their own particular orbit. It would seem then that the problem, as expressed in the myth of the cave, is still one of adjusting intellectual understanding to popular reality.

Coming down to cases, the pertinent question is whether there is any hope for such an adjustment between the intellectual and the politician in present-day American democracy. Max Ascoli, author of *Intelligence in Politics* (Norton, $2.50), not only believes that there is, but he is convinced that democracy can have a richer and a more lasting meaning only when the gap is bridged between the brain and the backslap. Contrast this with the convictions of Gilbert Seldes, who in *Mainland* (Scribners, $3.00), arraigns the intellectuals and condemns them as the "belittlers" and potential destroyers of America.

It is strange that two such books, both professing implicit faith in democracy, should stem from such irreconcilable concepts. Where Seldes, in calling for a determined and vigorous defense of democracy, charges the intellectuals with an attack upon America which has been "ill-natured or ignorant or both," Professor Ascoli believes that the United States is the one country where the intellectuals have stayed in a modest estate and refrained from arrogance. Another example:

Seldes: ". . . the literary belittling of America has carried forward a propaganda for the destruction of the American political

system and the abasement of the American standard of living."

Ascoli: "... intelligence is still the force which may dispel the haziness of democratic politics by the awareness of its function and the responsibility of its freedom. . . . Only a watchful intelligence of freedom can make democracy human and save freedom."

Mr. Seldes sums up his description of intellectual activity in this country with the word, "treason"; Professor Ascoli urges a solidarity among intellectuals for the purpose of reinforcing democracy.

Considering the books independently, *Intelligence in Politics* is a sound and engrossing study of the part which intelligence, and its professional embodiment, the intellectuals, play in the politics of a democracy. Dr. Ascoli, former professor of jurisprudence in Italian universities, and now a member of the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research, contends that although there is a deadlock today crippling both democracy and intelligence, application of intelligence to politics may be able to "settle a large secure area fit for human life at the edge between the traditional and the authoritarian slope of democracy."

Why Politics?

Ideally, politics and politicians might be dispensed with altogether. One has only to consider a Presidential election year, such as the one now churning and grinding on, to realize the patent irrationality of the political formula. Thousands of job-obsessed peanut-crunchers swoop down upon a city to start off the year's political festivities with a convention. The convention is a three-ring affair, after the regular manner, at which the people march, shout, and clap hands according to the rehearsals. Once the conventions are over, anything goes, including lying, false issues, and dishonest accusations. One beholds the spectacle of a candidate for high national office making speeches from high school essays and using words as devices to conceal the thoughts. For such are the penalties of politics.

Yet Professor Ascoli would not rearrange the entire political pattern. Unlike Plato, he does not believe intellectuals should do the actual directing, but says that their utmost usefulness to democracy is to act in their own domain, forming and working out ideas which the "men of action may in their own way accept, adapt, or re-invent."

On the other hand, *Mainland* can see no worth-while future for the intellectuals. Their constant attack, Mr. Seldes maintains, has left America helpless before the impact of hostile European systems. Those who are guilty of "treason," according to the author, would include Van Wyck Brooks, George Cabot Lodge, H. L. Mencken, Sinclair Lewis, John O'Neill, Sherwood Anderson, Lewis Mumford, and almost every other figure of importance on the American culture horizons. Since Mr. Seldes goes on to say that America's problems might be solved by beginning "with what we want to save then decide what must be destroyed in order to save what we want to save," it would appear that anyone of prominence who has ever criticized this country is in a perilous position. One can hardly imagine a democracy without full and free discussion and criticism.

Mr. Seldes moves on from his tirade against the intellectuals to call for a defense of national independence, civil freedom, and private prosperity. He believes that democracy, not communism, can defeat fascism. The liberties for which the founding fathers fought cannot be maintained without a constant vigilance and "re-creation"; The financial system should be overhauled in such a way as to emancipate both industry and agriculture from incompetent rule.

If not convincing, *Mainland* is interesting reading; if it has a somewhat nationalistic ring, it is balanced somewhat by an honest faith in America and her ability to work out her own democratic destiny. Summing up the essential *Mainland* philosophy, the author believes that the real America is beyond the Alleghanies; when it is a question of the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific where they are in conflict with the Hudson and the Atlantic, Americans should align against the latter.

Democracy and Peace

Analogous to Mr. Seldes' contention that there must be consistent and unrelenting efforts to maintain democracy, is the assertion in Henry Wickham Steed's *Vital Peace* (Macmillan, $2.75) that permanent peace, like democracy, can prevail best when man does not sit back and accept peace as a lifelong heritage, but is continuously active in strengthening the bulkheads against war.

Mr. Steed believes that pacifism as a solution to war is losing ground rapidly. The great Japanese grab of Manchuria and the outright burglary in Ethiopia by Mussolini point to the ineffectiveness of the rather-die-than-fight doctrine, he says. Peace propaganda is failing, too, he adds, because "its psychology is wrong." The nature of man requires an emotional outlet which so far has been provided only by actual blood-and-thunder conflict, Mr. Steed maintains, and present peace education will fail unless it uses the psychology of offering a substitute appeal to the war emotions of man.

"The ideal of a fat, riskless existence, in safety from outside attack, warms nobody's blood. . . . The concept of keeping the peace is too negative. It stops short of the point where the vital human forces come into play."

Mr. Steed, then, is in favor of "waging" peace, or, to use his own expression, non-war. Non-war should be high adventure which would lift men above their ordinary selves. When all the resources and the courage now mortgaged to preparation for war are pledged to the adventure of peace, a new and finer stage in human development will have been reached. Human values, of course, will have to be reshaped and an entirely new type of civilization may have to be molded, but "vital peace" will be worth the change.

Vital Peace is wishful idealism of the highest order; its author, in fact, does not deny that his conclusions take for granted ideal conditions. Nor does he predict when "vital peace" will be brought about. He frankly acknowledges the obstacles to permanent non-war, but holds out hope that men and nations may yet find courage to stop the headlong plunge towards disaster. Whatever Mr. Steed's conclusions may be, his work is definitely of merit for its careful

and well-documented study of the world's peace movements.

War in Spain

Little has been published in the English language during the last five years of present-day Spain. True, there has been some recent outstanding historical fiction on Spain, notably Ralph Bates' *The Olive Field*, published several months ago, and the more recent *Seven Red Sundays*, by Ramon J. Sender, (Liveright, $2.75), but the student of foreign affairs has no available systematic account of the history of Spain since 1933 in any language. This historical dearth was ended suddenly, if not too impressively last month, however, when on the same day *Spain in Revolt* by Harry Gannes and Theodore Repard, (Knopf, $2.00), and *Civil War in Spain*, by Felix Morrow (Pioneer booklet, $.15), made twin appearances.

The 1936 fascist uprising, according to the highly informative *Spain in Revolt*, was a desperate attempt by the landowners to regain what was decisively threatened after the February elections, when land reform and legislation were enacted by the People's Front. The Cortes had passed a law shortly after the elections calling for the re-examination of the cases of all peasants expelled by the Lerroux-Robles government from the land for non-payment of rent. The landowners particularly resented the action of the government in settling 100,000 peasants and their families on the land. The revolution, therefore, was chiefly a struggle over land. A fascist victory would mean the end of land reform while Government success in downing the uprising would herald new and greater land justice for the peasants.

The authors of both *Spain in Revolt* and *Civil War in Spain* approach the Spanish question from the same basic tenets: a fascist victory would not only exterminate democracy in Spain but forge a conclusive link in the chain of the goosestepper's group which would result in world conflict, with the result that the cry will be, as it was in 1914, "Make the world safe for democracy."

Back to the World War

It might be appropriate at this point to consider three new works dealing with the World War. The most important, perhaps, is the fifth volume of the *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*, published in England (U. S. publication by Little, Brown, on December 1; $3.00). The other two books are the *Memoirs of Count Bernstorff* (Random House, $3.50), and *The War in Outline*, by Captain Liddell Hart (Random House, $2.00).

Points raised by Lloyd George concerning the American Army are discussed in part by Count Bernstorff, German Ambassador to America during the World War, and more fully by Captain Liddell Hart. England's war-time Prime Minister has turned again to the manufacture of his vinegar memoirs, this time spraying his hatred and bitterness on the two foremost American principals in the World War, President Wilson and General Pershing. It is paradoxical, though fortunate, that a more than adequate reply to the charges against Wilson should be furnished by Count Bernstorff. It is fortunate, too, that there is the clear-thinking and calm Captain Liddell Hart to take the sting out of the attack on Pershing.

President Wilson, writes Lloyd George, constantly imperiled the Allied cause with his utter lack of "push and drive," miserably failing to "turn out the mechanism of war after eighteen months of sweating, toiling, and hustling." And General Pershing, continues the katydid diplomat, blundered from the start, particularly in his insistence that the American Army fight as an entity and not under British or French colors.

Count Bernstorff, whose remarkably interesting and informative memoirs are not soured by personal prejudices, declares that after the United States came into the war, her military and financial assistance was lavish and unstinted. This is in almost direct answer to the charge by Lloyd George

that American industry and business were inept during the war.

The German Ambassador asserts that if his country had accepted Wilson's offer of peace mediation in 1916, Germany's salvation would have been brought about and the present European disorder would have been avoided. Germany should have accepted mediation, he adds, if for no other reason than that there was "no other way of preventing the entry of the United States into the war."

While challenging the wisdom of General Pershing's policy to build an American Army independent of the Allies, Captain Liddell Hart is willing to concede, unlike Lloyd George, that since the war was won, Pershing was proved correct. This would appear to take on added emphasis when it is recalled that in an emergency conference during the war, Lloyd George told Pershing that unless American troops filled the gaps in the Allied ranks, the war would be lost.

Considering the books separately, the newest volume of the *War Memoirs of Lloyd George* will receive a large, but hardly sympathetic American audience. After pouring thousands upon thousands of American youth into the mudholes and shell-torn battlefields of Europe so that countries represented by men such as Lloyd George would be able to turn a probable defeat into victory, a nation cannot be expected to respect the words of an annoying fumarole whose eruptions stem from personal bitterness. Whether Lloyd George will be regarded in the perspective of time as a great statesman or merely as an asterisk to history is not important. This much, however, is certain: as an author and historian, Lloyd George lacks the commendable sense of restraint and impartiality which have made English historical literature outstanding.

In marked contrast to Lloyd George's work are both *The War in Outline* and *Memoirs of Count Bernstorff*; the former is clear, comprehensive, and carries the weight of authority; the latter is extremely readable as well as enlightening.

MISCELLANEOUS

Memoirs of a Critic

Carl Van Doren, a college professor turned editor and literary critic, has contributed in *Three Worlds* (Harpers, $3.00),

(*Continued on page 126*)



How long should a Man's legs be?

Lincoln had a good answer. "Long enough," he drawled, "to reach from his body to the ground."

THAT seems like a good rule to apply to a business. It ought to be big enough to do the job it is intended to do.

Have you ever thought about the size of a company — what makes it big or small?

It isn't the directors and it isn't the stockholders — but the public. No business grows, and keeps on growing, unless it meets the people's needs and renders a worth-while service at a fair price.

The Bell System has developed along those lines for over fifty years. It has grown as the nation has grown. It has to be big to provide efficient, adequate telephone service to 127,000,000 people.



BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

Current HISTORY

NOVEMBER 1936

LOG *of* MAJOR CURRENTS

AT HOME:

OUR thirty-eighth Presidential campaign is near enough to its close for a reasonably accurate appraisal of its motivating forces, its curious sidelights and shifts, and its possible effects on public policy. So far as style of procedure is concerned, it can justly be described as a normal campaign. Academic issues have shown a tendency to disappear, with emotionalism rising to the surface. Sober debate has given place to personalities and extravagant charges. As has often happened in the past, interlopers have stolen a large part of the show.

All of this goes with the functioning of a great democracy in travail. You simply cannot stir 130,000,000 people to fever heat without creating more or less froth and scum. Because of peculiar conditions, not only in this country, but throughout the civilized world, the campaign presents some unusual characteristics. Both words and ideas have been borrowed from Europe and, whether we like to admit it or not, our mass psychology has reacted to influences from abroad. Very few of us have adopted communism or fascism as doctrines either worthwhile or workable in the United States, but most of us have come to fear both. This fear has been greatly stimulated by political propaganda. Conservatives have charged liberals with extreme views, and vice versa. Even the President has been accused of communistic leanings, while big business has been attacked as driving toward fascism.

To a certain extent the policy pursued by both major parties can be credited with the queer twist of cleavage which is taking place. Last Spring the majority of people assumed that we would divide broadly between progressive and conservative views, that the Democrats would challenge the Supreme Court if not the Constitution, and that the Republicans would adopt a reactionary position. It was generally believed that the platforms would be far apart, and they were, so far as resounding words could make them. When it came to ideas, however, they were much closer together than most of us supposed they could be.

Both parties were for social security, though they differed somewhat as to the proper method of bringing it about. Both favored help for the farmer; both were for a stabilized currency system; both were for regulation of quasi-public business; both were for enlightened isolation; and both promised to take care of the needy.

The immediate effect was chilling, especially on those who expected and wished for a sharp division. Three or four potential third-party movements made their appearance. For a time it looked as though we might have a sizeable bolt. The old brass-collar complex, however, soon took command. The great majority of people decided



NEA Service

IF PAUL REVERE WERE TO DO IT TODAY

that, regardless of platforms or acceptance speeches, the Democratic Party was liberal and the Republican Party was conservative. There was a grand shift all along the line, with old-line Democrats taking a walk, and progressive Republicans lining up for Roosevelt.

The third party, which was brought into being by the coalition of Coughlinites, Townsendites, and Lemkeites, began to lose ground the day it was born. Its strength has steadily waned. It may corral enough votes to change the result as between Republicans and Democrats in a few doubtful States, but it has little chance of carrying a single State or of laying the foundation for future growth.

Manufactured Bogies

The inclination of each party to charge the other with extreme views has accomplished little but to generate fear which, though unwarranted in most instances, can be productive of bad results. Many people have been led to believe that President Roosevelt and his associates are definitely radical—radical to the point of wanting to amend or override the Constitution. An equally large number, perhaps, have been led to believe that Governor Landon is merely a stalking horse for big business and that big business is out to grasp control of the Government. The alarm thus created is leading to the voluntary formation of all sorts of leagues, clubs, and associations to prevent this or that. We have an out-cropping of anti-fascist, anti-Semitic, anti-radical, and anti-most-anything organizations. What is worse, we have an increased susceptibility to swallow the most preposterous assertions and an element of intellectual racketeers more than willing to provide them. Such wild-eyed outbursts as that of the Black Legion indicates how far the thing can go. So, too, does the arrest of Earl Browder in Terre Haute.

King for a Day

Of all the incidents of the campaign, Browder's arrest is easily the most suggestive in its implications. One need not sympathize either with him or with his cause to realize this. When all is said and done, the fact remains that the Presidential candidate of a legally recognized party was put in jail to prevent him from making a scheduled speech. If that can be done in one case and the precedent stands, it can be done in another. If local or even nation-wide sentiment justifies the police chief of a small town in jailing a Presidential candidate on trumped-up charges, and if neither State nor national authorities have power to intervene quickly enough to prevent the rightful expression of free speech, we have come to a critical situation.

Mr. Browder was scheduled to make an address in Terre Haute, Indiana, on the evening of Wednesday, September 30. When he stepped from the train that afternoon, he and two companions were arrested as vagrants. They were held in jail for twenty-six hours. When appealed to for relief, both State and national authorities replied that they had no power to intervene. Next morning the case was dismissed, of course, just as those making the arrest knew it would be.

Communism has nothing to do with the issue. There probably never was and never will be a situation in this country which does not involve overwhelming antagonism to some Presidential candidate in certain com-

munities. We never have had, and probably never will have, a political party which does not represent a hopeless minority in some sections. If the prevailing sentiment can justify the chief of police in preventing a candidate from speaking by merely arresting him, we might as well admit that we are up against a serious problem. While democracy functions through the rule of the majority, it is sustained by the protection of minorities, no matter how small, as long as they are legally recognized.

If the Communist Party is not worthy of legal recognition, there is a way to outlaw it. At present, however, it enjoys legal recognition, will appear on the ballot, and, therefore, is entitled to such protection as the law affords. But the law seems to have been powerless in this instance. For one day the chief of police of Terre Haute ruled this country. For one day he jammed the nation's entire machine. If he can do that on the grounds he took, what chief of police cannot? What minority party is safe, and what do our boasted Constitutional guarantees mean?

Dominant Trends

The drawing together of both major parties, the large shift of voters from one to the other on the broad ground of liberalism vs. conservatism, the fevered heat engendered by issues on which neither party has taken a stand—all go to show the presence of dominant trends in America. There is widespread agreement among the people on the desirability of certain policies. The basis of division with regard to these policies is method of procedure rather than objective. The country as a whole is for some kind of social security; for balancing conditions as between agriculture and industry; for giving labor the right to be articulate; for a sufficient degree of independence in our foreign relations to avoid entanglements that might drag the United States into war; for steady reduction of the spread between poverty and wealth; for sufficient regulation of business to prevent unfair competition on the one hand and the rise of irresistible economic power on the other. In addition, it goes without saying that the American people will permit no administration to neglect the needy or to ignore the distressed.

The prevailing attitude of mind toward these and similar problems has become wellnigh fixed. No matter who is elected President of the United States, that attitude of mind must be satisfied. It would be extravagant to suppose that the next four years would show a far different result under Landon or Roosevelt. The former might slow down the process of change and innovation to some extent, while the latter might be inclined to accelerate it, but neither would go far afield from the drift of prevailing thought or the task which war and depression still leave unfinished. Whether or not the prevailing thought can be described as revolutionary, it represents the slow, irresistible force of evolution, and is a logical by-product of that determination to improve conditions which is, and always has been, the driving factor in American life.

A Real Threat to Democracy

Both President Roosevelt and Governor Landon are able, conscientious men. It is depressing to think that, in running for the highest office in the country, they must be exposed to such scurrilous insinuations as

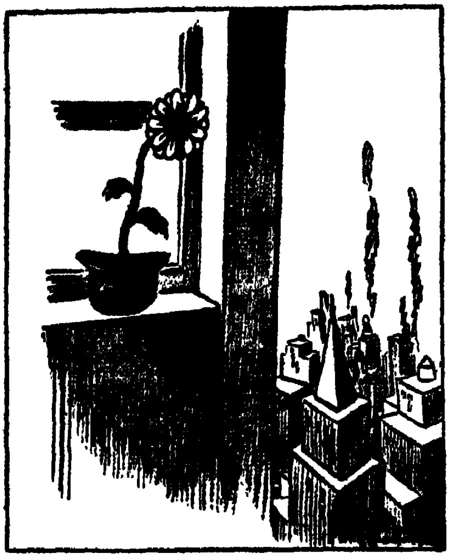


NEA Service

'WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?'


MAS
SAG
UER


MAS
SAG
UER



NEA Service

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING

seem to go with partisan politics. That in itself constitutes the most serious threat to democracy that we face. We cannot allow partisanship to hinge on picking flaws or pointing out defects in our leaders, especially flaws and defects of a petty, personal character, without creating false and dangerous impressions. We cannot imply that everyone who aspires to reach the top is crooked or incompetent, without promoting loss of confidence not only in them but in the system for which they stand. We cannot expect youth to take a hopeful, constructive view of democracy unless we place more emphasis on its virtues and less on its faults. To put it another way, we cannot continue to develop and improve the system as we must—if it endures—if we permit ward politics and back-fence gossip to play such a part in our major campaigns.

A Poll of the Press

A poll conducted by *Current History* among newspaper publishers showed a balance in favor of Landon. Two hundred and fifty publishers the country over were asked to name their Presidential preference, to state their reasons, and to enumerate what they considered the best or poorest features of the New Deal. Eighty-eight publishers responded, three of them representing chains of newspapers totaling 69 dailies. All in all, 154 papers were covered.

While certain reports had indicated a great preponderance of Landon sentiment among the publishers, *Current History's* score gave the Republican candidate a lead of only 3 to 2. This included the support of the Hearst publications (29 newspapers) and of the Gannett chain (17 newspapers). A third group of 23 papers, however, declared for Roosevelt, and this, too, was figured in the total.

The poll showed 92 newspapers for Landon and 62 for Roosevelt, the Republican candidate drawing heavily from Eastern financial centers and the Midwest, and the President finding his strongest support in Eastern industrial centers, the South, the Southwest, and the Pacific Coast.

Among the Landonite publishers there was a lack of confidence; a third at best were "hopeful" of his election; another third would venture no prediction; five candidly believed that he would lose; and 23 saw victory.

Roosevelt partisans were more certain. Of the 62 New Deal publishers, 61 predicted Roosevelt's re-election. The remaining ballot was non-committal.

Notably, NRA, AAA, WPA, and the surplus tax program drew unfavorable criticism from both Landon and Roosevelt supporters, while a considerable number were also inclined to doubt the President's attitude toward the Constitution, civil service, and bureaucracy. Landon ballots also went strongly against Roosevelt's spending policies and his "interference with business," but both these points were scored by only six of the New Deal publishers.

On the favorable side of the Administration's ledger, Landonites and New Dealers alike commended banking insurance and the CCC as outstanding Roosevelt accomplishments. A measure of praise went also to the Social Security Act, the SEC, repeal, conservation, and HOLC.

Fifty percent of the Landon partisans said they were favorable to the New Deal at first, but became increasingly skeptical, finally turning to the Republican camp. Only three percent of the Landonites acknowl-

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORAL VOTE; 1900-1932

	1900		1904		1908		1912			1916		1920		1924			1928		1932		1936		
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	P	D	R	D	R	D	R	P	D	R	D	R	D	R	–
ALA.	11		11		11		12			12		12		12			12		11				
ARIZ.	(ADMITTED IN 1912)						3			3			3		3			3	3				
ARK.	8		9		9		9			9		9		9			9		9				
CALIF.		9		10		10	2		11	13			13		13			13	22				
COLO.	4			5	5		6			6			6		6			6	6				
CONN.		6		7		7	7				7		7		7			7		8			
DEL.		3		3		3	3				3		3		3			3		3			
FLA.	4		5		5		6			6		6		6				6	6				
GA.	13		13		13		14			14		14		14			14		12				
IDA.	3			3		3	4			4			4		4			4	4				
ILL.		24		27		27	29				29		29		29			29	29				
IND.		15		15		15	15				15		15		15			15	14				
IOWA		13		13		13	13				13		13		13			13	11				
KAN.		10		10		10	10			10			10		10			10	9				
KY.	13		13		13		13			13		13			13			13	11				
LA.	8		9		9		10			10		10		10			10		10				
ME.		6		6		6	6				6		6		6			6		5			
MD.		8	7	1	6	2	8			8			8		8			8	8				
MASS.		15		16		16	18				18		18		18		18		17				
MICH.		14		14		14			15		15		15		15			15	19				
MINN.		9		11		11			12	12			12		12			12	11				
MISS.	9		10		10		10			10		10		10			10		9				
MO.	17			18		18	18			18			18		18			18	15				
MONT.	3			3		3	4			4			4		4			4	4				
NEB		8		8	8		8			8			8		8			8	7				
NEV.	3			3	3		3			3			3		3			3	3				
N.HAMP.		4		4		4	4			4			4		4			4		4			
N.JER		10		12		12	14				14		14		14			14	16				
N.MEX.							3			3			3		3			3	3				
N.YORK		36		39		39	45				45		45		45			45	47				
NO.CAR.	11		12		12		12			12		12		12				12	13				
NO.DAK.		3		4		4	5			5			5		5			5	4				
OHIO		23		23		23	24			24			24		24			24	26				
OKLA.					7		10			10			10	10				10	11				
ORE.		4		4		4	5				5		5		5			5	5				
PENN.		34		34		34			38		38		38		38			38		36			
R.I.		4		4		4	5				5		5		5		5		4				
S.CAR.	9		9		9		9			9		9		9			9		8				
S.DAK.		4		4		4			5		5		5		5			5	4				
TENN.	12		12		12		12			12			12	12				12	11				
TEXAS	15		18		18		20			20		20		20				20	23				
UTAH		3		3		3		4		4			4		4			4	4				
VER.		4		4		4		4			4		4		4			4		3			
VA.	12		12		12		12			12		12		12				12	11				
WASH.		4		5		5			7	7			7		7			7	8				
W. VA.		6		7		7	8			1	7		8		8			8	8				
WISC.		12		13		13	13				13		13			13		13	12				
WYO.		3		3		3	3			3			3		3			3	3				
TOTALS→	155	292	140	336	162	321	435	8	88	277	254	127	404	136	382	13	87	444	472	59			
	BRYAN	McKINLEY	PARKER	ROOSEVELT	BRYAN	TAFT	WILSON	TAFT	ROOSEVELT	WILSON	HUGHES	COX	HARDING	DAVIS	COOLIDGE	LA FOLLETTE	SMITH	HOOVER	ROOSEVELT	HOOVER	ROOSEVELT	LANDON	

Presidential Electoral Vote—1900-1932.

edged opposition to Roosevelt from the outset. Among the New Deal publishers, sixty percent were with the President when he was first inaugurated, but thirty-five percent said they reserved commitment, determining their policies on the separate New Deal issues. The rest began as Roosevelt opponents, ending up as his friends.

Typical comments follow:

New York Post (Roosevelt): In the best of the New Deal legislation and the worst of the New Deal legislation there runs a thread of progressive political philosophy. This philosophy can best be defined as an honest, earnest effort to preserve the capitalistic system in America by regulating it so that it may continue rather than collapse. . . . We are for Roosevelt because he has had the courage to hit the drowning man in the jaw with his fist, in order that he may save him in spite of himself.

Minneapolis Star: We will support no candidate or party. Since the two major parties seem to be advocating the same general policy, it seems to us that our best service to the reader lies in presenting all the news of the campaign, interpreting it as fairly as we can, and leave it up to the reader with our advice that . . . it is up to the reader to decide, by studying the character and past records of the parties and the candidates, which will come the nearest to carrying out actually the campaign promises.



N. Y. World-Telegram
A CRY OF PAIN

Scrantonian (Landon): New Dealers are throwing their entire strength in Pennsylvania. With Pennsylvania, Roosevelt can win. Knox instead of Landon should have headed the Republican ticket. [Thinks Landon will lose.]

Utica Observer-Dispatch (Landon): [In answer to question, Which of the present administration's acts or policies do you consider worst?] The constant invasion of government in private business; injection of political favoritism in relief work; waste in undigested schemes: attempted control of products; creating paternalistic feeling that government must take care of everybody; Tugwellian doctrines; devaluation of the dollar; repeated deception as to finances; surrender of legislative right to an irresponsible dictator; and so on, world without end.

Memphis Press-Journal (Roosevelt): The purposes of the present Administration are fine, but the organization is sometimes not effective. However, there is no reason to think that Landon would be better.

Chicago Journal of Commerce (in picking Landon to win): We look for a re-establishment of practically the former GOP-Democratic line-up by States. We were among the very first to oppose the New Deal economics. It was too sudden a change and ill-considered, but we believe that ten years from now we will all say: "Mr. Roosevelt had many good ideas, but it is too bad he was so hasty, mixed in too much politics, and chose Socialists and Communists for his advisers."

Lowell Evening Leader, Massachusetts (Roosevelt): We have felt that Mr. Roosevelt's underlying objectives have been sound and that his accomplishments overshadow his mistakes.

Ohio State Journal, Columbus (Landon): We have no opinion concerning whether Governor Landon will be elected because of the complicated situation and a crossing of party lines to a greater extent than ever before.



—*Daily Herald, London*

POOR ANGEL DEMOCRACY (1936): "Heavens! Not a brickbat—am I dreaming!"

INTERNATIONAL:

THERE are encouraging indications that the democratic nations have decided to cease pandering to the ambitions of Hitler and Mussolini, and that they are trying to regain the diplomatic leadership they flung away in the face of the dictators' advance. The Anglo-French-American currency agreement had as much psychological as economic importance, and Italy unexpectedly fell into line. The small nations rose up in arms at Geneva and insisted upon the rights of Ethiopia whether Italy liked it or not—and she didn't. It was left to Russia to provide the sensation of flouting the well-meaning but ludicrous farce of the Spanish non-intervention pact by refusing to let Germany and Italy run the Spanish war as they wanted, even at the risk of provoking a wider conflict.

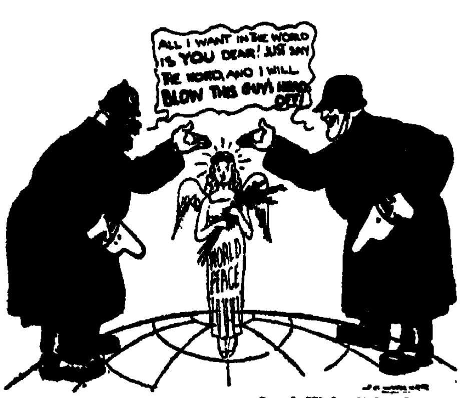
Currency Politics

It had only been a question as to how long the gold bloc could hold out against the continued trade advantages enjoyed by those nations which had already devalued their currencies. M. Blum, it was said, had been determined to take the franc off gold for

some time. Negotiations were under way with the treasury departments of other nations concerned, particularly Great Britain and the United States. The final step was encouraged by the recommendations of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, published on September 22. Of more decisive influence, however, were the activities of exchange speculators who, hearing of the negotiations under way, fled to the pound, with the assured prospect of a substantial profit when the franc left gold.

The French Government took action on September 25; Switzerland and the Netherlands followed suit the next day, and Italy, on October 5.

The Anglo-French-American currency agreement, announced simultaneously with the devaluation of the franc, not only mitigated M. Blum's domestic political difficulties, but promised to avert a new wave of competitive currency depreciation. The three countries agree to use their stabilization funds to maintain the new levels. Great Britain and the U.S.A. will have to accept the trade advantages accruing to France. At the same time, the dollar-pound rate remains a source of possible friction. Great Britain feels that the pound was raised to an unnatural level by exchange speculators and that the rise in the American domestic price level has not been sufficient to justify the 1933 cut in the dollar's exchange value. She would like to see the pound drop to $4.70 as funds return to France again. The United States would prefer a $5.00 pound



South Wales Echo, Cardiff

HER ARDENT LOVERS

sterling, and it is reported that since negotiations between the two nations had not been completed when Premier Blum devalued the franc, Neville Chamberlain and Secretary Morgenthau warmly debated the issue in a transatlantic telephone conversation lasting one hour and a half.

In spite of some disagreement on this score, which will be subject to compromise arrangements regarding the use of stabilization funds, the currency agreement brings a temporary de facto stabilization with the franc at approximately 5 instead of 6½ cents. And the dangers of any major disturbance have been avoided.

Results of Devaluation

Since 1929, and more particularly since the financial crisis of 1931, the European gold bloc has been frantically attempting to maintain its currencies at exchange levels which were almost insupportable. As other nations devalued, export markets disappeared; international credit was frozen, and the only method of paying off adverse trade balances was by the shipment of gold, which in turn threatened a domestic financial crisis by removing the reserves held against the issuance of currency and credit. With one accord, countries adopted the course of reducing the adverse balance by cutting off imports by tariffs, quotas, and exchange controls. Inevitably, a vicious spiral resulted: as imports were checked, so were exports.

It is hoped that the new currency agreement will reverse this process; that at the new parities nations will be able to relax the virtual prohibition of imports; and that trade will begin to flow again. France has set the example by reducing her tariffs unconditionally—partly, it is true, to mitigate the internal price rises which her nationals fear. Again, The League of Nations has begun to pay attention to the economic causes of war. It cannot be expected that international trade will return to anything like its pre-1929 proportions; the building up of self-sufficiency has gone too far in too many countries. But, if the spiral of deflation, which has brought in its train, among other things, the Nazi regime and France's political turmoil, is broken, political improvement can be looked for.

The currency agreement thus has political as well as economic implications. The most important of these is the initiative taken by the democratic nations. Italy was forced to swallow this lead, and Germany was consequently threatened with isolation. The presence of an economically powerful and politically democratic bloc in Europe will provide the small nations with an alternative to dependence upon Nazi Germany. This consideration applies particularly to the Balkans; here Germany's peculiar methods of economic penetration by barter will be seriously affected by French and Italian devaluation, and, if Nazi Economics Minister Schacht decides to join the sterling bloc, it will probably have to be abandoned completely. (See "Germany.")

Russian Bombshell

On October 7, Russia dropped this bombshell into the lap of the committee supervising non-intervention in Spain:

> The Soviet Government fears the situation as created by repeated violation of the London non-intervention pact makes the agreement non-operative. The Soviet Government cannot consent to the conversion of the non-interference pact into a screen for concealing military assistance to the rebels by some participants in the agreement. The Soviet Government is compelled, in this connection, to declare that if violation is not halted immediately it will consider itself free from any obligation resulting from the agreement.

Specifically citing Portugal, Italy, and Germany as violators of the agreement, this was the second Russian note addressed to the committee. The first, written one week earlier, accused only Portugal and demanded that an impartial committee be sent to the Spanish Portuguese border to determine the extent of the violations. Great Britain was to support this proposal at the meeting held on October 9, but the second Russian note snatched away the initiative.

There is no room for doubt that both fascist powers have extensively aided the Spanish rebels, either directly or by shipment through Portugal. Nor can it be doubted that this assistance has been responsible for what appears to be an imminent rebel victory. The Russian note, therefore, did no more than inject some realism into the proceedings of the committee. As such it was not welcome. German, Italian, and Portuguese delegates branded it as a hostile act, denied the charges, and flung counter-accusations, while Great Britain and France tried to pour oil on the troubled waters.

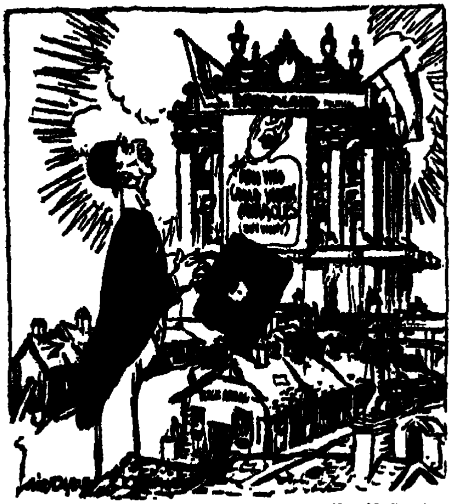
The idea behind the non-intervention pact is that open interference in Spain would provoke a wider conflict. Actually it has meant giving the fascists a free hand for fear that opposing the dictators would incite them to war, even though a fascist Spain would be contrary to the ultimate interests of the democratic states. Russia has challenged the non-intervention thesis; she thinks that the dictators will back down in the face of the strong opposition the anti-fascist nations could provide. But she also runs the risk of proving the non-interventionists to have been right, and this at a time when the Madrid Government may be beyond help. Once again, European diplomatists fear the accusing echo, "Too late."

GREAT BRITAIN:

INTERNATIONAL, and not domestic, issues are dominating politics in Great Britain. The Government has persisted in its non-intervention policy in Spain, even though it has become pathetically clear that the "International Committee for the Application of the Agreement regarding Non-intervention in Spain" is nothing more than a fancy facade to cover up any unpleasant incidents. However, there has been a hardening of policy with respect to the aggressive tactics of the fascist powers elsewhere.

Sir Samuel Hoare, on returning from a Mediterranean trip, asserted that Great Britain would maintain her imperial interests there, implying that Italy need not delude herself with the idea that England had resigned herself to the sea-route via the Cape of Good Hope.

Similarly Hitler's outburst against the Soviet failed to impress Englishmen, who are notoriously impervious to high-pressure salesmanship in politics. Two stern answers were delivered at the Conservative Conference, held at Margate. The Tories firmly asserted that the cession of any territory



Daily Herald, London

FROM NIGHTMARELAND TO DREAMLAND

under British mandate was an "undiscussible question." Later, Sir Neville Chamberlain, speaking for Mr. Baldwin whose mantle of leadership he is expected to assume, declared:

"I can imagine no more sobering thought to any ruler who might be contemplating aggression against his neighbor than the knowledge that within a few hours his action might be followed by the retaliation of a force of such terrific striking power as our new air force will possess."

The warning was clearly meant for Germany.

Labor Jumps on the Bandwagon

Last November, the National Government saved its face only by making a scapegoat of Sir Samuel Hoare. Liberal and labor elements made virulent protests against the abandonment of the League. Today, the Government has openly espoused power politics and rearmament. Paradoxically, there has been hardly a word of protest, and Sir Samuel Hoare is back in a prominent cabinet post.

Early in September, the Trade Union Congress overwhelmingly voted in favor of non-intervention in Spain. It was expected that the conference of the Labor Party, the official opposition, would show more argument. A split developed during the prior meeting of the national executive committee of the party, and on the floor of the conference Dr. Christopher Addison and Sir Charles Trevelyan, members of the last Labor cabinet, exposed non-intervention as a cowardly sham. Philip Noel Baker then made the positive proposal that the Government, having seen that non-intervention was being patently violated, should merely suspend its arms embargo. Nevertheless, when it came to a vote, the supporters of the Government's policy gained a three-to-one majority, even though an investigation into German and Italian activities was demanded.

Labor Goes Conservative

The apparent conservatism of the Labor Party conference can be explained by the increased influence of the trade union group at the expense of the political Parliamentary group. The caution of English trade unions is well known and has been confirmed by no less an authority on conservatism than Mr. Stanley Baldwin himself. Added to this is the persuasive influence of Mr. Ernest Bevin and Sir Walter Citrine, neither of whom differs substantially in viewpoint from members of the Cabinet themselves.

Confused as the policy of the National Government has been, the Labor Party has not recovered sufficiently from the stunning defeat of 1931 to risk advancing a bold alternative.

Combined with this spirit of defeatism is English labor's dislike of Soviet Russia and communism, evidenced by the alacrity with which the Trade Union Congress turned thumbs down on the proposed "united front" with the "Reds." Trade unionists are deeply suspicious of the International; they do not want to risk another Zinoviev letter incident; and, especially because of the Trotskyite trials, they join with the Conservatives in damning fascism and communism in the same breath. Under the thumb of the trade unions, the British Labor Party is not likely to follow the forceful left wing under Sir Stafford Cripps which sees in a strong anti-fascist bloc led by Great Britain, France, and Russia, the only approach to European peace.

FRANCE:

M. BLUM had a difficult month. Two events—the Spanish war and the French economic situation—conspired to weaken the loose ties which bind the moderate Radical-Socialists and the radical Communists to the Popular Front.

As German and Italian assistance to the Spanish rebels became more apparent, the Communists and the powerful General Confederation of Labor pressed for the lifting of the "blockade" against the Spanish Government. Popular demonstrations, a press campaign, and a strike of Paris metallurgical workers expressed left-wing dissatisfaction with the Government's policy. Reluctant to abandon the Popular Front, however, the Confederation reaffirmed its confidence in M. Blum, and M. Thorez, the Communist leader, suspended his criticisms. Nevertheless the undercurrent of interventionist sentiment persisted as a permanent discontent.

It was evident in the strikes which tied up the textile industry, affecting 80,000 workers, particularly in the Lille district, although the workers' fear of losing the benefits of the Matignon agreements of last July was the more immediate cause. Labor demanded the improved working conditions laid down in those agreements; employers, on the other hand, asserted that "sovietization" of the factories was the real issue. A deadlock appeared inevitable, but the Government was able to negotiate a compromise settlement on September 17; the workers accepted a 6%—instead of the demanded 10%—wage increase; they agreed to the employers' system of electing workshop delegates; and they abandoned the strategy of the "stay-in" strike. In answer to criticisms from the right, M. Salengro, Minister of the Interior, pointed out that the number of strikers had fallen from 125,777 to 6,387 between July 7 and August 7 and that while the total had risen to 76,360 by mid-September, it had fallen again to 17,472 by September 21.

Radical Socialists Waver

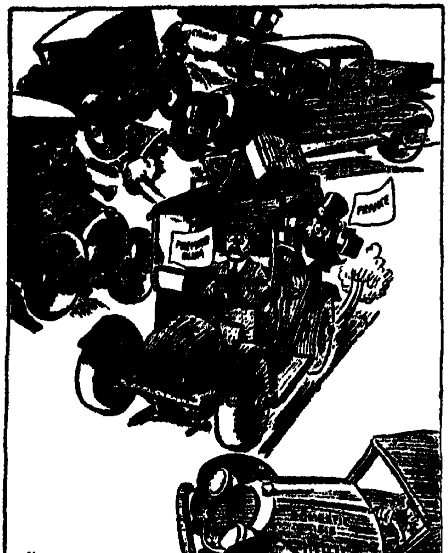
On the right of the Popular Front, the moderate Radical-Socialists were growing restive. Finance Minister Auriol had assured them that "we are pursuing our common effort in the framework of the capitalist system." Yet the arms industry had been nationalized; the aircraft industry and the coal-mining companies had submitted to compulsory combination; a wheat board had been set up to control imports and exports and fix prices; wine production and the mercantile marine were threatened by socialization; and rumors were abroad that reorganization of the Bank of France might be followed by nationalization. Finally, strikes indicated that the workers were going to unexpected lengths.

However, on September 20, the Radical-Socialists announced that they would continue to support the Government, but would not countenance further "stay-in" strikes. Furthermore, they decided to defer their annual conference from October 8 to October 22, in the hope that by that time they might be able to give M. Blum less hesitant support.

Devaluation at Last

On September 25, the Blum Government announced that the gold content of the franc was to be reduced by approximately one third—from 65.5 milligrams to a figure between 43 and 49. Currency was no longer to be convertible into gold, exchange control was to be vested in the Bank of France, and a stabilization fund of 10,000,000,000 francs was to be established.

For political reasons, this step had long been avoided. For economic reasons, however, it seemed inevitable. Government finances were in straitened circumstances: 14,000,000,000 francs for the arms program, 20,000,000,000 for public works, the loan to Poland, an unemployment fund—all pointed to a 1936 deficit of 23,000,000,000 francs. The Government was encountering more and more difficulty in borrowing; the "baby bond" issue designed to raise 10,000,000,000 francs, brought in little more than 4,000,000,000 francs. French trade, competing with the depreciated currencies of other countries, went from bad to worse; for the first eight months of 1936 imports were 1,556,000,000 higher than in the same period in 1935; exports 713,000,000 lower. The Bank of France's daily loss of gold jumped



NEA Service

IN PARIS IT'S AN ART

from 100,000,000 francs to 500,000,000, leaving the total reserve at a little over 52,000,000,000 francs. This provided a coverage of 57% against the Bank's sight liabilities, as against a legal minimum of only 35%; but it was dangerously near the 50,000,000,000 francs considered the absolute minimum for France's "war chest," a reserve which German rearmament made imperative.

Consequently, there was little political opposition to devaluation as such, although the opposition made sure that M. Blum would receive his full share of blame for the painful readjustments his predecessors had not had the courage to occasion. There was, however, a heated debate over the Government's somewhat socialistic proposals either to put workers' salaries on a sliding scale, so that real wages would not be reduced by higher prices, or to exercise control to keep prices down. In this matter the Senate forced upon the Government and the Chamber of Deputies a compromise enabling the Government to institute negotiations for the revision of wage contracts after consultation with the National Economic Council, upon which there are representatives of finance and industry, and to adjust those prices of agricultural products now under state control, of which wheat is the chief example. Tariff reductions from 15% to 20% were adopted as another instrument for keeping prices down. In effect, this compromise represented a victory for the moderate wing of the Popular Front.

Saddled squarely with the responsibility for devaluation, Premier Blum's political future depends upon the success of that policy. There will be an outcry from the large number of small investors, and labor has not gained the guarantees it demanded against a rise in prices. On the other hand, domestic industries will escape the heavy competition of cheap imports and exporters will regain markets lost when the franc was overvalued in terms of other currencies. Tourist trade will be encouraged. The Government will make a 17-22 billion franc "windfall" profit on the gold reserve: the flight of capital should be reversed by the restoration of confidence; and tax returns will increase as trade improves. In short, if the experience of Great Britain and the United States is of value, France should break the circle of deflation which has prolonged the depression and throttled the expansionist policies which M. Blum has been trying to put into effect since June.

SWEDEN:

SOCIALIZATION was the broad issue upon which the elections to the lower house of Parliament were fought. A calm campaign, culminating on September 20, resulted in the defeat of the relatively conservative Government which gained power only last June over the national defense issue and the return of the Social Democrats under Albin Hansson.

The actual voting gave the Social Democrats 112 seats out of a total of 230. The Independent Socialist Party, the radical socialist group, lost two seats but still held six, while the number of Communist Deputies increased from two to five. The conservative and liberal groups having failed to form a coalition which might have given them a majority, fared less well: the Conservative and Agrarian Parties each lost nine seats, although the People's Party, a com-

bination of the former liberal parties, increased its representation from 25 to 27.

The trend of the election was indubitably to the left, the two most conservative groups bearing all the losses; the labor parties now enjoy an absolute majority with 126 seats. Hansson's party, in power until last June, was responsible for the reforms which brought Sweden back to normal and quashed the Nazi and fascist threats arising after the advent of the Hitler regime in Germany. With its solid left-wing support, the new Government promises an intensification of these policies in the form of extended socialization of industry, heavier taxes on large fortunes, and increased social services. The Swedish experiment in socialism through gradualism will continue from where it left off last June—with the tempo slightly accelerated.

GERMANY:

NATIONAL SOCIALISM provides many circuses but little bread. The Nazi conference at Nuremberg, dramatized with almost superhuman skill, afforded Herr Hitler an opportunity for passing the responsibility for both domestic economic conditions and the devastating regimentation of his regime on to other nations—a favorite stratagem. His bombastic references to the wealth of the Urals can be interpreted in this light, rather than as a deliberate threat of invasion of the Soviet.

The four-year plan for German self-sufficiency, laid down at the congress, has two major obstacles to overcome: lack of raw materials and a domestic food shortage.

Consequently the conference was followed by an intensive campaign for the return of colonies. A flood of lectures, speeches, pamphlets, and books was released upon the nation. All this was undertaken with the double objective of convincing foreigners of the justice of German demands (Hitler has not yet entirely hardened liberal consciences smitten by the Treaty of Versailles) and of lining up those Germans at home who still prefer the *Mein Kampf* policy of granting pride of place to continental expansion. It may also be noted that Germany is concentrating on the return of her former colonies rather than submitting to the attempts to divert her ambitions to those colonies presently held by the Portuguese.

Housekeeping Problems

The threatened food shortage is a more pressing problem. The Reich has a normal food deficit of 15% or 20%; even Hitler has admitted that the nation can never be wholly



Birmingham Gazette

HITLER INSPECTS THE LL.G. ARMY

ADOLF: I suppose you three vos symbolic of your political army.
DAVID: Symbolic? Oh no! Inteet to goodness, we're all present and correct.

self-sufficient. This year poor crops have emphasized the shortage. There is an adequate supply of bread grains, but the lack of feed grains has diminished the available meat, butter, eggs, and fat—a condition intensified by the display of well-being put on for the Olympic guests.

The desire for self-sufficiency and the devotion of foreign exchange to the purchase of raw materials for rearmament have cut off the imports which might have made good the deficiency. Including the Saar, the German population has increased by 2,000,000 since 1933; collaterally, food imports, amounting to 4,400,000,000 marks in 1929, sank to 1,300,000,000 in 1935.

By and large, the peasants have prospered under the regime. Their income has increased by 30% since Hitler came into power, and they were able to celebrate Thanksgiving with some enthusiasm, even if 30% of their grain crops were to be requisitioned by the Government.

But, in the city, the German *hausfrau* is lucky if she can buy beef or pork, while she is often obliged to use margarine made from whale oil in place of butter. The legal maximum prices have become minimum prices, and violations of the price-raising prohibitions are so common that they cannot be punished. Consequently, out of the average German worker's weekly wage of about $11, she has to pay 11.6 cents a pound for wheat flour, 57.6 cents a pound for butter, 14 cents a pound for sugar, and 54 cents a dozen for eggs.

But in her eyes the greed of the Allies and the menace of bolshevism have brought these troubles, and just now the German housewife still looks to der Fuehrer for deliverance.

Dr. Schacht Stands Pat

Germany has been fighting for foreign trade by every method (short of actual devaluation of the mark) that could be devised by the ingenious mind of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, economic dictator. To say that she is still formally on the gold standard would be a distortion of the facts. At home she enjoys a managed currency based upon the minimal gold reserve of 2%. And, in order to overcome the advantages possessed by her competitors with depreciated currencies, she has forced her exports, either by direct subsidies or by the use of "blocked marks" or "clearance marks" which sell at a 40% to 75% discount. The value of these latter types of foreign exchange is fixed arbitrarily with the countries concerned in the particular deal; "blocked marks" go towards paying off German debts abroad in return for goods, and "clearance marks" purchase goods directly from those countries with which clearing arrangements have been made. The use of these has been particularly evident in the Balkans.

Under this system the German export surplus—cultivated for the purpose of purchasing raw materials for arms and then foodstuffs—was higher last August than in any month since October 1933. Nevertheless, a substantial proportion of German exports have been paid for in "blocked marks," which reduce the foreign debt but do not produce the foreign exchange with which to make purchases. Beyond this, domestic prices have been rising steadily, owing to heavy borrowing for the purposes of rearmament, and this has increasingly hindered exports. Therefore it was generally expected that Germany would be obliged to follow the lead of France and then Italy, particularly as the relaxation of her present policy would enable her to gain credit abroad.

On September 30, however, Dr. Schacht announced that Germany would not join the democratic nations, but would rather pursue her independent way towards self-sufficiency. The double currency system was to be maintained, and it was suggested that negotiations were under way for the application of the system employed in the Balkans to France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. In addition, Germany threatened to compensate herself for the trade advantages gained from devaluation by other countries by increasing her export subsidies and, where necessary, suspending her debt payments to creditor nations.

All the same, it was significant that Dr. Schacht left the door ajar for future devaluation, stating that it would be considered if, as, and when Germany regained colonies as sources of needed raw materials and foreign lenders began to loosen their purse strings.

ITALY:

THE subjugation of Ethiopia has not proved the simple task at first expected, and military as well as financial difficulties have considerably dampened the exuberant optimism of Italian imperialists.

At the end of the rainy season Viceroy Graziani still faced the tasks of extending Italian rule to the southwestern corner of Ethiopia; of bringing to heel the chieftains who had not yet acknowledged Mussolini as their sovereign; of suppressing brigandage; and of pacifying the population.

To accomplish the first end an expedition was planned to capture Gore, 230 miles southwest of Addis Ababa and considered the new Ethiopian capital by those who still cling tenaciously to the battered idea of "Ethiopia for the Ethiopians." For this and for the remaining task of subjugation. Graziani has from 200,000 to 250,000 troops at his disposal.

Plans were also being evolved for the permanent colonization of the country. The army is to be composed of whites and blacks in the ratio of three to one, and as soon as the present military operations are completed the number of Italian soldiers is to be reduced to 60,000. Civilian workers and settlers, however, to the number of 150,000, are to be enrolled as Black-shirt militiamen; there are now 100,000 laborers ready to commence work on the 1,800 miles of road planned to open the country for settlement.

At home a "Consulta of Work," composed of financial, industrial, and agricultural experts, was established for the purpose of coordinating the Italian and Ethiopian economies. Ethiopia is to supply raw materials and absorb Italian industrial surpluses, and the budding empire is to be as self-sufficient as possible.

Following a cabinet meeting held on September 12, Italy seemed to have decided on a four-year plan paralleling that just laid down for Germany at Nuremberg. The work of the General Commissariat for the Manufacture of War Material, controlling 1,000 auxiliary factories, was to be speeded up; $100,000,000 was earmarked for the electrification of state railroads to save the importation of approximately 1,500,000 tons of coal a year, while the Sugar and Beet Trade Union Corporation announced the introduction of new machinery which would produce an added 110,000 gallons of motor fuel a day. At the same time, an agreement was reached with Hungary for the provision of all the grain Italy needed and could not yet produce herself.

Devaluation

The shattering of the gold bloc left Italy with the alternative of remaining with her allies, Germany, Austria, and Hungary, marooned on an economic island, or of joining the rather more prosperous nations which had, at one time or another, devalued their currencies.

There were strong arguments in favor of the first course. It was a symbol of fascist solidarity. Again, Italy was determined to maintain a closed economic system, independent of the currency and trade fluctuations of the outside world—no matter at what cost. Finally, devaluation would make the payment of commercial debts owed abroad more difficult and would militate against the success of the "imperial loan" to be floated in October or November for the development of the empire.

At the same time the lira already possessed an extremely elastic exchange value. Apart from the official lira of standard value, there has been the tourist lira, sold to travellers at a discount of 20% to 30%; a sort of bootleg lira, sold unofficially abroad at approximately a 40% discount; and a lira with a value varying for the convenience of certain clearing arrangements with other nations. In a partial sense, therefore, devaluation had already taken place.

Urging Mussolini to take the final step were the high cost of Italian goods abroad, the draining of the already low gold reserve, the need of foreign exchange, and the successful results of the tourist lira in encouraging the tourist trade.

Consequently, a Cabinet Council meeting on October 5 needed only half an hour to decide to reduce the gold content of the lira by approximately 41%, reserving the right to adjust the gold content further 10% up or down. This brings the lira back to its pre-1929 parity with the dollar and the

pound sterling. Of equal significance were the removal of those tariffs imposed to offset devaluation of the pound in 1931, the restriction of trade quotas, the abolition of the barter system of trade, and, last but not least, Mussolini's agreement to work with the democratic nations towards economic and political peace.

There is a marked and interesting difference between the act of devaluation in Italy and that in France. Premier Blum had the utmost difficulty in bringing into effect relatively mild measures to control the results of devaluation. In Italy stringent measures were enacted immediately. Prices, rents, and utility rates were frozen at the September 30 level until further notice, while measures were taken to prevent owners of real estate finding refuge for their capital in securities. The French conservatives may cavil at M. Blum and the Popular Front, but they enjoy substantially greater freedom and power than they would under Signor Mussolini and the Corporate State.

FAR EAST:

JAPAN'S attitude towards China is outwardly one of paternal benevolence. In effect she says to the Chinese: "We are here for your own good; if you know where your interests lie, you will welcome us with open arms." The Chinese Government, conscious of its inferior armed strength is obliged to accept the ultimatum. But nothing could better illustrate the resentment welling up in China than the series of assassinations of Japanese by spontaneous outbursts on the part of the common people. Seven Japanese have been killed in this manner since August 24, and a Japanese officer was attacked at Fengtai on September 18.

The last-mentioned incident led to Japanese seizure of the Fengtai railway station —an important step in detaching Tientsin and Peiping from the rest of China. Subsequently, the shooting of three sailors by Chinese gunmen led to the military occupation of the Hongkew section of Shanghai.

Japan thereupon imposed upon China a series of exorbitant demands, amounting to little less than the complete surrender of China's independence as compensation for the killings. These demands were reported as follows: (a) Creation of an "autonomous" regime in the northern provinces of Hopei, Chahar, Shantung, Shansi, and Suiyuan; (b) appointment of Japanese to all Chinese Government departments; and (c) the brigading of equal numbers of Japanese and Chinese troops in the Nanking armies—ostensibly to aid the anti-communist crusade, but actually to allow Japanese forces to penetrate into the interior.

On September 28 the Japanese Foreign Minister, Hachiro Arita, laid down the ultimatum: "the lives and property of the large Japanese population in China could not . . . be left exposed to any further danger. . . . The outcome of the recent negotiations can be in one of two ways only: Japanese-Chinese relations will be either very much better or very much worse."

Although Japan subsequently maintained that reports of her demands had been exaggerated, the principles contained in them were rejected in the Chinese reply, which demanded freedom from Japanese interference. It is true that impossible demands are the starting point of Oriental diplomacy; nevertheless it was difficult to see what mutually satisfactory compromise could be evolved by Chiang Kai-Shek and the Japanese envoy in the discussions scheduled for the third week of October.

Anniversary Lamentations

On October 10 China celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the revolution which established the republic.

On the credit side of the ledger could be counted the immense improvement in the means of communication, modern developments in city construction, and a certain improvement in industrial technique. Schools have increased enormously, and there are the beginnings of a system of public education. In government, there has been progress towards unification under the leadership of the Nanking regime, and the persistent power of the local satrapies has diminished.

Against this it cannot be maintained that the political ideals of the revolution have been realized. Government is just as cor-

rupt and equally, if not more, oppressive than it was in 1911. What is more serious today, Chinese independence is far more seriously threatened than at any time since the revolution. Twenty-five years ago, the menace came from the several imperialistic nations of the Western world; they were far away, and they could be relied upon to fall out among themselves. Now a timid China faces a single, unified, and aggressive nation, with immediate interests which she is determined to satisfy and with superior resources for warfare.

Towards Unity

In a sense, the driving ambition of Japan has proved a blessing for China. It has enforced a degree of unity which she would not have achieved if left to her own devices. Since the beginning of September this movement has been gaining momentum.

It was generally expected that the Nanking Government would impose its own dictates upon anti-Japanese Kwangsi, following its unsuccessful attack on the Central regime. To the contrary, Kwangsi army leaders have been appointed to prominent positions in the Nanking forces, and the Kwangsi army has been enrolled as the Fifth National Army of China. It is reported that Chiang Kai-Shek has agreed to mitigation of the restrictions upon freedom of the press and of speech and assembly; this would inevitably spread the influence of anti-Japanese propaganda.

A second factor contributing to a "united front" against Japan has been the growth of communism to the northwest, aided and abetted by the greed of landlords and the exorbitant taxes imposed by the Government. Red armies, formerly concentrated in Szechuan, have extended their activities in Kansu, northern Shensi, and western Shansi. The significance of this is that communist forces, numerically small, are now strategically important, being in a position to act as an effective buffer to Japanese expansion westward.

The existence of effective Red support against Japan, the refusal of the Nineteenth Route Army to allow the Japanese to investigate the Pakhoi incident, the agitation among students and intellectuals, many of whom are joining the communists as the only determined opposition to Japan—all are indices of the rise of nationalist feeling in China in the face of a would-be conqueror. Hu Shih estimates that China today is from 90% to 95% unified.



NEA Service

A VERY REASONABLE GUY

The terms of the Kwangsi peace indicate that Chiang Kai-Shek is not willing to flout this sentiment. But, unfortunately for him, there is every indication that this surging of the spirit of independence in China, for which he can thank the Japanese, may have come too late.

LATIN AMERICA:

LATIN AMERICAN nations make certain demands of the European peace system. They insist that the League of Nations should be universal; in other words, that the provisions of the covenant should be voluntary and that strict obligations should not be imposed upon members. They would like to see coordination of the Kellogg pact and the Argentine pact against war. If these conditions are not fulfilled, the presumption is that they will fall back upon an American peace system, an alternative which Geneva regards with jealousy.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"WONDER IF I CAN STAY IN THAT ONE?"

Therefore the appointment of Dr. Carlos Lamas, Argentine Foreign Minister, as President of the League Assembly represented both an invitation to Argentina—which has taken the lead in Latin American foreign policy—to interest herself in Genevan negotiations, and a trial for the League itself; for the attitude of Latin America undoubtedly will be affected by the impressions which Dr. Lamas brings back with him.

Meanwhile, a memorandum was being circulated among the governments which are to be represented at the Buenos Aires conference outlining suggestions for a neutrality pact. Although instigated by the United States, and containing provisions paralleling Washington's present neutrality legislation, the memorandum was asserted to be a consensus of the views hitherto expressed by the various states concerned, rather than an attempt to foist the policy of one nation upon the whole conference.

So far as the issue between Buenos Aires and Geneva is concerned, the memorandum is non-committal. It leaves loopholes for those nations which would prefer to observe their obligations to the League rather than to the neutrality agreement. The proposal does not imply the abandonment of the League.

Chaco Deadlock

The Chaco peace conference, held up as a notable victory for the principle of international conciliation, struck a snag on October 4 when the Bolivian Ministry recalled its representative. The immediate reason given for the action was that Mr. Tomas Manuel Elio had exceeded his instructions by agreeing to the payment of indemnity for prisoners of war without insisting that Paraguay relinquish control of Bolivia's road between Villamontes and the rich agricultural region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. In reply, Paraguay refused either to give up the road or to establish a neutral zone between the two armies in the Chaco. The following day, Colonel David Toro of Bolivia strongly hinted that the failure to set up the said neutral zone would lead to a renewal of hostilities.

These events are the culmination of the peace negotiations which commenced on August 21. Diplomatic relations had been resumed between the two countries; the issue as to the amount of indemnity to be paid by Bolivia for war prisoners had been settled by the conference's declaration that all had been repatriated and also by the payment to Paraguay of the indemnity. A neutral zone was to be established between the two armies, and it was understood that Paraguay would withdraw her troops from the Villamontes-Santa Cruz road.

Paraguay's case rests upon the assertion that the peace conference had no right to establish this neutral zone between the armies because the protocol which ended hostilities laid down that both armies should maintain their existing positions. She holds further that her delegate to the conference was not authorized to agree to the relinquishment of the Villamontes-Santa Cruz road.

Bolivia will not continue the peace conversations until Paraguay retreats from this position. Both countries refuse to acknowledge the necessary concessions made by their delegates, and the peace conference now hangs in mid-air. It is an ironical commentary that on September 21 Dr. Lamas, as President of the League Assembly, pointed to the Chaco procedure as an example of the virtues of regional conciliation.

The REALM *of* SCIENCE

FOR more than thirty years the readers of H. G. Wells have been familiar with the coming world state which the author predicted in his *Anticipations* (1901). In 1928 his *The Open Conspiracy* hailed the day when doers and thinkers of the world would join hands across borders guarded by the political blackguards who rule nations. In his newest book, *The Anatomy of Frustration* Wells recapitulates his thought:

"Art, literature, scientific work, achievement of every sort, are the growing consciousness of life through man, they are the dawn of unending life to which we must give ourselves to escape frustration."

H. G. Wells may not be the original advocate of the world state—others may have preceded him by centuries. However, he is the one who has synthesized the thought and given the idea a proper impetus. Recently the Harvard Tercentenary Conference of Arts and Sciences revealed that modern scientists have accepted the idea and given it serious consideration. Four men constituting a special symposium based upon a questionnaire given to the attending scientists were divided in their enthusiasm. Etienne Gilson, a philosopher of Paris, and Bronislaw Malinowski, anthropologist at London, were strongly in favor of a positive attempt to realize the Wellsian prophecy. The American philosopher John Dewey agreed, but warned the man of science to first re-educate himself to "realize his responsibility toward the wider range of human affairs."

British scientists, speaking at Blackpool in England, followed a similar line of thought. The specter of fascism and imminent war impelled them to abandon the traditional enclosure of scientific reserve. They demanded that the scientific tools of their creation for mass production and mass destruction be returned again to their control for intelligent direction. Unfortunately, ignorant dictators have already aggrandized the greater power into their hands and it is quite possible that the very creators of this power may be destroyed in the event of European mass murder.

At the Harvard Tercentenary Conference of Arts and Sciences, Sir Arthur Eddington reported how science has succeeded in "taking the stars apart." To determine what they are made of, how they function, and what goes on in their relatively hot interiors, astronomical science has formed a "popular front" with physics. Experiments in terrestrial laboratories have supplied evidence for many hypotheses. More interesting than the results, however, is the method of experimentation roughly sketched by Sir Arthur Eddington:

Taking the Stars Apart

"Let us suppose that by observation from outside we have ascertained the mass 'M' and the radius 'R' of a star—just those two data. Armed with this information, what can we deduce (by laws of physics) about its interior?

"The first difficulty is that, although we have ascertained the total mass, we have not found how it is distributed—whether it is fairly uniform throughout the volume of the star or strongly concentrated to the center. * * * Although we cannot determine the concentration accurately, we can assign limits by purely theoretical deduction. The central density is not less than five times the mean density and not more than fifty times the mean density, so that we know roughly the degree of concentration we are up against.

"Knowing then how the mass is distributed in the structure, we can calculate the pressure at any depth. Any civil engineer will tell you that that is possible. So that we know the pressure as well as the density at each point in the interior.

"Now the pressure, density, and temperature are connected by a relation called the equation of state of the material; if any two of them are known we can find the third.

"In this case we know the pressure and density and we can therefore find the temperature—which is, of course, an extremely important thing to find out—in order to realize the sort of conditions we have to deal with.

"For all the stars except white dwarfs the equation of state, which connects the temperature with the pressure and density, is the well-known equation of a perfect gas.

"For the extremely dense matter in white dwarf stars the equation is more complicated; the theoretical physicist, by his terrestrial studies, has worked out for us the required equation. (Incidentally, he has worked it out wrong, but that is another story and I'll speak about the white dwarfs later. For the present we will keep to the ordinary stars.)

"The internal temperatures determined in this way are of the order 10,000,000 to 20,000,000 degrees centigrade. Having ascertained this, we begin to realize the state of things that we have to deal with.

"At this temperature all the atoms will be highly ionized. Light elements such as oxygen will be stripped bare to the nucleus and heavy elements such as iron and lead will retain only a few of the innermost satellites, and electrons will be free.

"We have, therefore, to deal with a population consisting of free electrons, the shattered remnants of atoms, and photons or quanta or radiation. Planck's law determines both the amount and kind of radiation present at a given temperature. At 10,000,000-20,000,000 degrees the radiation consists of rather soft X-rays.

"Now we can see more or less what is happening at 10,000,000 degrees in the interior of the sun."

Power from the Sun

Innumerable attempts have been made to utilize directly the sun's heat. The latest, a sun-power machine constructed by Dr. Charles G. Abbot, was incapacitated on the very day it was scheduled to astonish the delegates to the World Power Conference. However, it is not something to be dismissed as strictly crackpot.

Dr. Abbot, who is secretary to the Smithsonian Institution, has studied the problem for many years. To his credit is a solar thermometer designed to record the slightest variation of solar radiation and which, he believes, will enable man to forecast the weather far in advance. Two years ago Dr. Abbot invented a sun-operated cook-stove which actually functioned; last year he demonstrated a model machine for extracting power from the sun, capable of capturing 15 percent of the power in sunshine, or approximately one horsepower per square yard. This year the same apparatus with further refinements proved its ability to run a one-half-horsepower steam engine.

In principle and practice, the machine has curved reflectors (Dr. Abbot's are aluminum) which concentrate the sun's rays on a tube containing a liquid compound of a very high boiling point. The liquid in the tube passes through a boiler where it heats water to make steam which, in turn, runs a steam engine.

House of Glass

After years of research in glass technology by the Corning Glass Works, New York City's first glass house is to be erected on Fifth Avenue at Fifty-sixth Street. The building will be five stories high and of fireproof construction, with exterior walls consisting of great screens of glass construction units framed in Indiana limestone. The units are approximately a foot square and four inches thick, made of the same heat-resisting glass used in the manufacture of ovenware. It is hoped that the use of such large units as compared with the building brick will reduce the cost of installation and the number of mortar joints.

In order to obtain a high percentage of light transmission and at the same time purposely obscure all images seen through the blocks, the inner walls have scientifically designed optical fluting running vertically on one wall and horizontally on the wall opposite. In addition, the fluting will provide a variety of decorative designs and avoid the production of lens effects.

Geoffrey Platt, one of the architects of the glass house, hails the new construction as opening vistas upon entirely new conceptions of building design.

"It has freed the architect," says Mr. Platt, "from the feeling of a wall as a solid, opaque mass which encloses the building and through which he has to punch holes for windows. He is now able to think of his exterior wall as a screen transmitting light."

W. CARROLL MUNRO

ON THE RELIGIOUS HORIZON

AT THE recent Nazi Party Congress held in Nuremberg, a highlight was the brutally frank assertion by Propaganda Minister Goebbels that Hitler and his regime intend to spread anti-Semitism to other lands. Der Fuehrer, speaking against "Jewish bolshevism," branded the Jews as a "tyrannical element" and attributed all evils befalling Germany to the Jews. The motif of Goebbels' vitriol was Jewish identity with communism.

"We shall not be content," shouted the gnome-like lieutenant of Hitler, "until the eyes of the world are fully open to the danger of Jewish bolshevism. Bolshevism could have been born only in the Jewish mind." Herr Streicher went so far as to advocate the complete and world-wide "extermination" of all Jews.

In Italy, September 24 marked the first time that anti-Semitism has been a tenet of the Fascist Party. In his newspaper "Regime Fascista", Roberto Farinacci, former Secretary of the Fascist Party and a member of the Fascist Grand Council, editorially assailed "the subversive influence of Jews", as the evident cause of "existing disorders, from Bolshevist Russia * * * to France."

In America, the Social Justice Message of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in the mails the very day (Sept. 11) of the Nuremberg outburst, was an answer, ready-made, to the official Nazi attacks on Judaism. The message clearly and unequivocally states Judaism's position on communism and fascism as political and economic movements in the modern world. "There is only one way," in the opinion of the C. C. A. R., "in which the American people can escape the dictatorship and tyranny of Communism on the one hand, and the tyranny and dictatorship of fascism on the other hand, and that is by establishing a thoroughly socialized democracy."

The Rabbis seek and invite "the support not only of the people of Israel but of all men who hate evil and love justice" to help build this modern *Malchut Shamayim*, or Kingdom of God, "in which justice is the cardinal and controlling principle in the economic, the political and cultural life."

The United States, with over five million Jewish inhabitants, should be interested in this straightforward statement of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. And Christians and Jews alike should be vitally concerned with the threatened spread of anti-Semitism to "other lands."

The Jews within the Reich, crushed and on the verge of complete pauperization, constitute but an infinitesimal dot in the German population. Approximately one percent of the German people are Jewish. The same figure holds for the world population. German Jewry during the last three years has been diminished by at least one fourth. The ninety and nine brave militaristic Nazis are hardly afraid of the (now less than) one Jew.

Various commentators differ as to the meaning of the heat of the great anger at Nuremberg. It is hardly a step toward breaking off diplomatic relations between the Reich and Soviet Russia, for both seem equally clever; neither wants to drop the match into the powder barrel. On the other hand, Nazi officials, absolute though their power, may feel insecure. A hungry, dissatisfied people may be making felt the need for a scapegoat—hence the all-time bogey, the Jews, on which to load all Nazi sins. There are a dozen other interpretations each perhaps partially correct.

Threat to Christianity

It would seem, however, that the meaning of this great anger lies deeper. Perhaps it is not the Jews, but their philosophy of life of which Nazism is afraid. If this be true, not only Judaism, but Christianity as well is in danger. The growth of the totalitarian state (Nazi, Fascist, or Communist) would then imperil all religion. The conflict is not between Germany and the Jews, but between the forces of organized religion and the neo-paganism of a godless superstate.

The philosophy of religion (Jewish and

Christian) differs from the philosophy of God-lessness just as the philosophy of Judaism differs from that of Nazism. Judaism, with its "Love thy neighbor as thyself", and Christianity, with its parable of the Good Samaritan, represent an appeal to justice and righteousness for all, to the universal concept of the brotherhood of man, to love instead of hatred as a motivating force among mankind. Nazism is a philosophy of restrictions; justice and righteousness are restricted to a "mythical race"; love for neighbor is limited on the basis of "fanciful blood"; the "summum bonum" of Nazism is a narrow, nationalistic, instead of a universal, good. The Nazi strategy for self-preservation is to destroy, to "exterminate" the Jews, thus overcoming the danger with which the philosophy of Judaism threatens Nazism.

Religion and Dictatorship

If this theory be correct, we would expect to find all religion suffering a similar fate (to a lesser degree, perhaps, than Judaism in Germany) in every totalitarian state. And such we find to be the case. Roman Catholics and Protestants, while not so hard-pressed as the Jews, find their fate and future in Nazi Germany anything but a cause for rejoicing. Religion of all sorts has been so far suppressed in Russia that we find Government leaders willing to tolerate it because, in their opinion, it has become too weak to represent a menace. In defending that provision of the new Soviet Constitution which would re-enfranchise priests, Emil Yaroslavsky, head of the League of Militant Atheists, says:

"Our attitude toward religion, the Church, and clergymen is unchanged. We will continue our anti-religious propaganda as we always have. There are still millions of believers in our country and they will not disappear tomorrow. But religion is rapidly dying in the Soviet Union, and the number of believers is constantly becoming smaller; hence, the number of clergymen is also declining. * * * So what danger is there in granting the franchise to priests? One cannot imagine priests being found anywhere in the Soviet Union for whom the masses would vote and whom they would elect to the supreme council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Mexico has curtailed the program and activity of all churches. The Spanish revolution is replete with persecution of religion. Wherever the superstate is developing or is established, we find religion faced with a dilemma: it must either forsake its ideals or be suppressed.

Need for Unity

The example of the Spanish priest who, informed of his impending execution, agreed willingly to face death, might be a lesson to all religious persons and organizations. The priest asked only that he be permitted to bid farewell to his mother and his sister—in other words, to set his house in order. When Catholics, Protestants and Jews have set their individual and collective houses in order and are able to present a united front, they will find themselves much nearer the freedom which was acclaimed for the priest —when, according to the story, the firing squad threw down their rifles and refused to shoot him.

Differences, disagreements, petty bickerings, and quarrels which are divisive in their results, are the greatest weakness of the forces of religion. True religion, while seeking the good of all, condemns none for failure to hold the same tenets as to particulars.

Tolerance in America

Only during the last few years has the National Conference of Jews and Christians really begun to function. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America is a similar attempt to set in order the Protestant household. This need for cooperation based on mutual understanding rather than competition caused by mistrust was well expressed by Dr. James N. Yard, Executive Secretary of the Chicago Round Table of the N. C. J. C. in addressing the Midwest Institute of Human Relations, held at Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin. He said:

"If any people ever had reason to practice tolerance, it is the American people. What statistical or biological expert can find the

'average American'? We are a people of many origins and it is just this which has helped so largely in making us the resourceful, inventive people we have come to be. * * * civilization develops at crossroads where there is cultural contact. Where there is no contact with different people and their cultures, civilization tends to stagnate. Never in America—I mean *never*, was there a more insistent need for intergroup cooperation."

The suppression of a minority in Germany seems to be bringing a recognition of the value of that minority to real democracy—and to real religion.

Conversion

Mr. Gandhi wrote in a recent statement in the *Harijan:*

"It is a conviction daily growing upon me that the great and rich Christian missions will render true service to India if they can persuade themselves to confine their activities to humanitarian service without the ulterior motive of converting India, or at least her unsophisticated villagers, to Christianity, and destroying their social superstructure which, notwithstanding its many defects, has stood, from time immemorial, the onslaughts upon it from within and without."

The Moslem Mission of the Roman Catholic Church has been (of necessity) conducted in this manner. One wonders what the reaction of Mohammedanism will be when missionaries, graduated from the Oriental Institute in Rome, with its new chair of Islamic studies, reach the field. Only in Java have there been any considerable number of converts. Even there, where over 10,000 Muslims were baptized as Catholics between 1910 and 1925, the credit goes to the excellent schools. *More than 80% of the Catholics of Islamic origin are former pupils.*

The revolt in Spain was less than a week old when Russian Communists in a thousand (estimated) meeting places, pledged themselves to give one half of one percent of a month's wages. Their fellow Communists were informed of the pledge—$2,400,000 of Russian support. In 1935 Catholics of the entire world gave $3,600,000 for Missions. Apparently each Communist accepts his personal responsibility and acts his belief.

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

Wars of Religion?

IT IS easy already to see how the nations are taking sides in the Spanish civil war, or splitting into two hostile sections, according to their sympathies.* * * Summary extremisms of Party thinking in a time of struggle may soon * * * have divided Europe in two: on the one hand, the fascists and those who lean towards fascism, and on the other those who tend toward communism.* * * Even in this broad sense of the word, we feel able to say that "Communism" is preferable, for us, to fascism, for while both are atheistic, communism has the merit of admitting its atheism.* * * It may be a war of faith against faith. The Crusades may begin again.* * * the Living God will be no less—and no more—involved in them than He was in the wars of history that bear the name.

Henri Roser, in Quarterly News Letter No. 9 of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.



Times Wide World

VERSAILLES PARADOX: David Lloyd George, English post-war mapmaker and Adolph Hitler, Versailles revisionist, talk things over in Germany.

WHICH WAY, GREAT BRITAIN?

—will it be France, or Germany? War or Peace?

By REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE "muddling through" of British politics, a phrase used by the British themselves in the spirit of complacent self-criticism, and expressing the admiration of friendly critics for the pragmatic sagacity of British statesmanship, may acquire a less complimentary connotation in the light of current history. To "muddle through" means to make political decisions from day to day without too much concern for consistency or too great interest in ultimate objectives. The virtue of this kind of pragmatism lies supposedly in the fact that it is best able to do justice to the imponderables of politics and to allow freedom of action in meeting new and unpredictable emergencies.

Unfortunately, the European situation requires long-range planning, even though the anarchy of its international life creates fresh and unpredictable crises every week. And the strategic position of British diplomacy in Europe makes long-range planning without Britain impossible.

The necessity for foresight is given by the consistent and predictable policy of German expansion upon the continent. The Germans are rearming at a rapid pace. As rapidly as their military strength increases they use it in various *Kraftproben* (tests of strength), to demonstrate and to establish their power and prestige in Central Europe. Since their successful reoccupation of the Rhineland, they have succeeded in wresting control of Danzig from the League and have made a treaty with Austria which will give them most of the advantages of *Anschluss*. Most probably the next test of strength will be some venture in Czechoslovakia in relation to the three-million German minority there. The general policy behind these various strategies is becoming increasingly clear. It is to consolidate German strength in *Mitteleuropa* and to exploit Southern Europe in an economic thrust which is reminiscent of the old Berlin-to-Baghdad imperialistic impulse. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht's barter agreements with the various Balkan nations and Turkey are the beginning of this economic penetration. If the Nazis should succeed in this political consolidation of Central Europe and the economic penetration of Southern Europe, they could gain sufficient political prestige and economic advantage to perpetuate their regime for some time to come.

The immediate diplomacy of Germany is designed to wrest the hegemony of the continent from France without directly challenging either France or Russia. The conviction, widely prevalent in the United States, that the Franco-Soviet accord is a guarantee against German expansion is no longer relevant. The Nazi purpose is to expand at the expense of the smaller nations of Europe and in the hope of avoiding conflict with the larger ones.

The importance of British diplomacy in relation to this ambition arises from the fact that the cornerstone of Nazi international politics is to do nothing which will arouse Britain and to seek by every possible means to detach England from her alliance with France. The Anglo-German naval accord was Hitler's notice

to the world that the one error of the German imperialists of 1914—which he intended to avoid—was to challenge the British Navy. It is interesting to note that the ascendency of air power over naval power reduces this concession to less than its obvious significance. It quiets traditional fears but does not quite satisfy the necessities created by the development of air power.

Exploiting British Fairness

Nevertheless the Nazis have been generally successful in their plans. For various reasons they have succeeded in maintaining an attitude of British complacency towards their various ventures. The traditional sense of "fairness" in British politics has come to their aid. The British felt the reoccupation of the Rhineland and equality in armaments to be no more than "just." This emphasis upon fairness to Germany probably has been expressed most clearly by men like Lord Lothian. Furthermore there has been a pro-German section in British political life, the most active protagonists of which are the Astors, who control both the *Times* and the Sunday *Observer*, and Lord Londonderry, who allows von Ribbentrop, Hitler's roving ambassador to make Londonderry house a kind of German embassy in Britain. Rumor has it that he went so far as to suggest who the British ambassador to Berlin ought to be. Incidentally, it is significant that Ribbentrop's diplomacy is hailed in Germany as a brilliant triumph, even by intellectuals who are generally critical toward the Hitler regime.

The British Government is not quite following the lead of this pro-German group. It is actively opposed by men like the War Minister, Duff-Cooper and, outside of the Government, by the influential Winston Churchill. Nevertheless, the inability of the Baldwin Government to take any decisive action has the general effect of playing into the hands of the pro-German policy. Bertrand Russell suggested in a recent article that Tory class interests may be a determining factor in this policy.

Some of the British Tories no doubt regard a quasi-entente with fascist Germany as more compatible with their interests than common action with Russia and an increasingly radical France. In this case, class interests befuddle the clearer imperialistic insights of men like Churchill, who think of Germany first of all in terms of its peril to the Empire.

Though the Baldwin Government does not follow an unambiguous pro-German line, it is significant that Anthony Eden's desire to take strong action against the Rhineland occupation was frustrated in the Cabinet and that Lloyd George's remark, "England will never go to war for Austria," was not repudiated by the Government. It was, in fact, underscored in a *Times* editorial in which a profession of loyalty to France in the event of an attack upon her was accompanied by a disavowal of responsibility for the various "French" commitments on the continent. Briefly, Britain is inclined to regard the wresting of continental hegemony from France by Germany with a certain degree of complacency. This policy places Germany's smaller opponents at a tremendous disadvantage. They cannot be certain of French support since the latter cannot be certain of British support. There is a possibility, therefore, that Germany can continue her encroachments in Central and Southern Europe with impunity.

May Encourage Aggression

The advantage of this policy is that it may avoid war for several years. In that sense it may seem to justify a policy of "muddling through." It has two disadvantages: First it may encourage German aggression and then turn against Germany in the event that France challenges the Nazis in any of their ventures. It is possible, of course, that the war weariness of French peasants and workers and their



Times Wide World

ENGLISHMAN AND NAZI: Lord Londonderry (center) and Herr von Ribbentrop, Berlin's roving ambassador, greet each other in England. (Frau von Ribbentrop at left.) Londonderry House is almost a German Embassy.

avowed determination not to fight for any of the commitments of French imperialism will prevent the French Government, particularly a radical government, from challenging Germany in her encroachments, especially upon Czechoslovakia. In that case, war would be avoided but with the ironic result of allowing a militaristic Germany to avenge upon a pacifist France the injustices done by a militaristic France upon a pacifist and liberal Germany. Though such a policy of French acquiescence is possible, it is not probable. And if France does challenge Germany at any point in her policy of expansion, it is probable that Britain will be driven by instincts of self-preservation to come to the aid of France, even though her encouragement of Germany had been a contributory cause of German expansion.

The other disadvantage of the British policy is that, even if war is avoided for five or ten years at the price of an unchallenged expansion of Germany, Britain ultimately will have to face a triumphant Germany for a final joining of the issue. The assumption of the pro-German party that justice to Germany, allowing her a moderate expansion, will avert war fails to take the dynamics of politics into account, particularly the dynamics of a fascist dictatorship. Germany is bound to regard every successful test of strength, not as an appeasement of her just grievances, but as a preliminary victory which encourages to a more ultimate conflict.

When, and if, this ultimate crisis occurs, it is highly probable that every instinct of imperial self-preservation will drive Britain to the side of Germany's foes. Britain thus threatens to repeat the mistake of 1914 in encouraging Germany by her indecision to hope for an ultimate British neutrality; and Germany gives every indication of allowing this British error to

betray her into the same mistake she made in 1914. In this sense Ribbentrop's diplomacy is analogous to that of Bethman-Hollweg and will probably prove equally fatuous. On the other hand, if Britain should not follow this course, but actually come to terms with a Fascist Germany at the expense of a socialist France, the consequences for Europe might be more grievous than those of war. Such a decision might result in a triumphant reaction in Europe for a generation. But among the reasons why such a step probably will not be taken is the fact that it would, as nothing else, goad British workers into revolutionary opposition. In spite of their strong anti-war sentiments, they might be recruited for a war against Germany but hardly for one with Germany against France.

New German Victories

Meanwhile, whatever the ultimate probabilities and possibilities about which it may be idle to prophesy, it is an established fact that German aggression will gain many preliminary victories on the Continent with the aid of British acquiescence. It is also fairly certain that Germany will not, in the immediate future, dare to attack Russia. The German Army command is supposedly opposed to such a venture, at least for the present. The growing power of Russia will tend to make such a venture less and less attractive, the longer it is postponed. It is possible that Russian power may also assert itself against Germany, even without such an attack; but that is not likely. The treaty between Russia and Czechoslovakia has a significant clause which absolves Russia from obligation to the Bohemians except in the event that France previously comes to their aid.

The dangerous muddling of British diplomacy, meanwhile, faces no really serious opposition. There is a small group of imperialistic realists under Mr. Churchill and another small group of radical realists under Sir Stafford Cripps who oppose the Government's dangerous drift from their respective angles of conservative and radical *realpolitik*. But the vast majority of critics are in the school of rather muddleheaded League of Nations idealists. These people, who comprise both the church opinion and the official Labor Party, believe that the only hope of salvation in Europe is the principle of collective security to which they implore the Government to adhere. Unfortunately, they seem to regard the League of Nations as an adequate instrument of collective security long after it has been proved that the League is little more than a façade for the ordinary power politics of Europe. Thus the idealists criticize the Government for less than wholehearted devotion to the League principle in the case of Italy's aggression in Africa. Undoubtedly the Tories were, for reasons of their own, not too anxious to press Mussolini, provided he did not challenge imperial interests in Africa too seriously. But they also had reasons of state for their reluctance. France was unwilling to support Britain wholeheartedly in disciplining Mussolini if Britain would not promise more definite help in case of a German crisis. Sanctions against Italy broke down, therefore, because Britain and France failed to reach a bargain in power politics. And the bargain failed because of the reluctance of the British Foreign Office to commit itself too far in advance on the issues yet to be raised by Germany.

This may be a serious blunder in the diplomacy of the Government, but it is hardly one which the League of Nations idealists can criticize. Most of them are pacifists who would object to a commitment of the Government which might lead to war even more vigorously than they objected to the policy which the Government took. The supporters of the League usually insisted, in fact, that sanctions must not lead to war, though it was ob-

vious that no effective sanctions could be applied without that risk. The Government satisfied this type of public opinion by applying only the kind of ineffective sanctions which did not involve the war danger. When their ineffectiveness had been revealed, the League supporters were reduced to the ridiculous gesture of insisting that the sanctions be continued anyway. They hoped to arouse a storm of public disapproval against the Government on this issue, similar to that which swept Sir Samuel Hoare out of office; but in this case the common sense of the British public asserted itself. The fact is that the League idealists have allowed themselves to be captivated by phrases and sentiments which have only the slightest relevance to the desperate anarchy which threatens European society. They are trying to stem the tide of anarchy by a League which is corroded by the same anarchy it is intended to prevent. The most solemn incantations in honor of the principle of collective security do not change this fact.

Conflict Not Imminent

Radical realists like Sir Stafford Cripps and H. N. Brailsford would like to establish an entirely new kind of league, a league of the free states of Europe against fascism. What they want, in effect, is an alliance of Russia, France, and the Scandinavian countries against Germany and Italy. Unfortunately their plans have little meaning without the support of Britain for such a venture; and that support is unthinkable without a smashing Labor victory in some near future—an eventuality which must be placed in the category of improbabilities.

There is consequently as little hope of averting a general European conflagration as there is reason for expecting it in the very near future. Germany will be allowed to expand and consolidate her strength in Central Europe. The process will not be without a series of crises, any one of which may lead to war but, barring accidents, a war in Europe within the next few years is highly improbable. Permanent peace is even more improbable. The immediate risks of war, through which an ultimate war might have been avoided, were not taken. It is probably too late now to take them, even if British statesmanship should change its mind. The German power has already advanced too far to make such a retracing of steps possible. The peace of today has been bought at the price of the certainty of war tomorrow.



Pix Publishing

SOLDIER OF SPAIN: The same pressure which led to the recruiting of children, also led to the recruiting of outsiders—sympathizers, mercenaries, drifters.

INTERVENTION IN SPAIN

HOW THE REBELLION STARTED AND WHAT KEPT IT GOING

By LUDWIG LORE

WHEN the Spanish rebel generals launched their offensive against the Left-Liberal coalition Government on July 18, it was generally accepted as a foregone conclusion that the Loyalist forces would make short work of the insurgent army. At that time it was not yet generally known that the greater part of the regular army and the Guardia Civil had gone over to the insurrectionists and that Francisco Franco, the rebel leader, had drawn the Foreign Legion in its entirety, as well as the regular troops of Spanish Morocco, over to his side.

As the rebellion spread, the scope of the fascist opposition was no longer to be concealed, but it still did not seem possible that the rebels would be in a position to obtain the means to carry their ambitious undertaking to a successful conclusion, for the Government was in full control of the nation's arms factories and its gold reserves. At the same time, public opinion was almost unanimous against the uprising.

Before the first week was past, however, it became tragically apparent that the Government and its sympathizers had made their reckoning in complete ignorance of the opposition's resources. It became increasingly clear that the fascist governments of Germany, of Italy, and of Portugal were not only lending aid and comfort to the rebel cause, but had encouraged and directed its inception.

Germany's interest in Spanish affairs is not of recent date. During the World War King Alfonso made no secret of his leanings toward the Central Powers. This sympathy was expressed in action when the German cruiser *Dresden* escaped destruction in the Battle of the Falkland Islands and fled into Chilean waters. Its crew was interned, but one of the officers, a Lieutenant Captain Canaris, escaped from the camp, was made German naval attaché in Madrid, and maneuvered so skilfully that bases of operation were laid down for the U boats of the German Mediterranean fleet in various harbors along the Spanish coast and the Balearic Islands.

Canaris' services became even more valuable in the years after the war, when his connections with the Spanish Government were of invaluable help to the secretly arming Reich. From 1922 to 1933, he made innumerable trips to Spain. For the Naval Division of the Reichswehr, Echevarieta, the great Spanish naval shipbuilding center, built several submarines which were paid out of the secret "Black" fund the Government maintained for that purpose.

Thanks to the efforts of Canaris who negotiated with the Spanish Government, the old submarine bases were restored and others added. With Juan March, the financier of the Franco rebellion, Canaris entertained mutually profitable relations during the war and after. During the war the former insured Allied merchant men against attack by German submarines, for which, for an adequate consideration, he

received a safe-conduct from the versatile Canaris. In other cases he delivered unsuspecting transports to the German submarines by revealing to the German naval espionage their route and date of departure. This relationship continued to operate to the satisfaction of both parties until just before the outbreak of the July revolt. There is evidence that Canaris conferred with March, Mola, and Gil Robles on Spanish soil as late as the end of June 1936. Probably the final arrangements for German arms support were made then. The Spanish People's Front Government, busy with pressing internal problems, had paid little attention to Canaris and his activities. Later they discovered that Canaris, who has since become an admiral in the German Navy, had concluded a binding agreement more than a year before with Gil Robles, at that time Spanish Minister of War, which pledged Spain to place its ports at the disposal of German submarines.

Nazis Aid Rebels

On July 31 the world first learned that Germany was sending arms to the rebel army. The day before a German excursion steamer had left the port of Hamburg. There were no passengers on board; instead it carried eighteen heavy bombing planes of the latest construction and a group of Nazi Army officers. The ship anchored in Emden, where it took on coal and a large consignment of bombs and ammunition for artillery and machine guns from the Krupp works in Essen. Other steamers were fitted out similarly in other German ports. On August 6, for instance, the steamship *Monte Sarmiento,* one of the "Strength through Joy" fleet of excursion boats, was booked to leave the port of Hamburg with its regular consignment of "deserving" Nazi workers. At the last minute the passengers were ordered to leave the ship. And on the following day it sailed for Lisbon with 14 airplanes, a large consignment of anti-aircraft guns, and other paraphernalia of war. In place of passengers the steamer carried 250 instructors and pilots with its regular crew. Any diligent reader of the daily press in this country can add to these reports.

The first agreements with the German Government were made by General Sanjurjo who lost his life in the first days of the Civil War in an airplane accident. He had been the organizer of the monarchist uprising in 1932 and was to play an important part in the new regime. In February and again in March 1936 he had visited Hitler and had returned to Madrid with the aforementioned Canaris. Before returning he had accompanied Canaris and the Spanish military attaché in Berlin on a tour to several arms plants, and had left large orders for war material of all kinds. It is known, also, that General Franco had an active account with the Hamburg Bank for South America. Canaris went to Spain with Sanjurjo, where the orders were countersigned by Gil Robles as political, and by March as financial guarantor.

The searching of the German steamer *Kamerun* by the Spanish loyal cruiser *Libertad* is still fresh in our minds. Berlin protested and the *Kamerun* was released at the request of the French Government. At that time, Mr. Jay Allen, correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune* told the following story: "The *Kamerun* landed its cargo of small tanks, air bombs, guns and hand grenades as well as dismantled airplanes at Santa Polonia (Portugal) docks and was allowed to deliver it to the rebels. Another German vessel, the *Wisberg,* was sent to a small port across the Tagus River with war material of diverse kinds. . . ."

On August 24 Berlin finally agreed to declare an immediate embargo on arms shipments to Spain. On September 2 Richard Mowrer cabled to the Chicago *Daily News:* "The popular excitement here which subsided after the agreement

by all the states concerned to maintain a neutrality attitude, is reviving as a result of reports that Italy, Germany, and Portugal, continue to supply the rebel forces with arms. It is claimed that two German freighters unloaded arms and ammunition at Lisbon last Sunday destined for the troops of General Emilio Mola. . . ."

On September 16, H. R. Knickerbocker, correspondent of the strongly pro-rebel Hearst newspapers, wrote from Seville: ". . . We landed on this airport here with less formality and trouble than you usually have in peace times at London's big airport at Croydon. . . . The field was lined with airplanes. I noted nine of the largest size Junkers, and the sight of them made me homesick for Dessau where back in 1927 Professor Junkers took me on a trial flight in one of the first models like these. All these Junkers were painted green, the German numbers blotted out. Our little Leopold Moth nosed up through a group of Junkers and I walked into the airport building. There was also a number of Savoia Marchetti planes and a huge Douglas tri-motor. All these planes were fitted out with bombing racks. . . ."

Arthur Koestler, correspondent of the *News Chronicle* (London), in a dispatch dated September 17 reported that he had seen and spoken to many German flyers in the airport at Seville; that one of their number, a certain von Bernhard, demanded the credentials of every visitor to that Spanish resort; that German bombers were used by rebel flyers; that on August 24 *La Taide,* a rebel newspaper, reported in a first page scare head: "Getafe Bombed by Junker Machines." These Junkers had had their German record numbers scratched out and in their place bore a white figure X, without a number of any kind. He confirmed the report that the famous German military flyer, Gerhardt Fieseler, was seen in the Hotel Inglatarre in Seville in his capacity as commander of a fleet of twelve Fieseler scout planes. He said that there were at least one hundred German Army flyers in the rebel army.

Italy's Support

That Italy worked hand-in-hand with the Spanish fascists was well known even before the forced landing of several Italian planes on French Moroccan soil. On July 26 and 27 the Breda Works in Milano worked in 24-hour shifts to complete construction of 13 bombers of the type S 8-1, which were then shipped from Sardinia to Morocco. On September 4 the French Government learned that 24 planes from an Italian ship landed at Vigo ten days after Italy announced that it had decided on an embargo on all arms shipments to Spain.

On September 12 the *News Chronicle* reported that seven new large Italian war planes had taken an active part in the bombardment of the Spanish capital during the fighting in the mountain passes before Madrid, planes which "had reached the rebel camp only a few days before. . . ." The *London Times* tells of "numerous Italian flyers who took a prominent part in the bombardment of Loyalist cities. . . ." In their reports from the scene of fighting Allen and Knickerbocker both repeatedly referred to Italian supplies and to the work done by Italian Army flyers, emphasizing the fact that these men were loaned to the rebels by the Italian air service.

Role of Portugal

Portugal's role was more passive, perhaps, but not less important than that of either Germany or Italy. Portugal has no ammunition factories. Her own supply of heavy artillery was too small to be placed in any considerable quantity at the service of the rebel forces. Nevertheless the help given by Portugal to the insurrectionists had a decisive influence. She opened her gates wide to the profitable ammunition and arms traffic. Having closed her doors

to a legitimate trade in arms with the Madrid Government by a half-hearted neutrality declaration, she secretly encouraged the smuggling of war supplies across her Spanish borders, meanwhile ordering Loyalist refugees who crossed her borders returned to the rebels to be shot. She recognized a "proclamation" issued by rebel diplomats in Lisbon and permitted rebel troops to cross back and forth over her borders giving them every conceivable aid.

Portugal, it should be noted, is not impelled by sentimental motives. The Salazar dictatorship is without much support from the masses. The recent mutiny of sailors on battleships shows that the Portuguese masses are waiting for a victory of the Spanish Left to rise against their own fascists. Defeat of the rebel forces would spell the present Government's doom. That is the reason why Portugal delayed joining the Neutrality Commission in London until Sept. 27.

Democracies Waver

It is not surprising that the great dictatorships of Europe should have come to the aid of their fascist brethren in the Spanish conflict. With the same justification the democratic governments of Europe might have lined up on the side of a Government which is the accredited representative and constituted Government of the Spanish people. That was not the case, however. The People's Government of France issued a neutrality proclamation. It was so neutral that it even refused to permit the shipment of arms ordered by the Spanish Government months before the rebellion broke out. True, Leon Blum in his Cabinet moved for support of Madrid, but the Radical Socialists led by Edouard Daladier and Edouard Herriot refused to stay in the government unless it declared at once for strict neutrality. One of the arguments was that Paris must keep London's friendship at all costs.

There is no doubt that pressure from London is to a large extent accountable for the failure of the Front Populaire Government to come to the assistance of Madrid. With few exceptions the English press represented a Loyalist victory as a victory for communism. By means of a shrewd propaganda, England has been drawn into a hysteria of class antagonism. In his proclamation General Franco mentions three nations which are friendly to the rebel cause: Germany, Italy, and England. English civilian planes in considerable numbers found their way to Ceuta to strengthen the rebel forces.

But seen from the viewpoint of international politics, London had every reason to assist the Spanish Government. A fascist victory in Spain would be the beginning of the end of Britain's domination of the Mediterranean. It would be a triumph for Rome which would henceforth be the master of the Levantine area. It has been reliably reported that General Franco agreed to cede to Italy in return for her aid the seaport of Ceuta which, lying directly opposite the British Gibraltar, effectively would neutralize that stronghold. The Balearic Islands would likewise go into Italy's possession, while Germany would receive a part of Spain's present Morocco holdings, the report held.

Neutrality

On August 15 the French Government through the British Ambassador, Sir George Clerk, proposed a mutual declaration of non-interference in the Spanish conflict. Doubtless Paris hoped that such a declaration would act as a lightning-rod, grounding the emotional and political voltage produced by the Spanish situation. Over her fear of another European war, however, she ignored the fact that the Spanish Government had the right to ask for help. Again, it must have been apparent that a rebel victory would mean that France would be completely sur-

rounded by fascist states. And while French fascism is yet without efficient leadership or direction, civil war in France seemed possible if the Spanish fascists triumphed.

Fascists everywhere have accused France of betraying her own neutrality agreement by sending war material to Madrid. *Le Jour* and *Action Francaise*, the *Voekische Beobachter* and Mosley's *Fascist* insisted that French military planes, machine guns, and cannon were sent to the Spanish Government from France. And it is true that the Cabinet, under pressure from the trade unionists and labor parties, placed 22 pursuit planes at the disposal of the Spanish Government. Since the enactment of the neutrality pact, however, reports of such activity are to be doubted very strongly. Neutrals and the British have complained that the terms of the neutrality pact were being enforced with a strictness and a rigidity that would defeat its own purpose. The *Manchester Guardian* of September 4, reported, for instance, that "the British ambulance unit which recently arrived in Spain, received help and kindness on its way through France, but on crossing the frontier into Spain, it underwent a rigorous search for arms and ammunition at the hands of the French police, every case and package being examined. . . ." Similar complaints came from Sweden and Belgium.

The Blum Government knew very well that the French fascists were carrying on a thriving, if secret, traffic in arms and ammunition by way of Switzerland. It knew that French officials in French Morocco were assisting the Spanish fascists to the tune of many hundreds of thousands of francs, that Spanish fascists received instructions and military and strategic advice, etc.

Has the Spanish Government had help from other sources? The most painstaking inquiry has revealed only one such source: Mexico, which, in mid-August, sent 20,000 rifles and 20,000,000 cartridges to Madrid. President Lazaro Cardenas defended this action before the Mexican Congress, insisting, according to a report in *The New York Times*, that "this was justified by Mexico's friendly relations with Spain and the fact that the Madrid Government is a constitutional regime." With this one exception, it seemed that all other Governments were enforcing the non-intervention pact. Labor organizations the world over have been collecting funds for the care of the wounded and needy. But none of this money, it is claimed, went for the support of the Government as such.

Judgment on Spain

IN A moment when a duly elected and constitutional government was fighting, its back to the wall, to save Spanish democracy both from the onslaughts of its enemies of the right and from the excessive demands of revolutionaries of the kind commonly called red, the privileged classes, the army and the church, to salvage their own material interests, deliberately made common cause in an attack upon the government, deliberately unloosed a reign of terror in which both sides have since had an equal share of guilt, deliberately opened the gates to the revolution of untutored and infuriated masses bent upon wiping out democratic government and establishing the supreme domination of the proletariat. —*Foreign Affairs,* October, 1936.



Pictures, Inc.

MARKET SCENE IN MEXICO

MEXICO *the incredible*

What's happening over the border, and why they like it

By Maurice Halperin

TEN years ago, John Dewey, eminent American thinker, wrote: "Mexico is the land of contradiction. This fact, so baffling that it keeps the visitor in an unrelieved state of foggy confusion, is at the same time the most natural of all its phenomena. The newest and the oldest exist side by side without mixing and also inextricably combined. The result is the Mexico of today; if I seek a single adjective to describe it, 'incredible' is the word that comes to mind."

To a large degree Dr. Dewey's shrewd observation is still true. Not only history, but geography, too, has played many a queer trick on this strange country. Travel fifty miles in almost any direction and you find yourself making violent efforts to readjust your lungs, heart, and all your senses to basic changes of climate and altitude. More significant, of course, are the social and economic contradictions that puzzled our philosopher.

It is a fact, for example, that the average Mexican is a foreigner in his own capital. Mexico City is an up-to-date metropolis of over a million inhabitants. It has large, impressive public buildings, broad boulevards, well-kept parks, many schools, hospitals, libraries, museums, theaters, movie palaces, fancy hotels, as well as several thousand factories and almost every convenience which twentieth century industrialism can boast.

Now take the case of Juan Rodriguez. He may live only fifteen miles from the city limits, but when he makes his annual visit to the big town, for all practical purposes he bridges several centuries during his brief excursion. Dark-skinned Juan, our average Mexican, has an acre or two of mediocre land, a few chickens, and maybe a cow. By dint of back-breaking labor he raises enough corn to keep his wife and four children from starving. He lives in a one-room stone hut covered with thatch, but with neither windows nor floor. A home-made stool or two is all the furniture it contains.

Juan sleeps on a straw mat. He doesn't know how to read. He has probably survived an attack of small-pox or typhoid fever, or both. Living in the highlands, he is not apt to be bothered by malaria or tuberculosis. He speaks Spanish with strangers but with his friends and neighbors he prefers to use Nahuatl, the native Indian tongue. He wears white cotton pajamas, covered with patches, an immense-battered straw hat, and rough sandals. His chief contacts with contemporary civilization are the soles of his sandals, made out of abandoned rubber tires, and the discarded oil or alcohol can he uses to haul water.

Juan is a fairly cheerful fellow, not exactly satisfied with his lot, but patient, dignified, and willing to make the best of it. But that is not the point. He is a sixteenth century peasant with many characteristics that link him with the age of Homer. When you meet him on the swanky Paseo de la Reforma or in front of the massive marble Palace of Fine Arts, you are struck with the obvious truth that he is as much "at home," right here in the heart of his

own country, as an Eskimo would be in Liberia.

Yet the plight of Juan Rodriguez, fascinating as it may be to the poet and the artist, is not of mysterious origin. History explains it well. When the Spaniards conquered the land of the Aztecs, they cast the primitive patriarchal civilization of the aborigines into a feudal mold. That mold held fast for four hundred years despite the fact that capitalism also penetrated the country and created industrial centers like Monterrey, Puebla, and Mexico City.

Modern civilization, however, came to Mexico as a foreign product. It made its peace with feudalism, even strengthened it, for it did not come to compete with it, but to extract the country's natural wealth, to use Mexico as a source of raw materials for the great industrial nations. That is why industrial capitalism failed to bring its benefits to the great majority of Mexicans. And only an incurable romanticist would believe that the Mexican peasant is better off or happier because he lacks sanitary drinking water, a tractor, and a radio.

We must always keep Juan Rodriguez, shuffling his way through the roaring traffic of Mexico City, in mind if we are to have a clear picture of the Mexican scene, but it is also important to realize that today, perhaps for the first time, we can see convincing signs that the contradictions which still delight the visitor to Mexico are going to disappear in the not distant future.

A Changing Country

Most Mexicans wanted to do away with these contradictions long ago. They tried various methods and during their turbulent history made many desperate efforts, but with relatively little success. Even the Revolution of 1910–20, the most spectacular and bloodiest of these attempts, failed to do the trick. Then these long accumulated experiences gradually matured until, a short while ago, they bore a new fruit—a liberal, nationalist Mexico. Here is how it happened.

Senor Hernandez owns a small shoe factory in Cuernavaca. He is the average Mexican business man, with strong Spanish traits, refined, courteous and, with his family, lives modestly but comfortably on a European standard. He represents something less than ten percent of the total population, but he is industrious, forward-looking, and above all ambitious. That is why he thinks of the future and is not at all satisfied.

True, labor is cheap and so is leather (not of very good quality), but machinery has to be imported and is very expensive. He complains about electric power, which is supplied by a foreign monopoly and costs too much. But there are other things which trouble him more. How can he improve his factory and increase his business when the market is so limited? Our friend Juan Rodriguez, we have already seen, can't afford to buy a pair of shoes. Even Senor Hernandez's own workmen earn too little to buy shoes for their children. At the most, twenty percent of the population wears shoes, and Senor Hernandez wants all Mexicans, eighteen million of them, to use his product.

About a hundred miles away, in Pachuca, Pedro Velasco works for the same light and power company which furnishes Senor Hernandez with electricity. Without going into the hard life he leads, it is worth noticing that he is trying to support his family on the equivalent of three dollars a week. He is angry about it, too. His chief problem is how to get sufficient food, but he also would like to earn enough to buy shoes and clothing so that his children could go to school. He has great hopes in his union because it is planning a strike.

Pedro Velasco and our shoe manufacturer from Cuernavaca were never on very good terms, but one day they discovered they had certain common interests. It was very simple. To put it in general terms,



Pictures, Inc.

BAREFOOTED MEXICAN PEDLAR: Few Mexicans use ice or "Tinajero." The people depend on pedlars who sell jugs of cooled water.

they both wanted to raise the purchasing power of the masses, the one in order to obtain the minimum essentials of civilized living, and the other to develop his industry and increase his business. They found a ready ally in Juan Rodriguez, and especially in his distant relative who is a peon on a large, medieval estate and who has long been yearning for freedom. Then they all got behind President Lazaro Cardenas, who sympathized with their aims, helped him cleanse and renovate the Government, and before long, much to their own amazement, no doubt, backward Mexico was prospering as it never had before.

Obviously this is a simplified account of how Mexico, almost overnight, underwent a profound change, but it has its redeeming quality: it gets down to the essential truths of a vast, complex phenomenon. The characters of our plot, for example, are fictitious in name only. They are real Mexicans, representatives of the social and economic strata to which they belong. It is only through an intimate acquaintance with these Mexicans, with their needs and desires, that we can understand the nature of their collaboration and the deep significance that their collective efforts (and their quarrels, for they still indulge in them) have for the destiny of Mexico.

Progress Under Cardenas

We shall return at once to our Mexican friends, but first it may be well to point out a few general facts which bear out the nation's rapid progress since Lazaro Cardenas took office in December, 1934, and especially since he reorganized his Government in June 1935. If we compare business and industrial activity for 1931, the last normal year before the depression set in, with the year 1935, the first of the Cardenas administration, we find the latter shows increases of 100% in mining and metallurgical production, 77% in petro-

leum, 38% in total investments of manufacturing and construction industries, and 88% in foreign trade.

The gains in agriculture have been smaller, but no less solid. The wholesale and retail movement has been steadily increasing in volume. New highways, railroad lines, irrigation projects as well as schools, technical institutes, libraries, and hospitals have been built, or are under construction. During the last year and a half (up to May 1936) ten million acres of land were cut away from the large feudal *haciendas* and distributed to almost three hundred thousand heads of families. From all indications, the present year promises to surpass last year's record-breaking boom by a considerable margin.

It goes without saying that profits and wages have increased and standards of living definitely have improved. Equally important, the Constitution of 1917, a remarkable document but long a mere legal curiosity, has at last come to life. Mexico is more nearly a free, democratic country than it has ever been. Much, of course, remains to be done and the new prosperity entails new responsibilities. Do our Mexican friends fully realize this?

Strikes

Pedro Velasco went out on strike this summer. He and his fellow workers tied up Mexico City and a wide territory in the center of the country for nine days. A million and a half people were without lights, street cars, movies, and a dozen other common conveniences. Some four thousand factories and perhaps a hundred thousand workers were obliged to remain idle while the strike lasted. Nevertheless, Pedro won the strike and with it a 15% raise in wages, a two-week vacation with pay, and several other benefits. Pedro is well satisfied—for the moment at least.

It is interesting to know just how Pedro was able to win the strike. To begin with, his syndicate is strong and well disciplined, and all the workers in the company's plants belong to it. Then the syndicate belongs to a large central organization, the Confederation of Mexican Workers (C. T. M.), which gave it invaluable support during the strike. But there are other reasons. The Government recognized the strike as "legal" under Article 123 of the Constitution. That meant that the police and military forces not only had to respect the strike but see to it that the company did likewise. Pedro didn't have to do a bit of picket duty.

Senor Hernandez was not a mere spectator during those difficult nine days. On the contrary he was very much concerned with the whole matter, and in a way his attitude toward the strike proved decisive. Senor Hernandez has a good deal of influence with the Government. He knows many Senators and Deputies personally and is even on friendly terms with a Cabinet member. The Government always has to keep our shoe manufacturer in mind in times of crisis.

Senor Hernandez sometimes thinks he is between the devil and the deep blue sea, but he is always consoled by the fact that his business continues to improve. For example, last February President Cardenas decreed that all Mexican workers be paid for the "seventh day," or Sunday, the day of rest. The shoe manufacturer stormed because it meant nearly a 17% increase in his payroll. He naturally raised the price of his product, perhaps six or seven percent, but fortunately the net result was that he sold more shoes than ever. With his increased profits he has enlarged his plant, bought new machinery, hired more help (he employs seventy-five now), and doubled his production. His men are working two and three shifts and still he can't keep up with his orders.

He understands that his prosperity is due mainly to the enlarged purchasing power of the Mexican worker, but the electrical strike brought up new problems. He frankly doesn't like labor unions and

always looks with misgivings at the Government's benevolent policy toward them. His own shop is "closed," which means that he can't do just as he pleases with his men. The syndicate made him sign a contract, and if he fails to live up to it, the syndicate can call a strike and probably win it.

Thus, when the power was shut off, his first impulse was to demand that the Government break the strike. He was losing considerable money by the enforced idleness of his men and machines and was quite indignant at the audacity of labor. The electrical workers were setting a bad example for his own help. Yet when certain organizations seeking to take advantage of the crisis in order to destroy the Government came to him for contributions, he refused to have anything to do with them.

Senor Hernandez was deeply incensed at the strikers but, we remember, he also had a grudge against the company. He felt it always overcharged him for his current and he was thankful to the Government for forcing the company to lower its rates. He still thinks he is paying too much, and is in favor of Government regulation of all monopolies. Besides, he has seen the published report of the company's earnings (its own report) and has discovered that of the company's gross income in 1935, 32% went abroad in the form of interest and dividends, while only 17.5% reached the company's employees in the form of wages.

Foreign Capital

Now Senor Hernandez is a patriotic citizen, but he is not a chauvinist and doesn't object to foreign capital in Mexico. However, he hates to see a British concern send so much of its earnings out of the country. That 32% which went to London and Toronto would have done him much more good if it stayed in Mexico.

Suppose a large part of it were reinvested in expanding and improving the light and power company's plants. There would be more abundant and cheaper electricity for Mexican factories. It would encourage the growth of Mexican industry. Suppose some of that 32% went to the Government in the form of taxes. That money could be used to build roads and schools. Transportation would be cheaper and workers would be better trained and more productive. Suppose more of that money went to the workers. They would be able to buy more. It all comes down to this: Senor Hernandez will sell more shoes and make more profits if more of the capital earned in Mexico remains in the country.

Senor Hernandez, our average Mexican business man, thus lent his support to the "devil," organized labor, rather than drown in the "deep blue sea" of foreign monopoly. That is why, in the last analysis, the position of small and medium-sized Mexican business—the middle class—has been, and remains, one of the decisive factors in determining the progressive policies of the present Mexican government.

We have seen that the differences which divide labor and capital in Mexico are real and in the future may lead to serious difficulties. If labor's strength encourages it to make extravagant demands, or if capital suddenly and unreasonably attempts to crush labor, then the resulting conflict will open the way for some form of extremism or retrogression—for socialism or fascism or feudalism.

However, the present compromise or balance of forces seems rather substantial, if for no other reason than the agreement between capital and labor on the necessity of doing away with feudalism. However noisy the quarrels between Pedro Velasco and Senor Hernandez, they cease in the presence of Juan Rodriguez, the peasant, and his nameless relative, the peon. The worker and the business man seem to realize that their common interests—more

work, higher wages, and better business—depend first of all upon giving the agricultural laborer the chance to increase his production and to buy the products of modern industry.

They know that Juan, who already has his bit of land, must be taught how to improve his crops and provided with the facilities to do so—better seed, modern implements and water for irrigation. As for the peon, there is still the elementary task of giving him land. This is no easy, insignificant program, for Juan Rodriguez's landless relatives number over six millions.

Thus Mexico, rejecting the medieval way of life and standing united behind President Cardenas, follows the middle way, the path that leads to liberal capitalism. It is guided by a policy which, in the minds of its executors, is adapted to Mexico's special conditions, but takes into account the long and often bitter experience of the outside world. "We believe," says the noted Mexican scholar, Ramon Beteta, "that Mexico finds herself in a privileged position to determine her destiny. By being in a pre-capitalistic condition . . . and at the same time by observing the effects of the last crisis of the capitalistic world, we think that we should be able to use the advantages of the industrial era without having to suffer from its well known shortcomings."

Time alone can tell how nearly this ambition will be realized. Meanwhile Mexico can boast that within the last two years it has achieved a bloodless revolution, a rare accomplishment these troubled days. With or without contradictions, Mexico remains the land of the incredible.

For the Pan American Conference

MEXICO'S policy has * * * been very clearly defined in the nine points presented by Licenciado Jose Angel Ceniceros, Under-Secretary of Foreign Relations, then Acting Secretary.

These points are the following:

1. Sentiments of international solidarity and equality.
2. Respect for the sovereignty of every country, and absolute elimination of wars for conquest, or of pressure for securing territorial advantages.
3. Suppression of everything in the nature of armed, diplomatic, commercial or legal coercion for collection of international debts.
4. Arbitration as the means for settling international conflicts.
5. Non-intervention in the domestic affairs of each country, and suppression of system of prior recognition of governments.
6. Effectively closer relations, based on realities, and on occasion, public agreements publicly entered into.
7. Transformation of the conception of international law, by discarding purely legal and traditional formalities, in favor of actual and living social and political realities.
8. Nationals and aliens to be placed on an equal footing as regards losses caused by civil war; indemnification to be considered a voluntary act, *ex gratia*, and as due to the circumstances of the moment, very special in character and as not constituting a precedent.
9. Cooperation in problems of an economic character, more especially for solution of those connected with labor, tariffs and immigration.

—*Modern Mexico.*

ARAB EMPIRE

—the NEAR EAST stirs to make a dream come true

By S. A. MOKAZREL

THE general strike of the Arabs in Palestine, declared nearly seven months ago in protest against Jewish immigration, has assumed the proportions of organized revolution. Armed bands of Arabs infest the hills of Judea and Gallilee and raid the Jewish colonies in the plains, defying British tanks, airplanes, and machine guns. And in this struggle they have the active support of Arabs and Moslems throughout the world, including large numbers of immigrants in North, Central, and South America.

The uprising cannot be looked upon as a local, restricted disturbance, but rather should be viewed in its true light—a manifestation of the general spirit of revolt by the East against the West, and a determination to be freed from the domination of not only one power, but all powers, prompted to no small degree by the recurrently militant spirit of Islam, seeking to regain its former prestige and power.

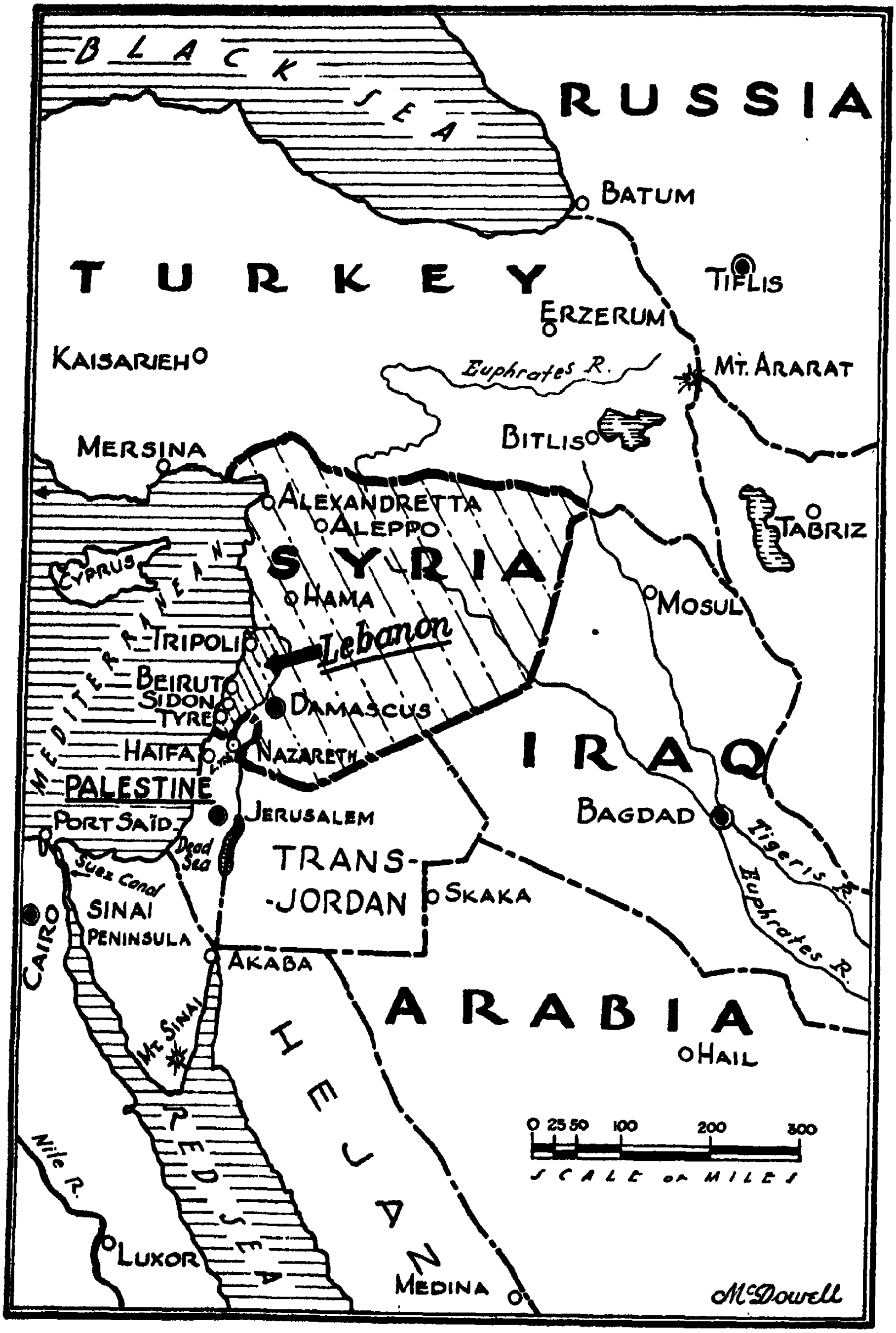
This dream of Arab Empire has long been fostered by a few idealists. Some even dared risk the wrath of the Turks in the bloody reign of such a tyrant as Sultan Abdul-Hamid. With the Turks in control of the Arab world, however,—especially the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, the possession of which must form the nucleus of any general Arab movement predicated on loyalty to Islam—such a dream had little chance of materialization. But the opportunity came with the World War. Turkey cast its lot with the Central Powers. The Arabs decided to join forces with the Allies. The rôle played by Lawrence of Arabia in furthering the Arab dream is history. He was instrumental in exacting certain promises from the British Government for the Arabs, but the Government later failed to keep them, and Lawrence, in disgust, decided to retire from politics, going so far as to refuse the decorations which his own king bestowed upon him.

Sherif Hussein, who later became the first king of Arabia, was the one man in whom the Arabs centered their hopes. Not only was he a descendant of the Prophet, but he was also in control of the Holy Cities of Islam and had rendered valuable, active support to the Allies in their Eastern campaign. His son Feisal was the Arab hero whom Lawrence immortalized in his *Revolt in the Desert*, and it was Feisal who first entered Damascus at the head of his victorious troops, thus lending impetus to the hope of reviving the Arab Empire and restoring to it the glamorous splendor associated with Damascus, the Umayyad capital which for a full century controlled the destinies of an empire far outreaching the Roman expansion at its zenith.

A check to the ambitions of the Sheriffian family, however, came at the hands of the powerful King Ibn Saud, now in control of most of Arabia. Subsequently, Feisal, King Hussein's son, was helped by England to become King of Iraq, while another son, Abdullah, was made Emir of Transjordania. At least this was a gesture on England's part to appease and partly compensate its former Arab allies.

Arab Problems

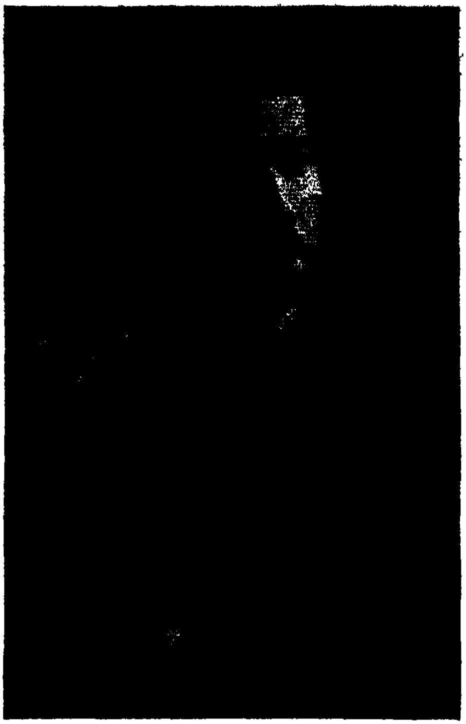
But there remained many other problems which European powers, principally



LOCALE OF A DREAM: the Arab dream of empire, which underlies the present unrest in the Near East. In Palestine, the British try to stem the tide. In Syria, France prepares to get out from under.

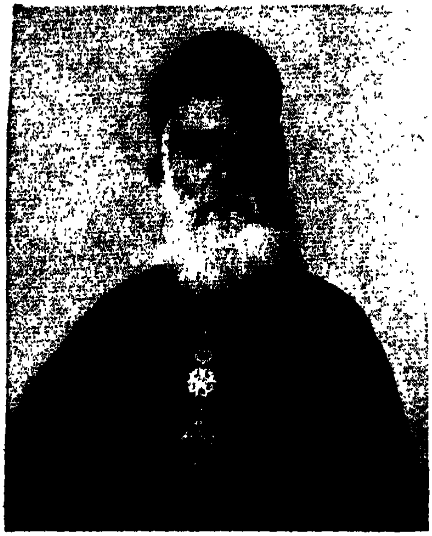
England and France, had to face in the knotty Arab question. Egypt, which was fast developing a strong feeling of national consciousness, was not satisfied with the limitations and restrictions placed on its sovereignty, while Palestine and Syria wanted to have the terms of the mandate held by England and France interpreted in a more liberal spirit. France had to suppress a serious armed revolt in 1920 and another in 1925. England faced a similar uprising in 1929 and is now engaged in suppressing a more violent upheaval because of her Zionist sympathies.

The only country seemingly content with its lot under a mandate is the Republic of Lebanon. Bound to the French by strong ties of friendship for more than a thousand years, the Christian inhabitants of Lebanon themselves sought the protection and guidance of France as the mandatory power and were undeniably influential in moving the League of Nations to entrust her with the mandate over Syria and Lebanon. It is true that England and France, by the terms of the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, had partitioned that part of the Turkish Empire between themselves, even before knowing which way the fortunes of war would turn. But the entry of the United States into the War and later the formulation by President Wilson of his famous Fourteen Points introduced a new and unexpected element into the situation. The American attitude was one of insistence on the full exercise of the right of "self-determination." Old World policies of secret agreements were to be discarded and replaced by a policy more in conformity with the American interpretation of democracy by "open agreements openly arrived at." President Wilson even insisted on sending an American commission to determine the wishes of the population in Syria and Lebanon. Messrs. King and Crane, heading the commission, duly made out a report on their findings, but that report was not made public until more than ten years later. France and England, meanwhile, had partitioned the country between themselves in accordance with the terms of their original agreement.



Fakhry Bey Baroody, militant Syrian leader of Damascus.

There was a semblance of acquiescence, however, in the American principle of self-determination. The Patriarch of the Maronites of Lebanon, the largest and most influential single bloc of Christians in the country, came to Paris at the head of a representative delegation of Christians to lay before the Peace Conference the wish of the Lebanese that the mandate over their country be granted to France. In this he was sustained by the non-Christian groups, which perhaps realized that opposition would be of no avail, or were moved by their faith in the liberalism and justice of the French. In these maneuvers England apparently did not interfere, but Emir Feisal, who had ambitions



The Maronite Patriarch of Lebanon.

of becoming King of Syria with the help of the British, was also in Paris working for the Arab cause at the time of the Peace Conference. Also present at the conference as the delegate of the Lebanon League of Progress of New York and representing the Lebanese of America was the writer's father, the late N. A. Mokarzel, founder of *Al-Hoda* of New York. Like all Lebanese, he was against the inclusion of Lebanon in the general Arab scheme and expressed the hope of entrusting the mandate to France. His report at that time uncovered a clever plot by Emir Feisal to isolate Lebanon and thus lay it open to invasion by the Arabs surrounding it on all sides.

In furtherance of this scheme Feisal sought to persuade the Lebanese to demand complete independence for themselves. Subsequently, when he became King of Syria, he sought to bribe members of the Legislative Assembly of Lebanon to declare in favor of union with Syria, later to form part of the federated Arab States. This plot, however, was nipped in the bud. And shortly thereafter forces under General Gouraud, famous war hero and then French High Commissioner over Syria, battled the Syrian army in the hills of Maisaloun in an effort to establish French authority in accordance with the League's mandate. The general won a victory which opened before him the road to Damascus and caused King Feisal to flee, thus crushing Syrian hopes for laying the foundations of a new Arab Empire.

Bitter Toward France

The Syrian Arabs never forgave the French, and in 1925 the smoldering feeling of animosity finally flared into open rebellion. It took the French two years to pacify the country after this outbreak.

Having had two painful proofs of their impotence to gain recognition of their demands by armed force, the Syrians finally resorted to other tactics—civil disobedience and general strikes. They launched a general strike early in 1935—precursor to the present demonstration in Palestine. Ironically enough, the very elements which had clamored for the French mandate were the first to denounce its economic policies, thus giving rise to the prevailing belief that France had not a single friend in the territory. The Maronite Patriarch, strange as it seems, led a boycott movement against the French in protest against their economic policies, the only result of which, he contended, would be ruination of the country to fatten the purses of privately controlled French monopolies.

Some of the details of the disturbance may shed light on the origin and evolution of the movement of unrest now prevalent in the Near East. We must bear in mind that, whether in Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, or Arabia, the religious motive is basic, even if at times it is translated into more delicate and acceptable terms, such as the problem of minorities. This religious motive is in large part the excuse

for the French being in Syria to protect the Christian minority—and why this very minority rebels against its protectors is indeed a cause for wonder.

It all came about when the French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon, Count de Martel, in an effort to replenish the depleted treasury of the mandated territories, decided to grant the tobacco monopoly to a French syndicate, thus insuring for the treasury a definite annual income. No sooner was this decision made public than a howl arose in the country against control by a single syndicate of the destinies of a whole industry—particularly because that industry had become the main source of revenue in a depopulated, impoverished country, and that country Lebanon, which had stood against all its neighbors in insisting on a French mandate!

The constitution in Lebanon was then suspended, leaving no other recourse for the growers of tobacco and the manufacturers of cigarettes than to appeal to the recognized religious and civic leader, the Maronite Patriarch. Bekerki, see of the Patriarch and only a few miles north of Beirut, capital of the Lebanese Republic, soon became the mecca of delegations of farmers and small manufacturers from all parts of the country seeking intercession and redress.

It so happened that the present Maronite Patriarch, His Beatitude Antoun Arida, is just as well known for his humanitarian proclivities and economic penchants as for his religious devotion. During the World War he was reputed to have pawned his golden cross, the insignia of his religious rank, to alleviate the suffering of the poor. And later, while still bishop, he organized a hydro-electric project in North Lebanon which was one hundred percent native-controlled and in which he was the principal stockholder. The Patriarch was naturally fitted to understand and sympathize with the plight of his afflicted countrymen, and with characteristic enthusiasm he flung himself into the struggle. He neither asked nor gave quarter; he went over the head of the High Commissioner by carrying the fight to the highest authorities in Paris; and he even threatened to go in person to the French capital at the head of a delegation to press the fight against what he termed the predatory interests of the French.

Now this bold and outspoken attitude on the part of the recognized religious and civil leader of that group of Lebanese which was admittedly responsible for granting France its mandate over Syria and Lebanon opened a new vista of hope for those of the Arab movement. Soon delegations from the principal interior Syrian cities of Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, Latakia, and others began streaming to the Maronite Patriarchal see of Bekerki to express gratitude and give pledges of support. Seemingly all differences of religion were forgotten. Fakhry Bey Baroody, a Moslem and a leading figure in the Nationalist Syrian bloc in Syria, was paraded on the shoulders of Lebanese admirers within the very confines of Bekerki, the Maronite Lebanese stronghold, while on the other hand a letter of friendly greeting from the Maronite Lebanese Patriarch was read from the pulpit of the Ummayyad mosque in Damascus, stronghold of the movement for the promotion and advancement of the Arab Moslem dream.

To all outward appearances, this was the sign of the millennium in the East. But it was not to last. It was, in short, merely a game of political opportunism. The Christians of Lebanon, driven by economic necessity, made common cause with their Moslem neighbors of Syria. And the latter, glad to see the staunchest friends of France turn against it, sought to consolidate the opinion of friend and foe to their particular advantage. But since the game was not dictated by sincere motives, it was bound to explode sooner or later. Unfortunately, the end came sooner than

expected, following France's agreement to relinquish its mandate over Syria and enter into treaty relations along the lines of those governing the relations of England with Iraq. A delegation of Syrian leaders was invited to Paris for this purpose. One of the principal demands of the group was to include Lebanon in what was termed a united, integral Syria, failing which they asked the return to Syria of the four provinces annexed to Lebanon after the war. This immediately caused a recurrence of the old fears governing the relations of the neighboring countries in even a more virulent form, where the widening rift rested, not on premises of a social or political nature, but manifestly on purely religious considerations. The Moslem elements in Lebanon, for instance, openly advocated union with Syria because of the preponderance of the Moslem population in the latter country. They called conventions for the avowed purpose of promoting the cause of union and staged violent demonstrations in the principal cities of Lebanon, including the capital.

This situation places Lebanon in an incongruous position in relation to its neighbors, all of the Moslem faith. Only if the Jews succeed in making Palestine a national home will there be a parallel to the status of Lebanon in the Arabic-speaking countries of the Near East. Lebanon's distinction, however, is that its Christian population does not lay claim to a country simply because it was theirs once upon a time. They have held and defended the country throughout the centuries—even against the Arabs when the latter's victorious march of conquest carried them almost to the heart of France. The Lebanese resisted the Arabs because of their determination to practise their faith with complete freedom, and this stand accentuated the religious animosity of the two peoples. Later, the advent of the Crusades and the open and liberal assistance given the Christians of Europe by their co-religionists of Lebanon further aggravated matters by playing on the religious sensibilities of the two native factions. Now, when Lebanon discards the mantle of the past and assumes the appearance of a modern republic, it remains an undeniable fact that its insistence on the maintenance of its independence springs mainly from religious motives. The Lebanese advance the further argument against union with Syria that pan-Arabism is synonymous with pan-Islamism, and cite as proof the first article of the Syrian Constitution which makes it mandatory that the "President of the Syrian Republic be of the Moslem faith." All of which goes to prove that in our search for the causes of unrest in the Near East, special reckoning must be made of the religious element.

European powers may be accused of profiting by this phenomenon, but not of creating it. Neither France nor England is responsible for the injection of the religious motive into the political and social life of the East, but both may be said to take advantage of a deep-rooted system which creates the problem of minorities and the resultant necessity for their protection.

Only Turkey, of all the Eastern nations, has successfully broken away from the religious influence as an element in national life. This success was made possible by the fact that race and religion among the Turks are two distinct entities, and not considered inalienable as among the Arabs. To a degree, the same applies to the Egyptians due to the fact that their culture and language are Arabic, while the Turks' are not. The advantage of the Egyptians lies in their having fallen heir to a distinct national heritage which makes it possible for them to cultivate a sense of nationalism apart from religious traditions. Among the Arabs themselves, however, religion continues to form the mainspring of nationalism, Islam being the Arabs' own product supplying the basis for their racial pride.

THE POLISH PARADOX

An examination of today's Poland — and its leader, Rydz-Smigly

By CHARLES HODGES

"THE Pole is a paradox," General Rydz-Smigly, the man behind the scene in Poland, propounded to me. "He is a combination of ardent patriotism and sheer fantasy!"

The patriotic element obviously explains Poland's post-war resurrection as an independent nation. That touch of fantasy, however, is no less important to an understanding of present conditions. It is the raw material in any country of hero worship. And hero worship in Poland opens up a possible line of explanation for what has been happening since the death in 1935 of that national idol, Marshal Pilsudski.

Strong in life, this man of the old pre-war revolutionary struggle, the war-time battle for independence, and the fight for post-war stability, grew even stronger in death. It became "The late Marshal this . . ." and "The late Marshal that . . ." for every problem which confronted Poland. Nevertheless, the cult of Pilsudski began to run into difficulties. In a rapidly changing world, it is hard to rule from the grave with an iron hand. Recent events in Europe have made the shadowy distance between Pilsudski and the present too great; the dead could not continue to symbolize political power. The self-constituted custodians of the Pilsudski legend therefore have found themselves obliged to deal quickly with conditions within and without Poland which defy the obsolete maxims of an age that is past.

Their source of inspiration once gone, it is difficult to revise these slogans of personal rule. Even that patriotic euphemism, "adaptation", reaches suddenly apparent limits. Authority cannot be exercised for long through even the most highly publicized ghost.

Leader and Nation

Where, as in the case of Poland, there is a deep-set national awareness of this rôle, the critical moment comes rapidly. People seek a flesh-and-blood leader for a national unity that mere institutions of government cannot supply in these uncertain days. Here we encounter, as the head of one of the surviving democracies in Europe pointed out to me, the real weakness of all dictatorial forms of government: the uncertain succession to political power.

Poland has been passing through just this critical period. However, the maneuvers for domestic power have been complicated by two great international forces. One is the economic demoralization which has struck every European country in the wake of the world depression. The other is the appearance of a new, powerful Germany, freeing itself from the shackling peace treaty and rearming in a manner which gives real

meaning to loudly voiced threats against the whole post-war deal.

Both these factors acutely have affected Poland. The national battle for economic stability demands strong governmental action. And the new international situation finds Poland's most vulnerable frontier—one third of the country's total—lying cheek by jowl to the thundering Third Reich. Pro-German elements, feeling the geographic pull of Poland's powerful western neighbor, turned away from the French ascendancy built up in the 1920s. The agile Colonel Beck, controlling Warsaw's foreign office, pushed the dead Pilsudski's wise move for an understanding with Germany to such extremes that the rest of Europe had good reason to fear the worst. Poland thrown into the arms of the Nazi—instead of merely arranging a wise moratorium on frontier bickering for a decade—meant that a bulwark to peace in Eastern Europe was giving way.

But other Poles saw—and see—things differently. They object to being the tail to either the French or the German kite. They want Poland strong enough to stand in every way on her own feet, chart her own course, seek her own destiny. They fear either extreme, French or German, because it means mortgaging the national interests of the resurrected nation in the most critical period of modern Europe.

From this camp of Polish nationalism has come the man of the hour. Today, General Edward Rydz-Smigly represents far more than Army loyalties. He comes closest by all odds to crossing class lines, party interests, and personal ambitions with the national appeal necessary to rally the country.

A thumbnail sketch of Rydz-Smigly finds the man before the World War turning from art to revolutionary politics. He was drawn to Pilsudski and struggled with him during the war years to make the Polish Legion serve its ultimate national purpose. This was the liberation of a people divided for a century among Germany, Austria, and Czarist Russia. Then he fought the post-war battle to round out Polish frontiers and stem the tide of bolshevism, where his military skill marked him as a natural commander in this age of mechanical warfare. In the years of Pilsudski politics, he remained unswervingly loyal to Poland's brusque leader. Most of this time, he was deliberately in the background and permitted himself to be politically obscured from public view. Yet when death softened the hard features of the man who ruthlessly had ruled Poland from the Belvedere Palace since 1926, those close to the dead marshal knew that Pilsudski had looked to Rydz-Smigly as his successor. The past few months have served to make this knowledge general and to bring strong national sentiment to the support of Poland's new leader.

Of course, there is opposition to these developments. On the extreme right, the out-and-out fascist party bitterly assails General Rydz-Smigly and his associates. One of its leaders complained to me that their chief objection to the new order arises from the conviction that the Army must be kept out of politics. To the extreme left, communist agitation continues "underground" while many Reds have infiltrated into the old Socialist Party with whom the irascible Pilsudski locked horns over democratic government. Another important opposition element is represented by the consolidation of peasant groups not yet "sold" on the new regime. Even personal ambitions play a part and certain men within the Army circle itself cannot be completely discounted.

Definitely stronger than these discordant elements, it seems to me, nationalism and hero-worship unite to turn the great mass of Poles toward the Rydz-Smigly leadership. This is a combination that expresses the vague gropings of millions of ordinary people—national security at any cost, someone who symbolizes authority, someone who points the way for the na-



SPOTLIGHT ON THE ARMY: "Both inside and outside Poland the armed forces of the nation constitute the key to the future."

tion. Concrete interests, typified by landowners, industrialists, and churchmen, likewise are falling into line; they fear—if the Government again falls into weak hands with the old disruptive party strife reappearing to hamstring authority—the utter disintegration of the state.

Army Spotlight

Thus the spotlight turns on the Army—and Generalissimo Rydz-Smigly. Both inside and outside Poland, the armed forces of the nation constitute the key to the future. The standing Army, based upon the usual European system of compulsory military service, roughly totals three hundred thousand men. The trained reserves constitute one and three quarters more. Poland's air force, as General Dreszer, who "cracked up" at Gdynia during the summer, told me in some confidential talks, has grown amazingly in the past half-dozen years. Even the small naval force based on Gdynia, composed largely of destroyers and submarines, now has to be figured into any sea operations on the Baltic.

Every effort, even to the point of overstraining state finances during the Pilsudski regime, has been made to create a hard-hitting, well-equipped force. Part of this task, especially the mechanization of the Army, goes straight into the problem of Poland's economic development and industrial preparedness.

Poles, bent upon stressing the national importance of Poland, seize every opportunity to point out: First, that the area of the country makes Poland fifth in size on the European continent; second, that the population establishes it as the sixth largest state; third, that the density of population puts it in ninth place; and, fourth, that the rate of increase makes the Poles one of the most prolific of the

European peoples. Nevertheless, it is Polish military power in the last analysis which gives Poland her new importance in European affairs. Physically speaking, unless all calculations are wrong, she has become strong enough to turn the scales in Eastern Europe. Put bluntly, a Poland partial to Germany means an increasing hazard for Soviet Russia—hence for France. If Nazi Germany intends to put her loudly voiced desire for territory eastward into execution, she must command either Poland's acquiescence, or she must crush the Polish military power.

Now there is every reason to believe that the pro-German line of Colonel Beck has irked the Army. The ascendancy of General Rydz-Smigly already has proved to mean more than a renewal of Franco-Polish friendship for public display. This basic entente of the 1920's, considerably cooled by the Beck play with Berlin and the Warsaw distrust of the Franco-Soviet alliance, now has a substantial lease on life. The late summer conversations of the Polish and the French commanders in chief have given Poland the money and armaments needed to bring the Army up to the peak of military efficiency.

Inside Poland today, the Army is no less important. Quite apart from the supreme position of General Rydz-Smigly as commander in chief, the Army as an institution of state exercises a far-reaching influence upon Polish life. Take the economic slant. Due to the comparative backwardness of Polish industry, state capitalism is amazingly far advanced. Some 112 enterprises actually are Government-operated concerns; the present crisis has brought a large number of Army officers into important posts in key trade, industrial, and communications undertakings. Undoubtedly even more important in dealing with public opinion, the Polish Army represents a vast cultural enterprise. Thanks to its educational program, military service is a potent training-school for citizenship with carefully inculcated ideas of patriotism, civic service, and the social order. From a widely circulated daily newspaper down through weeklies and monthlies designed for popular consumption, Army thought permeates the public mind. This Army point of view follows a man after active service with the colors back into town or village, trade or field. These military publications, with their appeal for citizenship as much as for the soldier's job, cannot be excluded from any appraisal of Polish politics. The influence they exert doubtless is second only to the highly social-conscious educational periodicals, nationally circulated under the auspices of the powerful organization of Polish teachers.

Economic Task

Poland, however, possesses an economic Achilles' heel. This vulnerability of the national commercial, industrial, and financial machine can be readily understood with a little historic perspective.

"We Poles were held back for a hundred years," General Rydz-Smigly explained, "while the other countries of Europe went ahead. The alien rule under which we suffered blocked our progress. Now we have only a very short time in which to catch up with the rest of Europe."

Under these circumstances, the Polish leader feels that one of his main tasks is to establish national discipline and national unity as the foundation for national reconstruction. Poland's comparative economic backwardness, coupled with her political and social difficulties, necessitates a leadership seeing the whole problem and inspiring the people to work out the most effective solution possible. He takes a long-range point of view towards all these questions of national development; he believes that a day-to-day existence without planning must be fatal to a modern nation. In the first place, the Polish nation has to be aroused to the magnitude of the task

before it; second, the morale of citizens, easily dissipated in poorly chosen plans, must be turned into carefully prepared channels where nothing is haphazard; third, this cumulative effort, summed up as the duty one owes his nation, alone can carry Poland through the dangerous years of social reconstruction. Poland's leadership therefore represents at this juncture far more than a political domination.

General Rydz-Smigly sincerely regards Poland as a problem in civic duty—not a matter of voting once in a while for this or for that, then forgetting politics to return to one's "normal" engrossing little private affairs. He intends to rally the nation for a battle against national disruption from any quarter. The struggle is as much against economic and social threats to security from within the nation as against political menace from without. However, he knows that he must stand or fall, when all is said and done, upon the nation's daily bread. He appreciates that there can be no armistice with hunger in the present state of Europe; fascism, to the right, and communism, to the left, set the battle-line with a relentless pressure upon his bourgeois creed of nationalism.

Assets—and Liabilities

Poland's basic difficulty arises at present from the fact that there are too many Poles for the existing Polish economic system. More elaborate explanations are nothing but complications of this simple truth. Nearly three quarters of the thirty-three and one half million inhabitants of Poland exist on the land. With not more than ten percent of the population living in towns of over one hundred thousand inhabitants, a few key cities dominate the economic life of the country. Agriculture, though supporting two thirds of the population, cannot take care of the 450,000 human beings constituting the annual increase, without further lowering the rural standard of living or undergoing thorough reorganization. Industry, at the other end of the occupational ladder, has been hard hit by the depression; it is today still less able to sustain a further yearly increase in man-power unless the nation's business system is speeded up.

The peasant, then, is the largest single factor in this struggle for economic equilibrium. Landlordism is at its worst in the east and west of Poland, where over-mortgaged estates offer hope neither for the Polish gentry nor for the peasant help. The breaking up of estates, the gloomiest side of the agricultural picture, proceeds far too slowly; agrarian reform still awaits substantial fulfillment, although small holdings now predominate in the central and southern regions. The standard of living, nowhere high, reaches the lowest levels of Europe in the poverty-stricken east.

Short of revolutionary change, industrial development is the only quick way out. So, from one standpoint, it is Poland's good fortune that the country suffers from general under-development of basic resources. Outside of Silesia, these assets have only been scratched, thanks to German and Russian repression. Beginning with coal and considerable iron, they include important products such as lead, zinc, copper, petroleum, potassium salts for the chemical industry and fertilizer, cement, and timber in large quantities. On the other hand, the lack of Polish capital has made foreign investment indispensable. Here we encounter a lopsided development. The surplus labor has led to a large but poorly organized small-scale production by peasant artisans of the "cottage industry" type, so familiar in Western European capitalism in the early nineteenth century, which accounts for two thirds of the enterprises in the census of industry. Foreign capital has concentrated itself in large plants, hardly more than a hundredth of the total number; but they employ close to one half the man-power in industry. Money from abroad

has gone especially heavily into extractive enterprises, foundries, chemical plants, utilities, and insurance.

The world depression, hitting Poland in three directions, has left the nation with a threefold economic problem. As a debtor country with large obligations to meet abroad, Poland must export or be pushed further into the financial difficulties which at present block new expansion. The distress of agriculture, whose many staples are dependent on world markets, strikes at the peasant—the largest potential customer of hard-hit Polish business, notwithstanding his low standard of living and simple wants. The national income, never really adequate for Poland's mounting millions, has dropped decidedly; hard times have increased social unrest, here as elsewhere, in city and countryside.

Rule—or Ruin?

Into this breach, General Rydz-Smigly has stepped. Not as a political spell-binder, using a fascist line with a Polish twist to consolidate his power. Not as a business dictator, syphoning national assets into the pockets of the profit-taking class as a savior of capitalistic civilization. Not as a "careerist" general, thrusting the Army into national politics as his personal machine of aggrandizement. "R-S" stands on different ground—the ground of Polish nationalism.

Rydz-Smigly and the men who are rallying to him as the leader of the Polish people are imbued with a patriotic fervor to make Poland survive. That immediate objective, he knows, cannot be realized while economic weakness and social distress persist. He himself has told me that he is not afraid to borrow from communism or from fascism in order to bring about a Polish commonwealth which can face the uncertain future of Europe in this turbulent generation.

He relies upon patriotism, plus that paradoxical twist of romanticism in the Pole, to swing the nation behind him as its leader. He knows the contradictions and the difficulties of his rôle better than his adversaries imagine. He realizes all the eddies of personal ambition, personal profit, not to mention political rivalry and party hatred, which swirl about him. His own integrity cannot be questioned—he is a poor man, even as generals are supposed to go, from the masses; he lives a puritanic, hard-working life, and does not seek even the trappings of power. Just as he does not care to cross the street to the Belvedere Palace, so he does not wish to step into the dead Pilsudski's shoes. He has confidence in himself, in his spokesmanship for the Polish people.

There is a disarming directness to Rydz-Smigly that has the simplicity of genius. This man who believes that he can worst politicians, even fascist politicians, with his candid patriotism; who believes that he can revamp the economic system so that everyone has a decent livelihood; who believes that he can curb certain of the very militarists who would outwit him and thrust the Army baldly into politics to serve their own ends—this man quietly labors for Poland, *his* Poland of boyhood dreams.

SWITZERLAND PREPARES

DEMOCRACY MAKES READY TO REPEL AN ENEMY

By GORDON REND

FEW nations celebrate their national holiday with such genuine and universal enthusiasm as do the Swiss on August 1. From the peaceful days of 1912, through the turbulent war days and the hectic post-war period, I have watched the huge bonfires on the mountain peaks and marveled at the unity of peasant and banker, army officer and hotel clerk as reverent crowds listened to speakers glorying in the peace and independence of a community of free men.

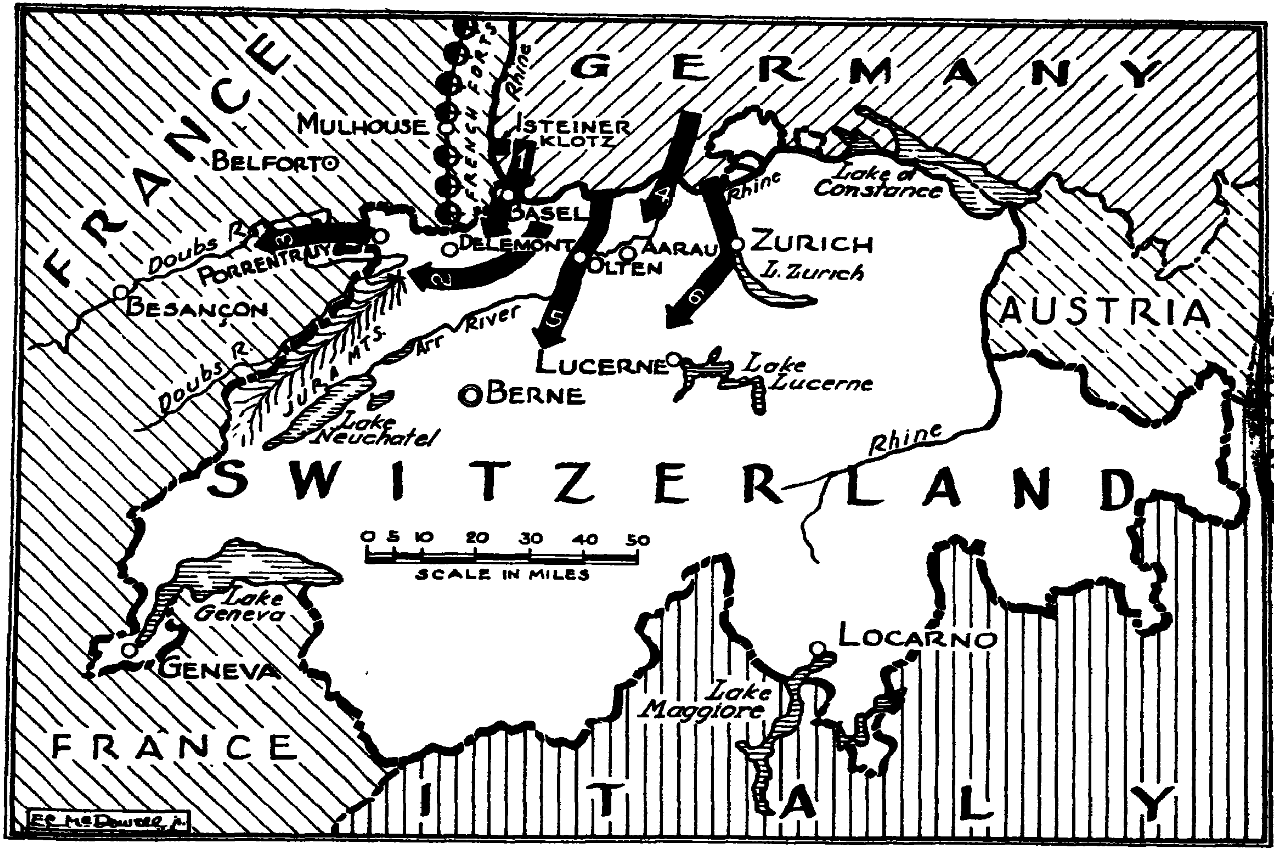
But the last two years have wrought a distinct change. In 1935, in the midst of the Swiss Army maneuvers, Federal Councillor Rudolph Minger, Swiss War Minister and at that time President of the Republic, made a moving appeal to the nation to be ready to defend its liberty by force of arms. Not since the German armies invaded France had such words been heard in the "Isle of Peace."

And this summer, when the Paris express brought me to Berne just in time to witness the celebrations of another First of August, I found the nation's capital without the customary gayety, except for the flags and bunting. Speaker after speaker, as well as editorials in the leading papers, pleaded for national unity and military preparedness. Today, the entire country is apprehensive of possible invasion.

The Swiss are a sober people. Shrewd, and used to dealing with factual situations rather than with conjectures, they have no use for rumor-mongers. Time and time again it has been shown that alarmists could make no progress. Whenever, in the past, the Swiss public showed signs of agitation, the Government made it a point to reassure the people in a calm, but energetic manner; and though the Swiss Confederation is one of the freest countries in the world, the Government's power to control the press and every bit of printed matter frequently has proven useful in accomplishing that purpose.

For this reason, I was surprised when I found on newsstands throughout the country, a pamphlet which, by its very title, explained the apprehension which could be sensed everywhere. On the cover was a map of that section of Switzerland which borders jointly on Germany and France. There was also a reproduction of a telegraph machine grinding out mobilization orders. And then, in bold type across the cover, the title: "GERMANY MOBILIZES . . . . . . The March through. . . ."

On 36 closely printed pages the pamphlet gives a careful documentation from official German sources of Nazi military plans to march through Switzerland in case of war against France. Swiss and foreign experts are quoted to show that the German general staff realizes that its only chance for victory lies in outflanking the impregnable Maginot line of French fortifications. The small 25-mile stretch through Swiss territory in the Delle-Delemont-Puntrut triangle, and the opening in the Jura Mountains there, is the one weak spot in French eastern defenses. An attack at this point would carry the Germans to the rear of even the second line of fortresses and give them a remarkably



TEN-DAY DEFENSE: Switzerland today prepares a ten-day defense against a potential march of German armies through its territory into France. Arrows 1, 2, 3, and 4 show the probable German line of march through the gap in the Jura mountains. Arrows 5 and 6 represent the theoretical divisions to occupy Switzerland.

easier road towards Paris in case of war.

Throughout the pamphlet runs a fervent appeal to the Swiss people to bolster up their defenses, to be prepared for actual combat, and to be spiritually ready to defend their territorial integrity.

From the whole tenor of the booklet, the sources it utilizes, and the open manner of its distribution, it would seem evident to anyone familiar with Swiss practices that it gains circulation at least with the full knowledge of the Government.

Actual Preparations

The booklet confirms what gradually has become manifest during the last twelve months: peace-loving Switzerland has at last become convinced that she will have to defend herself by force of arms. In December 1935 the first credits were made available to build fortifications along the German border. Seven million dollars was then allotted. In April 1936 the Swiss people were staggered by an additional emergency appropriation of one hundred million dollars for the same purpose. Nor was that all. The Government is now urging citizens to subscribe to a defense loan of $76,375,000 more. Characteristically, however, even a large section of the powerful Socialists supported the measure wholeheartedly. And it is safe to forecast that if, and when, a general mobilization order goes out, Socialists and even Communists will forget all about the class struggle to become Swiss soldiers. The Swiss Government can still afford to send every man, regardless of his political affiliation, home after the annual maneuvers with his rifle and 200 rounds of ammunition!

The Fall of 1936 sees most of the fortifications against Germany well completed. Having inspected several of them, I thought it almost miraculous what Swiss energy, spurred on by apprehension, had accomplished in such a short time. The majority of the new constructions are of the pill-box type. Quite a few are under the care of farmers and citizens in the vicinity who, in case of emergency, will constitute the regular crew and therefore have been detached from reserve duty in their regular Army units. These pillboxes, of which four fifths are underground, are equipped with everything from food and medical supplies to machine-guns and flame-throwers. Even tools and repair equipment are provided.

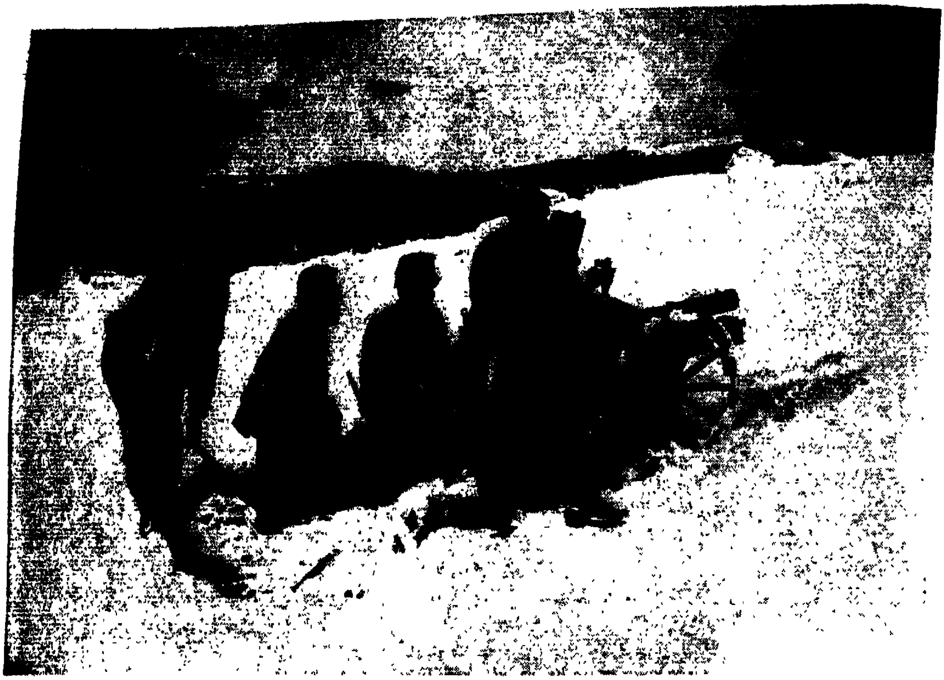
Ten-day Defense

A member of the Swiss general staff explained the idea in back of this defense scheme: "When war comes we will be unable to mobilize our entire Army. The Germans will probably destroy our strategic railroad centers, Aarau and Olten, within 48 hours. Hence, for our border defense we shall have to rely strongly on the native population and we are therefore preparing them for just such an emergency. It is utterly impossible for us to defend the city of Basel because it is right under the guns of the new German fortress Isteiner Klotz. Our entire strategic problem boils down to this: Can we hold the line for ten days? After that the French will have moved up and closed the gap. If we can't hold out that long we are lost."

That ten-day problem I met wherever I discussed the situation with Swiss officers. Now that the country is actively preparing for war it has become the paramount consideration of training and planning. Since early this year, military service and annual repeating courses have been almost doubled for recruits, reservists, and officers. The entire Swiss artillery has been re-equipped with the new Swedish Bofors field gun which was so successful in the Ethiopian campaign. Numerous infantry and cavalry outfits this year have been converted into machine-gun sniping groups, designed to harass the enemy with guerilla warfare.

Army Appointments

That the Swiss mean business is evidenced by two recent appointments which



Pictures, Inc.

SOLDIERS IN THE SNOW: "Peace-loving Switzerland has at last become convinced that she will have to defend herself by force or arms."

went completely unnoticed in the foreign press. Two men, known as the strongest advocates of preparedness and conceded to be the ablest on the Swiss general staff, were suddenly (August 13) put in charge of the most important branches of the Swiss Army. Colonel Hans Bardi became chief of aviation and Colonel Ernst Jordi was appointed chief of cavalry. A year before, one of their colleagues had told me: "Watch for the appointment of Bardi and Jordi. When that happens, it will mean that things have become pretty serious."

The Swiss Army has no generals. Only in case of war or general mobilization does the Federal Council select a general and a permanent chief of staff. The fact that such appointments are now said to be under discussion in the Federal Palace in Berne—naturally in the greatest secrecy and with many official denials—is another straw in the wind. But the best information indicates that the choice has already been made. The commander in chief of the Swiss Army probably will be Colonel Guisan, who at present commands the First Army Corps at Geneva. He is one of the very few professional Swiss Army officers and has come up from the ranks without any "pull" or family backing. He belongs, moreover, to the group which maintains closest contacts with the French general staff.

Switzerland's future chief of staff probably will be Colonel Bircher. The latter is a successful surgeon and director of a famous sanitarium. He is known for his cordial relations with German Army circles, but at the same time he has been very outspoken in his views towards complete and absolute Swiss independence.

Strange Flight

At the moment, the Swiss are doing everything to make the natives air-raid-conscious. Between the summer and win-

ter tourist seasons, extensive air alarms, with the darkening of entire cities, are practiced. Huge seven-by-four foot posters in every community, signed by the entire cabinet, remind the population that "passive air protection is a patriotic duty." Naturally, the many recent flights of German military aircraft over Swiss territory at night have served to increase the tension. Few people know how narrowly an "incident" was averted in July 1936 when, during the most extensive aviation and anti-aircraft maneuvers ever held by Switzerland, the German Zeppelin *Hindenburg* suddenly appeared over the "war" zone—and at a time when it was supposed to be making ready for a transatlantic trip.

Feeling Towards Germany

But it is not information and hearsay alone which have created this atmosphere of nervousness in Switzerland. A good deal of it is due to over-enthusiastic German agitation. The Swiss, to begin with, are extremely touchy about managing their own affairs. After Hitler's rise to power numerous German newspapers were printed in Switzerland, notably the *Reichsbote* which stressed the dogma that the Swiss, being "racial comrades" of the Germans, should follow in their footsteps. Then came the propaganda for a "homecoming to All-mother Germania of the lost Swiss tribes." It is easy to imagine the reaction in the light of the traditional, almost passionate, Swiss devotion to national independence. But the Germans kept on. Next came agitation, through some forty-odd branches of the German Nazi Party in Switzerland, for the formation of a Swiss Nazi Party and the establishment of an authoritarian state. Popular indignation ran so high that the Swiss Federal Council was forced to suppress the *Reichsbote* and another newspaper.

It happened, however, that the movement from the right had increased the momentum of left-wing movements in Switzerland. The Socialists, and particularly the Communists, pounded on the new agitation material. Foreign communist groups thought their chance had come to do a little organizing; and for a while last year, it looked as though this one sane oasis in the European madhouse was to become a replica of some of its neighbors, torn by political passions. But sober Swiss judgment kept the upper hand. To combat fascist influences as well as Communist agitation, the Secret Political Police was created. True to Swiss democratic conditions, it was not endowed with any GESTAPO or OGPU powers. The Political Police is merely an investigating agency. Its chief function is to provide the Swiss Federal Attorney General with material on which indictments can be obtained. Of course, it has the power to arrest and it can also recommend expulsion of aliens.

Secret Police

The Swiss Political Police is headed by Dr. Werner Balziger and consists of only eight men, all of whom are trained specialists. However, in spite of the small personnel, this body has accomplished a great deal in the first ten months of its existence.

Balziger, during the World War days when he was a young artillery officer, successfully solved some of the most difficult espionage cases. Now, with the revival of big-time espionage and with Switzerland once more the international spy center, he has become perhaps one of the most important men in Europe. In July 1935 the Swiss Government passed the law "Against foreign spies and stool pigeons." Balziger put teeth into that law and his department has caught quite a number of Italian and German spies so far. The arrest in August 1936 of four German spies may provide one of the most sensational trials of this century—provided it is ever held.

At present the Swiss Political Police are busier than ever. Each case which is not

nipped in the bud may, in time, involve the country in incalculable complications. When for example, in February 1936 the German Nazi leader in Switzerland, Wilhelm Gustloff, was assassinated, it looked for twenty-four hours as though Germany might send troops into Switzerland. But Balziger saved the situation. He brought in enough evidence to show that Gustloff and the Nazi groups had carried on military espionage and conspired against the democratic form of government in Switzerland; that the Swiss Federal Council had sufficient grounds to suppress immediately every Nazi organization and every German group which operated as social, fraternal, or charitable agencies. And the Swiss threat to publish the evidence sufficed to hold Berlin in check, while Goebbels called off the violent anti-Swiss press campaign which had raged in German papers.

Then, with typical Swiss impartiality, Balziger's chief, Giuseppe Motta, Swiss Foreign Minister, sent a stern warning to the Socialist *Le Travail* and other radical papers that they would be suppressed immediately if they did not stop their radical agitation.

At the same time, the Swiss Political Police issued an edict forbidding anyone not a Swiss citizen to address political meetings of any kind. That order was later amended to prohibit all aliens, under penalty of immediate and permanent expulsion, from speaking to any group of more than five persons on any political subject whatsoever without express permission from the authorities.

Of course these measures have raised the cry of "fascism!" in many quarters, although fascist agitators are just as much bound by the regulations as communists. The fact remains, however, that Motta, who has held the foreign portfolio for twenty years—he was three times President of Switzerland and twice president of the League of Nations—is getting more and more nervous. His pro-Italian sympathies during the late sanctions episode have somewhat shaken the confidence of many of his compatriots in his proverbial impartiality. And his staunch stand against recognition of Soviet Russia, in the face of a parliament with a steadily increasing number of deputies who would like to establish normal relations, is beginning to undermine his popularity. There have been editorial hints that twenty years as Foreign Minister is enough for any man.

Peace Congress Transferred

The recent episode in connection with the World Peace Congress—it went virtually unnoticed in America—may bring things to a head. That assembly, which was held in September 1936 in Brussels, was originally scheduled for Geneva. Most of the prospective delegates coming from pacifist and radical organizations, the congress became automatically a matter for the Swiss Political Police. And Motta quietly passed word along which resulted in the following regulations:

1. Each delegate must obtain permission from the Swiss Government to enter Switzerland, regardless of whether or not he is a citizen of a country with which Switzerland has a "no-visa" agreement. Naturally, under the regulations of the Swiss Alien Police the authorities have a perfect right to refuse entry to any foreigner if they think he might endanger the safety or political peace of the country.

2. Each delegate must agree that during his stay in Switzerland he will have no political business with Swiss radical organizations, will make no addresses outside the congress itself, or will write no articles for Swiss publications.

3. All foreign radical delegates are to be under police surveillance.

4. The Swiss Political Police reserves the right to supervise mail and communications of foreign delegates.

When the secretariat of the congress

learned of these conditions, it refused to accede and moved the congress to Brussels.

The incident shows how nervous Switzerland is at this time. Mussolini in the South, Hitler in the North, unstable Austria in the East, and none-too-tranquil France in the West have the stolid mountaineers on the jump. The Swiss press reflects this attitude throughout. Ever since August 13, 1936, when the Swiss Political Police arrested Friedrich Eisenegger, leader of the Swiss Frontists, upon his return from Germany, the cry to rally to the defense of the oldest democracy in the world has remained a standing feature on the front page of almost every paper. The Government's disclosure that Eisenegger was in close association with Dr. Goebbels, the German Propaganda Minister, and that he had established a far flung Swiss Nazi organization, brought forth a surprisingly strong reaction from the general public; and Berne had difficulties in maintaining normal relations with the Third Reich.

Switzerland knows that she is at the crossroads today. Not even the most enthusiastic League supporters of yesterday have retained any illusions as to the League's ability to guarantee Swiss territorial integrity. As one of Switzerland's Elder Statesmen told me:

"War will come. We will try to stay out at any price save our liberty. The moment a foreign soldier crosses our border, we will fight. And you may rest assured that we shall fight to the last man."

Knowing the Swiss as I do, there can't be any doubt that these words were no empty melodramatics. The Swiss know that several times during the last seven hundred years they have been able to defend their country successfully against invaders ten and twenty times superior technically and in man-power. And their neighbors know it too.

Swiss "Neutrality"

INVASION of Switzerland is nothing new. Since Caesar compelled the migrating Helvetii to return to their home near the Lake of Geneva, numerous ambitious war lords have risked invasion of this territory. Some, like Charles the Bold, came to grief; others, like Napoleon, marched back and forth across Swiss territory much as they pleased. Swiss neutrality was respected in the Franco-Prussian War. During the World War the same thing happened, though both sides were tempted, as Colonel Sprecher de Bernegg, Swiss chief of staff, later revealed.

In the years immediately following the war, hope of lasting peace through the League of Nations rose high in Switzerland. But as Germany gradually reverted to Prussianism other voices became audible. In 1931 a project for reaching Montbeliard, Belfort, Besançon and Dijon by way of Switzerland began to be talked about in German military circles. In 1932 Professor Banse ("Raum und Volk") insisted that favorable conditions for a German war with France included the "occasion or the authorization" to pass through Belgium and the Netherlands in the north and through Switzerland in the south. Only a fully rearmed Germany could seriously contemplate such a scheme. But by 1934 the German rearmament had made real progress. In 1935 the Swiss Colonel Hans Fry publicly discussed the possibility of a German attack. It remained for the violation of the Locarno Treaty on March 7, 1935, to shake the Swiss fully out of their self-confidence. For evidently Nazi dynamism would no more hesitate to violate Swiss neutrality than to tear up an agreement drafted largely to protect Germany, then disarmed and helpless. *Foreign Affairs,* July.

A Demonstration of Faith

WE ARE marking the three-hundredth anniversary of Harvard's founding—the three-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of higher education in America. The occasion is significant and we have planned the celebration with care. To the final ceremonies on September 16, 17, and 18 will come delegates from colleges and universities and, we hope, some thousands of our alumni.

At moments we have wondered whether in this period of the country's history, in a time of uncertainty, of financial depression, it was indeed wise to propose such an elaborate celebration. Is it not perhaps most unfortunate that the early colonists chose to found Harvard in the year 1636? But in case any are inclined to view the matter from such a sorrowful angle, let me ask you to consider the question further. This is admittedly a time of trouble and depression, but it is also a time of peril for the universities of the world, a time when the friends of those institutions must rally to their support.

Look at what has happened in Germany, see to what a state her once great and free centers of learning have been reduced. Count the distinguished men who once occupied the chairs in her ancient academies and mark how few remain today. Liberty is the life blood of those who are in quest of the truth, and liberty has vanished. So in Russia it vanished nearly a generation ago. In these countries the advancement of science is permitted, but within strict bounds; a free inquiry on any subject is, to say the least, hazardous.

Even in our own Commonwealth here I am sorry to say we have seen the first step taken in the same direction—the enactment of a Teachers' Oath Law. No issue of patriotism is here involved; the issue is between those who have confidence in the learned world and those who fail to understand it and hence distrust it, dislike it, and would eventually curb it. The present law is perhaps as innocuous as such a law could be but it is a straw showing the way the wind is blowing. The havoc of the gale in other lands makes me feel that those who value our universities should now come forward.

Our celebration is a fitting occasion for a demonstration of faith. It is a time when our alumni will journey to Cambridge as it were on a pilgrimage and when all who prize our intellectual heritage can march with them in spirit. Is it not, perhaps, fortunate after all that our three-hundredth anniversary falls in this year 1936 and we are thus permitted an opportunity to reaffirm our belief in those ideals which the Puritans had before them when they dared found a college in a wilderness to "Advance Learning and Perpetuate it to Posterity"?

President James B. Conant, in speech at Harvard Tercentenary.

HARVARD TERCENTENARY

—the greatest scholars view a darkened universe

By JOSEPH BARNES

"TO THE immensity of the universe, gentlemen, we now turn our attention."

With these words, President James B. Conant opened the convocation of scholars with which Harvard College celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of its founding. The celebration was to close with three days of pageantry and academic pomp. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the fourth Harvard alumnus to become President of the United States, was to be present for the final day of thanksgiving to the colony of puritans who set up "a schoale or colledge" only six years after they had first landed at the mouth of the Charles River. But the real feature of the celebration was the serious and carefully planned expedition into the immensity of the universe on which President Conant had quoted Robert Boyle who, like the president of Harvard himself, combined a chemist's skill with a wider scholarship and a love of learning.

For this exploratory enterprise, Harvard had invited nearly four score of the world's most illustrious scholars and scientists. Illness kept Albert Einstein away; death followed close on the acceptance of an invitation by Ivan Pavlov, the Russian physiologist; a few others were unable to attend because of the very schisms and heresies within the world of learning which were to be so frequently mentioned during the conference. There was no Soviet scholar at Cambridge, and although German scholars played a large part in the conference itself, the totalitarian Reich was represented by a single dignitary from a minor institution in the final procession of delegates bearing greetings to America's first university.

Those who did attend the conference made up probably the greatest single assemblage of the scholars of the world since the Middle Ages. These men came not only from the centers of medieval Christendom, but from the very corners of the world. Dr. Kiyoshi Shiga, the Japanese who discovered the cause of endemic dysentery, and Dr. Hu Shih, leader of the Chinese literary renaissance, came from the Orient. There were scholars from Egypt and from the Argentine. Five continents were represented.

It has become trite to say in Cambridge that Dr. Conant, who was busy on research into the nature of organic compounds when he was called from his laboratory to take over Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell's red-brick mansion on Quincy Street, gave up an almost certain Nobel Prize for the presidency of Harvard. If it was any consolation to him, he had nine Nobel Prize winners among his guests last month, all of them working for three weeks on a problem he had set.

Towards a New Synthesis

It was this problem, even more than the distinction of those who worked on it, which gave Harvard's tercentenary celebration its unique character. It has been nothing novel in recent years for college presidents in the United States, or for philosophers the world over, to lament the increasing divisions within the world

of learning. The specialization of modern science has brought with it a growing conviction of the need for new and generalized syntheses. New tools and ideas have been sought with which to tie together into some meaningful whole the separate worlds which each modern science has explored.

But in challenging his guests with the immensity of the universe, President Conant called on them to pool their several disciplines for three weeks in a collective effort to study the world and man's behavior in it. He had already announced that his first major innovation within the university will be a series of inter-departmental professorships confined to no single field of learning. In addressing the conference, he spoke of "the essential unity of the learned world," and the symposia arranged for the assembled scholars were designed in the image of this traditional unity.

They broke sharply with the tradition of learned congresses. There were few of the scholarly but unrelated papers on specialized problems with which such meetings have in recent generations been liberally studded. The addresses on the physical and biological sciences were of necessity grouped by themselves, but even here emphasis was laid on the interrelationship of different sciences in the grouping of the scholars.

Within the so-called social sciences and the humanities, the attempt to break down academic stereotypes was more markedly apparent. The conference had been told on its opening day by President Conant that "these symposia have been arranged to cut across the conventional lines of academic disciplines." Before the last paper had been read, psychologists and historians, political scientists and anthropologists, Latinists and jurists had found themselves on the same platform, each one pushing forward an enterprise with no fixed destination but with a clear-cut procedural program.

The first symposium, on "Factors Determining Human Behavior," had brought Professor Edgar D. Adrian of Cambridge, England, a specialist on nerve impulses and the actions of sense organs, Dr. James B. Collip of McGill University, a pioneer in endocrine research, Jean Piaget, child psychologist of the University of Geneva, and Sigmund Freud's one-time pupil, Dr. Charles Gustav Jung, Zurich psychoanalyst, to lay the basis for discussions to come. They had been followed by another psychologist, Professor Pierre Marie Felix Janet of the College de France, a German logician from Prague, Dr. Rudolf Carnap, an historian and former president of Harvard, A. Lawrence Lowell, and a Polish anthropologist from the University of London, Bronislaw Malinowski.

This pooling of sciences on the basic psychological equipment of man prepared the teachers, students, and alumni who crowded into Harvard's venerable Sanders Theater for the diversity of approach that was to follow. On "The State and Economic Enterprise," for example, the first symposium in the social sciences, they heard Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell of Columbia, Dennis Holme Robertson, Cambridge economist who explains the laws of the rate of interest with Lewis Carroll quotations, Douglas Berry Copland, the Australian one-man "brain trust," and Professor William E. Rappard, doughty Geneva internationalist. Whatever agreement there was between such speakers, there was a common approach and a common determination to find some modern reality in the much-vaunted international unity of scholarship.

Unity Defined

As the social scientists pushed forward with successive symposia on "Authority and the Individual," this search for an intellectual and spiritual unity within scholarship became more and more the

leit-motif of the conference. It received its most eloquent statement, probably, in the address of Dr. Etienne Gilson, professor of philosophy at the College de France in Paris.

"Our only hope," he said, "is a widely spread revival of the Greek and medieval principle that truth, morality, social justice, and beauty are necessary and universal in their own right. Should philosophers, scientists, artists make up their minds to teach it, and if necessary to preach it, in time and out of time, it would become known again that there is a spiritual order of realities whose absolute right it is to judge even the state, and eventually to free us from its oppression. Such was the essential nature of medieval universalism; such also are the main reasons why it is still so meaningful for us."

It was natural that a ceremony associated with the beginnings of higher education in America, and with the little band of men from Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who started it, should have referred often to Abelard and the medieval scholastics whose zeal for learning had started higher education four centuries earlier in Paris and then at Oxford and at Cambridge. But the all-embracing unity of thought in medieval Christendom, a spiritual world which served as frame of reference for all intellectual workers, was mentioned again and again as a challenge to modern scholars if they are not to be destroyed by the explosive separateness of modern scientific thought.

Historians mentioned it in their symposium on "Stability and Social Change." When the jurists took over the conference with a discussion of "The Place and Functions of Authority," the same issue was in every paper. Dr. Corrado Gini, Italian statistician and population expert, found the apple of modern discord in liberalism. Dr. Werner Jaeger, Berlin philologist and the world's leading authority on Aristotle, traced the decline of the Greek city-state to its abandonment of liberty. But both agreed, and their colleagues with them, in shaping their addresses to the central idea, each of them tracing one of the broken patterns through which the modern world has lost its oneness.

When the humanists succeeded the social scientists, the eighteenth century, defined by one of them as the last period when there was a significant unity of thought in western Europe, became the center of discussion. Howard Mumford Jones, former Michigan poet and literary historian, Paul Hazard, French critic, Friederich Meinecke, German *Kulturgeschichter,* and Edward Joseph Dent, dean of all musicologists, looked at it from different approaches, but saw it as the rainshed of many of the ideas of the twentieth century.

The final humanist symposia were grouped together under the general title of "Independence, Convergence, and Borrowing in Institutions, Thought and Art." With special subdivisions on Europe and the Near East, the Middle Ages, and the Far East, archaeologists, philologists, a Talmudic scholar, and historians of ideas reviewed the major processes of cultural diffusion by which unities are built up and then destroyed.

To list the names alone of the scholars taking part, with the pithy epigrams which Charles W. Eliot made a Harvard style, kept President Conant and his aides standing in the rain for nearly an hour on the final day of the celebration when he awarded honorary degrees to the men who had shared in the undertaking. In the physical sciences, Sir Arthur Eddington and Arthur H. Compton had discussed the cosmic rays. Dr. Leopold Ruzicka of Zurich had described his discovery of the male sex hormones. Professor Hans Fischer of Munich, specialist on chlorophyll, had explained, as President Conant said, "why grass is green and blood is red." And Dr. Friederich Bergius, the modern magician of Heidelberg, who has already turned coal into gasoline, described to the

conference new research which has taught him to make sugar out of sawdust.

The biological sciences starred no less distinguished names. Professor The Svedberg of the University of Upsala, Dr. Karl Landsteiner of Freiburg, Sir Frederick G. Hopkins and Professor Adrian of Cambridge, and Dr. August Krogh of the University of Copenhagen were among the scientists in this field who have won Nobel Prizes in physiology and medicine.

New Discoveries Announced

Many of these men, especially in the physical and biological sciences, did honor to the occasion by using it for the announcement of new and important discoveries. Newspapermen assigned to the conference wrestled with the intricacies of Professor Tullio Levi-Civita's mathematical base for the Einstein theory, and with Dr. Peter Debye's analysis, made at the University of Leipzig, of the structure of liquids. These mysteries will be further explained at scientific congresses during the next few years, but little of their relationship to each other or of their deep import to our world of ideas would ordinarily filter into any widespread popular understanding.

The principal achievement of the Harvard conference was the degree to which it succeeded in tying these disparate mysteries together. For a much wider public than ever before, the conference made possible at least a partial realization in generalized terms of the meaning to human life of the abstract magic of modern science.

Sometimes this was done directly. Professor Malinowski turned the vast and technical impedimenta of an anthropologist's knowledge of primitive peoples on to the modern problem of war. John Dewey spoke both as philosopher and as citizen on "Authority and Resistance to Social Change." Professor E. S. Corwin of Princeton expounded the philosophy of jurisprudence in terms of the present discussion about the Supreme Court.

But even when the subjects had less contemporary significance, the conference achieved its stated purpose of a stock-taking of modern learning. For the students who heard and read the papers it was in truth a medieval convocation of scholars, called to make an inventory of the world. They discovered, it is true, no unity of belief and idea comparable to that at the dawn of the modern world when the university tradition was born. Even the single-mindedness of the Puritan theologians, who established Harvard "dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust," seemed more than three hundred years removed from the confusion and chaos of the present intellectual world. But for scholar and layman alike, the conference celebrated Harvard's founding with an appropriate recognition of the immensity of the universe and a distinguished attempt to chart at least a rough map of its continents and oceans.

PEACE ON THE PACIFIC

The I. P. R.—what it is, how it functions, its problems of 1936

By CARLTON KENDALL

IN 1925 a group of men, realizing from personal experience the futility of the World War and foreseeing the possibility of another and perhaps more devastating conflict among the races and nations bordering the Pacific, decided to launch an international organization designed to prevent such a world calamity.

This organization was the Institute of Pacific Relations, with headquarters at Hawaii. Its financial support was from private sources: public-spirited individuals and such foundations as that established by the Rockefellers. Its membership was open to unofficial representatives from all countries bordering the Pacific Ocean. Its prime object was to prevent a possible Oriental-Occidental war from arising in the future out of an increasing bitterness over racial, religious, economic, and political differences. It hoped to do this by developing permanent machinery for adequate research in Pacific problems and by arranging frequent conferences for their investigation and peaceful adjustment.

The institute started what promises to be a revolution in methods of dealing with international problems. Founded by hard-headed American business executives, it ignored the old methods of European diplomacy based on official barter, military bluff, intrigue, and legal agreements. It did more. It completely discarded the legal method of thinking, so long dominating diplomatic technique — the method of reaching the conclusion first and then selecting the facts to prove it. In place of this, it adopted the technique of modern science—of examining the facts first and forming the conclusions after.

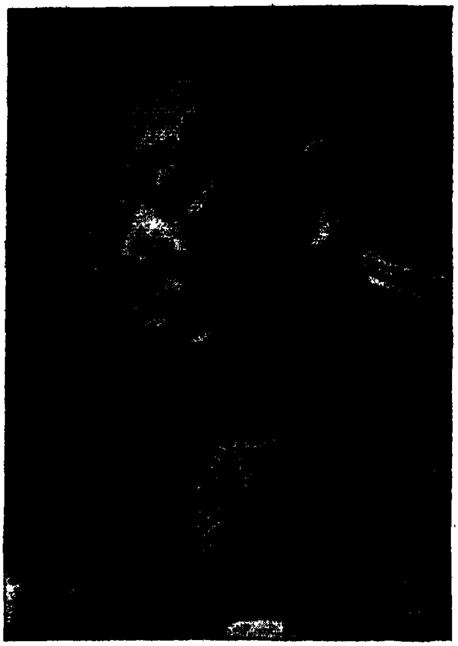
Applying this scientific technique to the solution of international difficulties, its first step was the organization of a much needed research staff to furnish accurate facts about conditions in the nations concerned and to suggest research projects to individual national investigators and institutions. These research projects were divided into two types: long term and short term. The first dealt with the systematic study of deep-rooted, enduring problems with the object of obtaining basic information of a permanent nature. These projects often extended over five years. The second type, as its name indicates, concerned itself with investigating more current problems requiring not more than 18 months of research.

During the past eleven years more than 80 separate projects have been undertaken in China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Java, British Malaya, New Zealand, Australia, Samoa, Hawaii, the Japanese Mandated Islands, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States. The results of these investigations have been published and form a considerable library of valuable, accurate information, hitherto unobtainable, upon which future conferences can mold their policies.

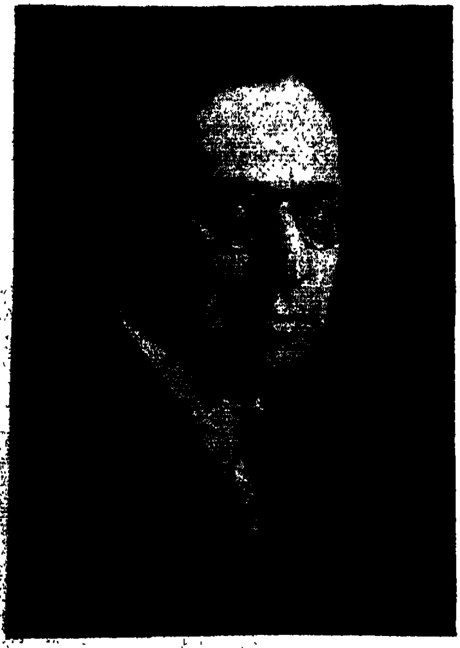
AT THE I. P. R. CONFERENCE



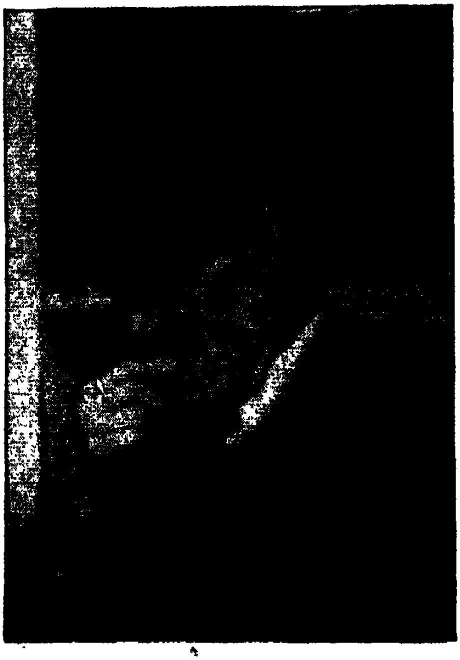
DR. HU SHIH (China)



RIHACHIRO BANZAI (Japan)



NEWTON D. BAKER (U.S.)



LORD SNELL (Great Britain)

This information includes economic, financial, agricultural, and social studies of domestic and international problems in the aforementioned Pacific countries. These studies usually are conducted by the Institute's various national councils with headquarters in their respective countries. These councils each have a council member, a research committee member, and a secretary—none of whom is allowed to be an official representative of any nation. Usually, they are prominent financial or business executives, retired diplomats, former cabinet ministers, economists, educators, or scientists willing to devote their time, experience, and money to furthering Pacific peace.

Above these national councils is the permanent international staff of the institute with former U. S. Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, as chairman, and Edward C. Carter as secretary general. This international office has its quarterly publication *Pacific Affairs,* edited by Owen Lattimore, to serve as a link between the various national councils, and maintains offices at 129 East 52nd Street, New York City, as well as in Honolulu, with Charles F. Loomis as secretary there.

Conferences Before Wars

The Institute of Pacific Relations, more familiarly known as the I.P.R., also arranged for general conferences of representatives from the member nations to be held at intervals, usually of about 2 years.

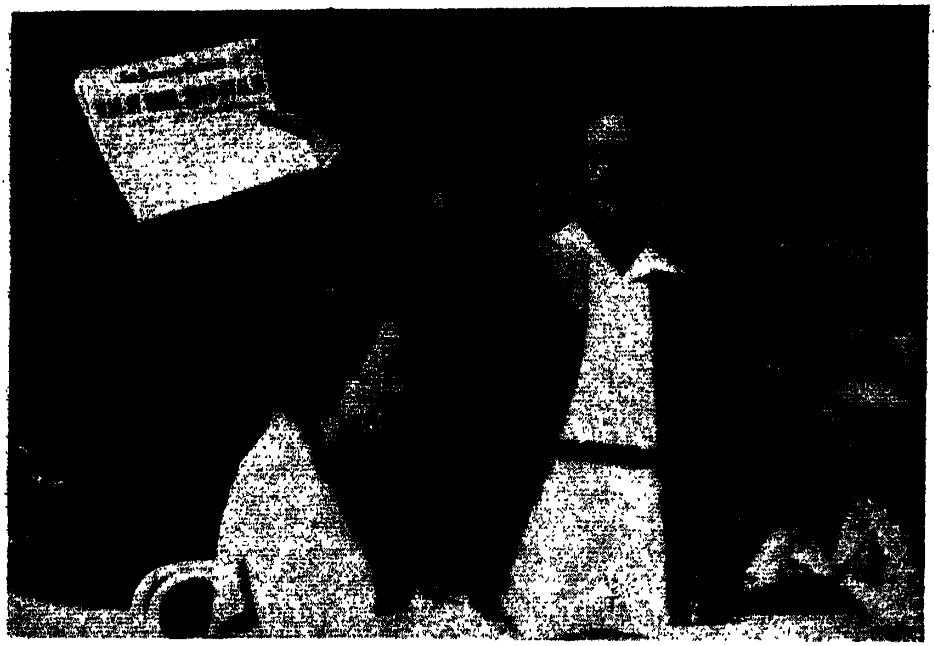
Five I.P.R. conferences have already been held outside the continental limits of the United States. The Sixth Pacific Relations Conference convened this summer August 15–29 at Yosemite Valley, California. More than 300 delegates, members of their families, and staff secretariat attended, representing 11 Pacific nations, colonies, and dominions: Australia, Canada, China, France (French Indo-China), Japan, the Netherlands (Dutch East Indies), New Zealand, the Philippines, the United Kingdom (Malay Peninsula, etc.) the United States, and the U.S.S.R. In addition, unofficial representatives and observers were sent from the League of Nations Secretariat, the International Labor Office, Geneva, and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Paris. Press representatives from Europe, Asia, and North America followed the proceedings.

Russia and France Join

This 1936 conference was of particular significance. Not only did it mark a sharp forward step in Pacific diplomacy, but it was the first Pacific conference at which all the important nations bordering the Pacific Ocean were represented.

Two great Pacific landowners, Russia and France, had but recently joined the institute and this was the first international conference in which their representatives participated. The U.S.S.R. delegation was headed by Dr. V. E. Motylev, Senior Professor of Economic Sciences at the Plekhanov Institute of National Economy, Moscow, Director of the Institute of the Great Soviet World Atlas, author, and one of Russia's most distinguished living scientists. He was assisted by Vladimir Romm, well-known international journalist and U. S. correspondent for *Izvestia.*

France's colonial possessions in Indo-China and the Pacific Archipelago were represented by an equally distinguished delegation headed by ex-Premier Albert Sarraut, Governor General of Indo-China in 1911–14 and 1916–19, and President, Comité d'Etudes des Problèmes du Pacifique. The former French Premier was accompanied by Prof. Etienne Dennery of l'Ecole des Sciences Politiques, Paris; Jean Laurent, former secretary to Raymond Poincaré and now Director of the Bank of Indo-China; Andre Touzet, former Colonial Governor and Assistant Director of Finances of Indo-China; and



WAR AT HAND? Dr. V. E. Motylev, chairman of the Russian I.P.R. delegation, explains the headlines: "The International press is used to a great extent for war propaganda. I think this paper's headline is a very good example."

Roger Levy, author of *Extrême Orient et Pacifique.*

The composition of these two delegations was typical of the nine others. Scientists, educators, and practical men-of-affairs predominated.

Opening Plenary Session

The opening plenary session was held in the canvas-enclosed tennis court lighted with floodlights and Japanese lanterns. The agenda centered around a topic selected three years before—*Aims and results of social and economic policies in Pacific countries.* For simplicity, the internal changes and policies of the four main sovereign nations on the Pacific were selected as axes about which the discussions centered—China, Japan, Russia, and the United States.

With the exception of Japan, these discussions followed much the same scheme: A. Recent economic and social developments. B. Objectives in policies. C. Machinery for changes. D. Costs and financing. E. International implications.

With Japan, the topics were altered to fit her special conditions induced by her rapid political and trade expansions. Topic A was changed to "Nature and Extent of Japanese Expansion." Discussion of the machinery or methods for achieving this was divided into two main divisions: 1) Underlying factors. 2) Direct or immediate factors. With these changes made, the work of the conference proceeded.

Round Tables

The separate national problems were discussed at four round tables from which the general press and public were excluded. Their closed character permitted the utmost freedom of expression and gave an informality impossible at public meet-

ings. Papers prepared in advance were read, and discussion followed. The concluding topics, the international implications of the various national policies, received the most lengthy consideration. The press was allowed to appoint an observer at each of the round tables.

In addition to round tables, numerous open meetings or plenary sessions were held. Nearly all the speeches were in English, the official diplomatic language of the Pacific. The conclusion of the conference was a public plenary session where results of the two-week conference were summarized by experts selected from the four main nations and from other important powers.

A most noteworthy feature of any international conference is fraternization among delegates and their families. Many casual visitors to the League of Nations overlook this phase in evaluating results. But by diplomats themselves fraternization is considered of the utmost importance, for past history proves that such friendships have often done more to avert war between nations than have the most legal-proof covenants. So the I.P.R. devotes much thought, both at such conferences and through its permanent secretariat and national councils, to stimulating friendship between leaders and thinkers of different Pacific nations.

U.S.S.R. for Peace

Of the more technical accomplishments of the conference, perhaps the most important was recognition that Russia's policy toward Japan and other nations was peaceful. Dr. Motylev made it clear that the U.S.S.R. is not interested in imperialistic expansion nor in competitive expansion of its foreign trade. Her objective is to maintain sufficient military and air forces to resist home invasion and to concentrate on developing the latent natural resources and production of consumable commodities within her own borders. Her increasing population of 3 million a year is more than needed for her home industrialization and agricultural development. She is ready to cooperate with other nations in any reasonble move for peaceful security on the Pacific.

Japanese Trade Expansion

Japan, in contrast, feels that she needs new territories for her present crowded populations (increasing at the rate of about 1 million a year) and is ambitious to hold and extend her already disconcerting international trade which has so successfully invaded foreign markets in competition with home products. (As William H. Chamberlin showed in the September *Current History*, Osaka has replaced Manchester as the leading world center of the textile trade.)

Free access to cheap raw materials for her mills is one of Japan's pressing worries. The devaluation of the yen, which has aided her to undersell other nations, makes it increasingly difficult for her to obtain the necessary raw materials from countries whose foreign exchange rates are unfavorable to her and still turn out her finished products at competitive low price levels. This boomerang of the low yen threatens the collapse of her foreign trade. Japan's only chance to avert this is by making favorable trade agreements with nations supplying raw materials, or by achieving new military conquests of areas producing those raw materials.

The present tendency of other nations in dealing with invasion of their home markets by cheap Japanese products is to use the quota system limiting imports, effected through specific trade agreements between the two nations. Japan can only purchase raw materials if she is allowed to export manufactured goods to pay for them. With the quota agreements in mind, Prof. Teijiro Uyeda showed at one of the round tables how a start has been made in regulating Japanese exports on a price basis

which will not dislocate the internal economy of other nations. This new plan of regulated price-fixing by quotas and separate trade agreements will enable Japan to exchange her finished manufactures for the necessary raw materials for her factories without arousing, as at present, an animosity dangerous to the peace of the world. This was one of the most hopeful points brought out in connection with solution of the Japanese foreign trade dilemma.

Imperialistic Ambitions

Politically however, Japan's position bristled with dangerous imperialistic ambitions. Reaffirming her Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, Japan refused to consider any move toward Pacific security which involved return of her Chinese acquisitions or limitation of future territorial expansion. She also refused to enter into a non-aggression pact with the Soviets.

Kenkichi Yoshizawa perhaps best summed up her attitude as regards Pacific relations when he said at the concluding plenary session: "We came here with fear and apprehension seeking the remedy for the problems of the Pacific but we found the problems too great for a solution satisfactory to all."

China Rearms

Ever-present was Chinese resentment at attempted Japanese domination and at recent military invasions which, the Chinese delegates pointed out, had given birth to a new attitude on the part of the Chinese people: a rising conviction that no foreign power would aid them to maintain their national integrity. This rising conviction, Dr. Hu Shih believes, is stimulating new Chinese unification and a definite internal program to build up material, economic, and military strength at home. What may evolve into a definite Chinese New Deal or five-year plan is already under way, backed by the one idea—to make China strong enough to repulse all future invaders.

Pacific Security Pacts

Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch East Indies, France, and Great Britain are worried in varying degrees over Japanese competition and further trade invasions, but they stand ready, as do the United States and Canada, to cooperate in any move toward collective security pacts on the Pacific, providing they do not involve military or naval activity outside their respective spheres.

The rise of Soviet Russia and Japan's new imperialistic ambitions and industrial and territorial advances, have completely upset the balance of power in the Orient. Thus the need for further national readjustments before an official move toward collective security in the Pacific would be practical, was the final conclusion of the majority of the delegates, with various proposals made for calling other Pacific conferences in the near future to reconsider the matter in greater detail.

THE SMALL HOME OWNER —what to do about him?

By ALBERT HANDY

THE small home owner is the forgotten man of contemporary history. He fits well the definition originally given by Professor William Graham Sumner: "The forgotten man is delving away in patient industry, supporting his family, paying his taxes, casting his vote, supporting the church and the school, reading the newspaper and cheering for the politician of his admiration; but he is the only one for whom there is no provision in the great scramble and the big divide."

The forgotten man has a little capital; he probably owns his dwelling—a modest place but a home—acquired through self-denial and with forethought for the morrow. He is the backbone of the democratic state.

The small home represents the first blind groping for some sort of social security, and for years ownership of a home by the little man has been urged by preacher and philanthropist, by economist and employer. He was probably brought up with the idea that it was better at the end of some period of time, say twenty years, to have a deed to his own home instead of a sheaf of rent receipts. And yet when the payments have all been made, when the deed has been delivered and the mortgage cancelled, has the average citizen attained security for himself and his family? Today the home owner faces a crisis, which has been approaching for long years. Savings banks and building and loan associations have been the strongest protagonists of home ownership; yet in 1935 we find an officer of one of the largest savings institutions in the country expressing considerable doubt as to whether, regarded purely in its fiscal aspects, it is actually desirable.

There are, however, other aspects. The proportion of those owning their own homes is ordinarily the measure of the stability of the democratic state. The home owner has a stake in the land; the renter is a transient, here today, gone tomorrow. For centuries, home ownership has possessed what is perhaps a sentimental appeal for the average man. The home owner is subject to neither the will nor the whim of a landlord. He can do with his place what he will. It is a shrine for his household gods.

During the decade from 1919 to 1929, the home ownership idea flourished. The number of those owning their homes increased considerably. Rents were high, but so were building costs. Surplus earnings went into the purchase of a home. Then came the financial debâcle of 1929–1930 and the succeeding depression. Those who had purchased homes on the instalment plan or subject to heavy mortgages found themselves unable to make the required payments. Taxes and interest were in arrears; mortgages were foreclosed. Homes purchased in the boom period were too large and too expensive to maintain on a reduced income or perhaps no income at all. The increasing ex-

penditures of local governments brought in their wake heavier taxes upon property.

Home Owners' Crisis

So today the home owner finds himself in less favorable circumstances than the renter. He cannot move to less expensive quarters; he is anchored to his home. He does not pay rent, but he pays taxes and perhaps interest on a mortgage; then there are repairs, insurance, and depreciation of the property. The lot of the renter is a happier one. A committee of Massachusetts Savings Bank Women caused a study to be made of "the present distress among home owners" and reported as its conclusion that this distress was due to a variety of causes, including lack of income, lack of necessary reserves, burdensome financing, and finally obsolete, unattractive, or badly constructed buildings. Strangely enough, there was no mention of the tax burden imposed by local governmental bodies, which is a primary and important cause of the home owner's present plight.

Nearly one-half of the tax revenue in the United States is derived from the general property tax. Prior to the present orgy of Federal spending more than 50% of governmental expenditures were made by local bodies, and 90% of their revenues were proceeds of the general property tax. In 1932 these expenditures constituted nearly ten percent of the national income. Here are the figures:

	1932	1933
Tax receipts from all sources	$8,147,000,000	$7,501,000,000
Taxes collected by local units	4,716,000,000	4,210,000,000

Yet the general property tax has few friends. For years it has been execrated by economists and governmental commissions alike. For years it has been denounced as unjust, unequal, impossible of enforcement, and "conducive to immorality." The general property tax is primarily an impost upon real estate; that is the basis for the claim that it is unequal. Also it is contended that the tax is regressive. This means that it bears most heavily on those having the least ability to pay. There is ample proof that, in a large number of States, the ratio of assessed to actual value of real estate is much greater in the case of low-priced properties than those having a higher value. When it is realized that the median value of the homestead in the United States is less than $5,000 the significance of this condition will be appreciated. Yet despite its numerous defects the property tax has persisted and increased as is shown in the following table:

	1903	1913	1919	1921
Collections by local units (Million dollars)	706	1,219	2,395	3,150

In its Annual Report for 1932 the New York State Tax Commission comments: "General property taxes in 1932 amounted to $831,000,000—an increase of about $7,500,000 over 1931 and the highest in the history of the State. The average rate was .02972881, which also set a new high record. These figures clearly show the crushing burden imposed upon real property."

Tax Limitations

In order to lighten this burden, more than three quarters of the States have resorted to some form of tax limitation. These are: a maximum rate of levy, a maximum percent of increase over the rate of the prior year, and finally a maximum amount per capita. The first form has been that most widely adopted, but none has proved satisfactory. There is, however, a form of control which has produced excellent results when administered by an honest and efficient tax commission. This is generally known as the Indiana system. The law of that commonwealth places all local levies under the supervision of the State Board with the result that tax rates have been reduced at least one fourth without in any way

interfering with the proper functioning of government bodies.

The plight of the home owner has today attained nation-wide importance. The committee in charge of the Local Government Survey, conducted by Princeton University, has arrived at certain important conclusions: (1) "There is a limit to the productivity of the property tax which can be roughly measured by the rate of tax delinquencies. The increase in delinquencies indicates that we are rapidly approaching this limit." (2) "The 'burden' of the increased levies makes itself dangerously felt in the delinquencies of the following year, and it is due to failure to appreciate this fact that New Jersey communities have continued to rush headlong into the morass of indebtedness in which they now find themselves."

The report then emphasizes that the tax is heavy, unequal and rigid—"a fearsome tax," fearsome "because, if it is not paid, the property, whether home, farm, or business, may be declared forfeit to the municipality." However, it is conceded that it is "necessary in some form or other to the existence of the modern State."

Tax Exemptions

The crisis of the small home owner is responsible for the homestead exemption proposal. Approximately thirty State legislatures which met in 1935 considered proposals for constitutional amendments exempting homesteads from taxation. This appears innocuous, but most people fail to realize that an exemption is an insidious device whereby the taxes of all those who do not enjoy the exemption are increased to make good the deficit in budgetary requirements. That is, the taxpayer is called upon to pay not only his own taxes but those of his neighbor as well.

The general homestead exemption is to be differentiated from the other housing exemptions with which real estate owners have been plagued since the close of the World War. We have had exemption for houses erected by the State and houses erected by the limited dividend corporation, ostensibly to furnish cheap habitations for the "underprivileged." We have also had legislation exempting new residential construction which was enacted for the alleged purpose of correcting the housing shortage which existed in 1920. The shortage corrected itself in due course, and the only persons to benefit were certain speculative builders.

Eight or ten States have made provision for some sort of homestead exemption. In some a constitutional amendment has been adopted; in others there has been legislation alone. In some States, such as Minnesota and West Virginia, there is no complete exemption, only a provision for a lower rate of taxation on homesteads than on other property. This is to be treated as an extension of what is known as the classified property plan of taxation. These exemptions are further subject to various limitations, which may refer to the value of the property, the number of acres, and the nature of the tax. In certain States the exemption applies only to the State tax, which greatly limits its importance. Again in several of the agricultural States the size of the homestead is limited to 160 acres. Finally, limitations on value range from $1,000 to $5,000. All the States which have embarked on the experiment are located south of the Mason and Dixon line or west of the Mississippi River.

In several States surveys were made in order to ascertain the probable effects of these exemptions, particularly as to the amount by which the tax base would be lowered and as to the methods to be employed in meeting the deficit. In Oklahoma it appeared that the average assessed value of the homestead is only $1,150, and that if an exemption to the extent of $1,500 were allowed, the assessment rolls of the State would be reduced approxi-

mately 75%. The committee also reported that the effect would be greatest in the more prosperous agricultural areas, and that the rural home owner would receive more monetary benefit than those in the urban sections. The Alabama survey indicated that a $1,200 homestead exemption would reduce the assessed valuation of property throughout the State by 15% to 16%. In Mississippi the survey was not made until a $1,000 exemption had been in effect for a year*, and this it appeared had reduced the assessed value a little less than 10%. The wide diversity in effect between different States and even between different sections of the same State is apparent.

There seemed to be general agreement that the exemption would effect an increase in home ownership, and that many families, instead of renting, would occupy their homes under a purchase contract. It was also stated that the cash value of homesteads would be increased. This claim was based upon what is known as the capitalization theory of shifting. This theory is that a piece of tax-exempt property is more valuable than one which is subject to taxation, and that the value is raised by an amount which, put out at interest, would produce an annual income equal to the sum saved in taxes.

Problem of New Revenues

But fact-finding was comparatively easy. The crux of the investigation lay in the discovery of sources of revenue to make good budgetary deficits. Numerous suggestions were made. These may be considered under three heads: First, an increase in either assessed valuation or in the tax rate; that is, making good the loss through the imposition of a higher property tax on the remaining property. Second, producing the needed revenue by levying other taxes. Third, a reduction in public service. A resort to the first proposal would, as already indicated, produce an intolerable situation. For instance, the railroad corporations operating in New Jersey are taxed, in 1936, at the rate of $4.15 for every $100 of assessed valuation of property located in that State. This they are contesting on the ground that other property in the State has a much lower assessed valuation. The second proposal has more to recommend it but there are many ramifications involved. It probably contemplates one or more State-administered taxes to be distributed in some manner to the localities, but the method of distribution to be adopted offers interesting possibilities for undiplomatic disputes between the various local governing bodies. The third proposal is not without merit. Our grandfathers and great-grandfathers led happy and successful lives on a much lower scale of governmental service than is deemed necessary by their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. One thing was not suggested—more economy in governmental expenditures. The economy theme will be developed later.

In 1934, Florida passed a constitutional amendment to exempt all homesteads up to a value of $5,000, without the formality of appointing an investigating committee. The census bureau reports about 120,000 non-farm homesteads in Florida, of which 62% have a value of less than $5,000. Professor Macy of the University of Florida finds that there has been an annual deficit of $15,000 in the revenues of the City of Winter Haven and that an ordinance has been passed imposing a special charge upon exempt homesteaders for specific services, as for instance the collection of garbage. Pensacola has been obliged to increase its utility tax, to levy a tax on cigarettes, and to propose a tax on amusements. Professor Macy concludes that "the movement toward tax exemption, unless checked, will lead to chaotic conditions in those American States which experiment with this means of granting favors to certain interests."

* Increased to $2,500 in 1935.

In Michigan certain interests not content with exemption have memorialized the legislature for the abolition of the *ad valorem* tax on all property.

Reform and Retrenchment

There is one method of enormously reducing the tax burden which does not, however, find favor with our political masters. This is by reform in local government and retrenchment in local expenditures. In New York State alone there are 12,609 governmental units which have authority to levy taxes and borrow money. These include counties, towns, villages, school districts, canal districts, and sewer districts, to name only a few. The Princeton Local Government Survey tells the story this way: "Within a casual week [of travel] you can be under the jurisdiction of 1,128 'self-governing' units, controlled by an astronomical number of rules, orders, and statutes, and administered by a veritable army of 'local' officials. This is the great patchwork of local government that we call New Jersey." But why continue? This condition, with some modifications, is found in nearly every State of the Union.

Some Recommended Solutions

In 1922 the Joint Legislative Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment of New York State concluded that "local government was costly and wasteful and that it needed complete reorganization."

In its Report for 1932 the New York Tax Commission stated:

> Reorganization of local government units is a subject of increasing public interest, and there seems to be an almost universal demand for some action with this intent. Changes in our mode of life during recent years have made archaic and burdensome hundreds of units of local government set up years ago. * * * Each such unit was provided with officials; each was granted authority to raise money through taxation and to spend it with more or less freedom.
>
> * * * Quite often officials and employees are more concerned with the machinery of their particular unit than with its potential public service. * * *
>
> Elimination of unnecessary operating units and services in local government at this time would lessen the general tax burden by releasing an enormous amount of revenue for support of emergency functions the performance of which is draining many communities of their financial resources.

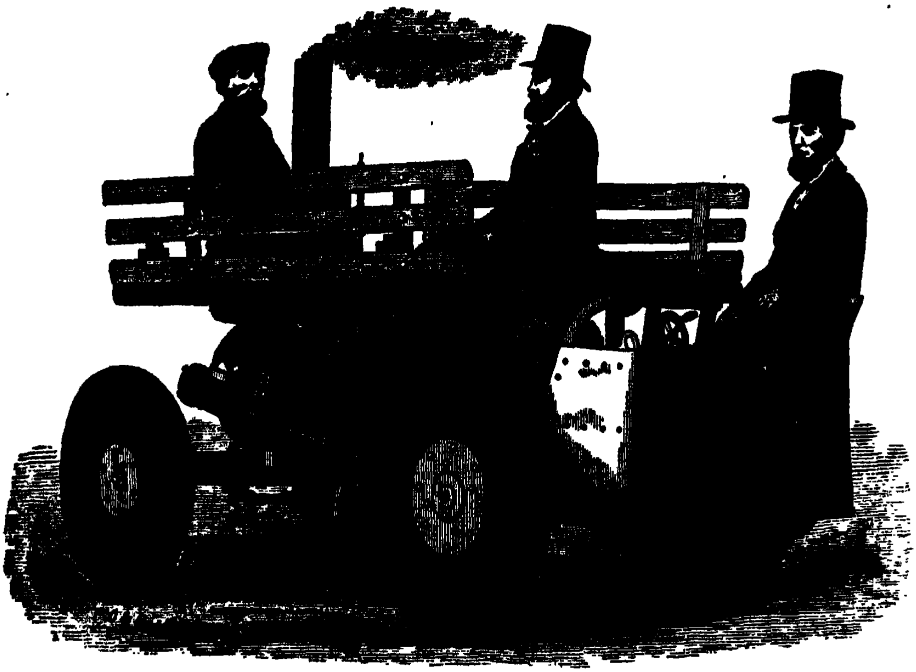
In its 1933 Report the Commission seeks a solution of the problem and states:

> It is interesting to note the general agreement that something is wrong with local government has been reached irrespective of politics. Republicans and Democrats * * * have agreed on the subject. Governors * * * have stressed and restressed with increasing emphasis the need for reducing the number of governmental units and doing away with the overlapping of governmental functions. Both major parties are for it. And yet that which is holding it back seems to be the self-interest of some, the apathy of the rank and file of voters and the inherent dread of change.

I have preferred, instead of drawing conclusions in my own words, to quote from the able and thoughtful Reports of the New York Tax Commission, for these constitute a caustic criticism and denunciation of the local tax situation and the burden upon real estate.

To prevent a change, self-seeking local office-holders and politicians have invoked the home rule fetish. Home rule, however, simply means an infinity of jobs for deserving party members at the expense of the taxpayer. There are, of course, exceptions. Sometimes disintegration works better than consolidation. Thus in February 1936 the Huron (Michigan) Township Board seceded from the Wayne County Welfare Relief Administration and more than halved its welfare costs.

When the home owners of the country become a pressure group, when they insist on local governmental efficiency, then they can afford to pay their real estate taxes without exemption from the state and without charity from their fellow taxpayers.





THEN AND NOW: Richard Dudgeon's steam carriage, shown at top as it appeared in 1866, high hats and all. Below, the same contraption outside the Oyster Bay (L. I.) garage of Charles W. Ludlam, present owner. Mr. Ludlam is at the controls.

AUTO: model 1866

Once a man had an idea, and as usual, everybody laughed. But their grandchildren seem to have taken it seriously

By W. CARROLL MUNRO

THE history of the modern automobile begins with the first internal combustion engine, although the idea of riding in something other than horse-drawn is somewhat older. Many men struggled or toyed with the unwieldiness of their contemporary tools, attempting to evolve a successor to the horse. A Frenchman, Nicholas Cugnot, the first to build and drive a self-propelling vehicle, mounted a ponderous steam plant on a three-wheeled wagon in 1770 and rode two and a half miles an hour—with pauses every hundred feet to make more steam. Mechanically improved and more comic was the "Fly-by-Night", a converted stage coach driven by steam and a rowdy proposition offering fun and sensation to the English bloods of the 1830's. Armed with clubs and brass hats as protection against the outraged citizenry, the enthusiastic scientists thumped across the countryside by night to avoid a legal prohibition (Red Flag Law) on the belching monster.

The passing of these men and their machines is common knowledge. And yet how many know that as early as 1855 a New Yorker commuted from his home on East Broadway to his office on Columbia Street in a self-propelled vehicle? The machine terrified New Yorkers for two years, leaving behind a healthy precedent for the mechanical progeny to follow.

The wager which in part inspired its construction mirrors the personality of the inventor. Early in 1853 three men shared their thoughts—and perhaps a bottle. A discussion arose as to the practicability of constructing a self-propelled vehicle. A disparity of opinion sharpened competitive tempers so keenly that a wager was laid—so much to the side, with the pot to the first man to build such a vehicle. Of the three, William Fletcher, a well-known builder of steamboat engines, and Supt. Hudson of the Rodgers locomotive works, failed. The odd man of the trio, Richard Dudgeon, a self-willed Scot, succeeded.

Broadwayites gaped and the carriage trade cursed when in 1855, Dudgeon took a trial spin with this new product of his mind and hand, the steam carriage. It went—thumping and bumping and belching steam and cinders. It frightened the pious souls and the carriage horses, and it excited the sports who, along with official New York, gathered at Dudgeon's shop at 24 Columbia Street to examine the strange "Red Devil Steamer."

Although the contraption was unfamiliar to the startled burghers, Dudgeon the Scot was no stranger to them. He was a well-known man, respected for his wealth and for his temper. His mechanical genius had won fame when, at an earlier period, while experimenting with the invention of a fountain pen, he had captured an illusive vision which became, through his talented hands, the hydraulic jack. In rapid succession Dudgeon's fecund mind and mechanical ability produced and patented: direct-acting steam hammers; rotary steam engines and pumps; squirting oil cans; hollow drills; stationary hydraulic presses; hydraulic punches and fish joints of rails.

Representative of his talent was the

roller tube expander, a valuable gadget invented merely as the solution of a problem in the construction of his steam carriage. The problem was that of expanding tubes in the small boiler to a water-tight consistency. Dudgeon's roller tube expander did the trick and, when patented some years later, it inspired a triumphal tour of Europe among the inventor's mechanical and scientific colleagues, who awarded him medals and educational honors—particularly sweet brew for a man of no formal education.

However the "steam carriage" was the zenith of Dudgeon's inventive trajectory. Later he was to go to England where, with the blessing of the British Government, the grounds of the Arsenal at Woolwich were set aside to aid the realization of Dudgeon's greatest madness—a belief that man could fly. Like Langley he failed for lack of light-weight propulsive power. And yet from his experiments came the rotary engine, precursor of the modern turbine—light blows, perhaps, against the mechanical future, but for all that, well directed.

A Smash Hit

As a curio, Dudgeon's steam carriage was a smash hit; as a popular innovation, it was less acceptable. A newspaper of that day reported: "The running of the wagon is accompanied by a great deal of vibration and noise, for there are four exhausts, as in a locomotive, and the solid wooden discs that serve for wheels pound the road heavily."

Despite the critics, Dudgeon steamed from his home to his office; towed a trailer full of "kids" and found their adventurous acceptance of this new mode of travel more to his liking than the pessimism of prejudiced adults. Subsequently, indignant horsemen set the law on it. Dudgeon was restrained; a city permit was issued effectually limiting the steam carriage's field of operation to a single street. And the restrictions remained in spite of Dudgeon's indignant protests. In 1857, the steam carriage while on exhibition was destroyed in the flames that burned the Crystal Palace to the ground.

Second Effort

During the year 1866, Dudgeon built his second steam carriage (a replica of the first) and again took to the roads. Conventional travel was so dislocated by this steam-driven anomaly that Satan himself must have been envious of the chaos. Restraint again followed, and other incidents hammered Dudgeon's strong will. He rashly predicted the passing of the horse-driven vehicle and was laughed at; he proposed a sewage disposal system for the city to prevent river pollution, and was ignored; he constructed a steam-roller for the city and his mechanical design was criticized by politicians as being too heavy; he proposed modern road-paving and was politely suppressed. Contemptuous of his fellows and not a little embittered, Dudgeon moved to Locust Valley, Long Island, his steam carriage with him.

There, in the comparative freedom of the country lanes, the inventor and his son steamed around to their heart's content. A chronicler of that time noted that "Dudgeon is so fond of it [the steam carriage] he goes out two or three times a month." The "Red Devil Steamer" became a familiar sight, as did a Negro boy dispatched far ahead to warn people of the coming terror. The steam carriage ran many hundreds of miles, its longest trip being from Locust Valley to Bridgeport, Conn., and back. On a wager, the inventor drove a mile in 1:52—matchless time for such a contraption. Subsequently, a legend grew that only he and his son could steer it. Dudgeon denounced such talk as nonsense.

In 1870, in a catalog advertising his hydraulic jacks, Dudgeon published a description of his steam carriage, bracketed with the poignant comments of a man still in love with a folly of youth.

"Above I have given a good wood engraving of my last steam carriage, as a number have expressed interest or curiosity in it.

"This is not in the way of business or advertising at all. After seventeen years of effort and conviction of its utility, I have learned that it is not fashionable, or that people are not ready for it.

"No one need be much surprised at this, when they witness the grand enthusiasm over a horse race, a dog fight, or baseball, and the like.

"But I must stop this kind of talk. People will think I am dead to the grandeur of our civilization, and indeed, perhaps I am.

"I have made two steam carriages; the first was burned with the Crystal Palace here. The last represented here was finished four years ago, and is in perfect order, after having run hundreds of miles on almost every kind of road.

"It has a plain horizontal boiler—the furnace 4 feet long and 17 inches wide; tubes, 16 inches long; shell or diameter, 20 inches; cylinders, 4 inches diameter, 16-inch stroke. They are hung on the smoke box at an angle, and work on the back axle, which is cranked. The wheels are 3 feet in diameter [solid cedar with iron rims] and link-motion works the slide valve.

"Without any patents about it, it will go all day on any good wagon road, carrying ten people at fourteen miles an hour, with 70 lbs. of steam, the pump on and the fire-door open, if desired. One barrel of anthracite coal is required to run at this speed for four hours. It weighs 3,700 lbs. with water and fire to run one hour. It will go 20 miles in an hour on a good road. It is perfectly manageable in the most crowded streets.

"I have always kept myself prepared to take it to any place and show what it will and what it will not do on any good wagon road, when insured against interference from horse-drivers and horse-fanciers, for these—and not the poor animals, who seldom make trouble—are the source of annoyance.

"I have tried in vain to divine what would end this fearful horse murder, and numerous other ills inseparable from their use, and if I had not lived to see some good things come by a way that no one looked, I would stop hoping. But I have lived to see slavery abolished and Abraham Lincoln appreciated properly, beside two or three other little things that look hopeful.

"Although your habitual horse-driver and horse-fancier is a more useless personage generally than the slave owner, and more numerous, yet I still hope they will be played out.

"Let no one suppose I intend to do without railways where there is business to sustain them. But this is not the case with most short lines and branches, and in such places I would use what would be far better—Steam Carriages."

Thus wrote the irascible visionary; and those who doubt the quality of his vision must know that on June 12, 1872, Dudgeon received testimony from his employees thanking him for establishing the eight-hour day in his shop.

Today the steam carriage is stowed at Oyster Bay, Long Island, the property of Charles Ludlam. Still a compact and efficient-looking object it affects the fingers of a real mechanic with an itch to make it go. And if Dudgeon were still with us, no doubt, he would wager any coin that he could turn the trick.



BRIDGE TO THE ORIENT: The territory which joins the Balkan Peninsula, to the northwest, with Asia Minor and the trade of the Orient. Bagdad, the objective of German ambitions, lies to the southeast. The Russian fleet wants a free exit through the Dardanelles to the Mediterranean. Italy has fortified the Dodecanese islands, to the west of Cape Helles. Great Britain and France keep a jealous watch on this strategic territory. But Turkey, once the "sick man" of Europe, controls the straits and holds the trumps.

THE DARDANELLES—explaining their refortification in the foreboding light of history

By EDWARD C. McDOWELL, Jr.

THE Dardanelles, demilitarized since the World War, entered the latest phase of their 3,000-year history as one of the world's trouble zones last summer when a conference of nations agreed to permit Turkey to refortify these narrow straits which connect the Black Sea with the Mediterranean and which, with the minute Sea of Marmora and the Bosporus, intersect the land-bridge between Europe and Asia.

Great Britain, France, Holland, and Russia were champions of the move. When Turkey, therefore, asked the League's permission to carry out the plan, she was but the willing mouthpiece for those friends and benefactors whose fortunes and ambitions are involved in this narrow channel. And since Britain and France carry the greatest weight in the League's councils, the answer was, of course, "yes." Happily, however, Turkey adhered strictly to international law in seeking formal acquiescence before rebuilding; this startled, and quite delighted, friends of international cooperation, presenting, as it did, a unique contrast to the methods of certain other ambitious nations.

The convention permitting refortification and specifying what ships might use the straits in war time, was signed by eight nations, all signatories to the post-war Lausanne Treaty: Great Britain, France, Russia, Japan, Greece, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. Conspicuous by their absence were Germany and Italy.

But the importance of this incident is not readily apparent to anyone unfamiliar with the military and trade set-up to which the Dardanelles is the key. What is happening in the eastern end of the Mediterranean today is merely the modern phase of a situation which has existed for more than 3,000 years.

Briefly, trade and communication between the Orient and western Europe have always been difficult because of the natural barriers which exist in western Asia. Until the Suez Canal was built about sixty-five years ago, there was only the old sea route around the Cape, and it was long and uncertain. The land route to the Orient, however, was best and quickest when any one nation could dominate it. This short and direct approach is the "land-bridge" joining the Balkan Peninsula with Asia Minor and separating the waters of the Aegean and Mediterranean from the Black Sea. From the latter run trade routes which lead to the heart of Asia. Connecting these seas, and intersecting the land-bridge, is a long, and in places narrow, body of water. Beginning at the Aegean end it is called the Dardanelles—ancient Hellespont, a strait some forty miles long and from one to four miles wide. Thereafter it widens out into the Sea of Marmora. About a hundred miles across this sea is a narrow passage of water leading into the Black Sea. This small strait is the Bosporus, and situated at its inner mouth is Constantinople (ancient Byzantium), or Istanbul, as it is now called by the Turks.

Ancient Troy dominated the strait for centuries until the Greeks built Constantinople in the seventh century B.C. It has been used as a route by various hosts: Xerxes and his Persians; Alexander the Great; the Crusaders; the Saracens; and the Turks.

From earliest times traders have sailed their ships into the Black Sea to tap the

riches of Russia and Asia. From every part of the Orient—Siberia, China, India, Persia—goods were brought to the Black Sea ports by caravan to be traded to the ships from the Mediterranean, and later from western Europe. This trade flourished until the Turks captured Constantinople in 1453 and blocked the route. Cut off from their rich eastern markets, Venice, Genoa, and the other trading centers of Europe began to decline, and from that time until the discovery of the Americas, Europe was at one of her lowest ebbs. The Mediterranean, an almost forgotten backwater, never did recover economically until the Suez Canal was opened, about sixty-five years ago.

Russia's Stake

Even before the Turks got control of the Dardanelles, the Russians, avid for an outlet to the Mediterranean, had begun making great drives to the Southeast. Time and again they tried to capture Constantinople and the Dardanelles, and almost gained their objective. But apart from the Turkish resistance, England and France clung to the policy of keeping Russia bottled in the Black Sea and the Russian thrusts failed. Finally, however, after being thwarted first by the Turk and later by the British and French, Russia was promised ("secretly") by the Allies that she could have control of the Dardanelles as her spoils after the Great War. It was a great hope. But the downfall of the Czarist regime negated the promise, and the straits were left in the nominal control of Turkey.

German Ambitions

Then there is Germany. Before the World War Germany had great plans for pushing her empire to the East: through the Balkan Peninsula—which she had more or less consolidated—to Constantinople and so on to the Orient via the Black Sea and Asia Minor. Thus she would have had a direct route to the rich Eastern markets and would have been independent of the British-controlled Suez route. This was the famous *Drang nach Osten*—the drive to the East—which the Germans believed would give the Fatherland its dream of "a place in the sun." To this end the Germans befriended the Turks, made allies in the Balkans, sent military and commercial missions all through the Near East, and made other similar preparations for *Der Tag*. This activity started about a generation before 1914. But unfortunately for the Fatherland, the Drive to the East had to be postponed because of the drastic and unlooked for resistance of France and her Allies on the Western Front. England's part in the final frustration was clear. The Berlin-to-Bagdad railway, with a branch from Aleppo extending far south and paralleling the Red Sea, was to have been the main artery of the German push to the East, and this would have imperiled Britain's domination of the Eastern trade routes. Very much alive to this danger, Britain sent thousands of troops and many ships to the Dardanelles, even at the expense of her forces on the Western Front. The campaign entailed some of the fiercest fighting of the war. And although the British never captured the Dardanelles and Constantinople, they succeeded in preventing the Germans from capturing the Suez Canal.

Notably, the British failure to run the Dardanelles and take Constantinople was chiefly due to poor leadership on the part of the British naval commanders and also to the stout resistance of the Turkish forts which, bristling with Krupp guns, commanded the narrow bending Dardanelles channel.

The Situation Today

The situation today is unchanged. The Dardanelles remain the key to one of the most important crossroads in the world. The nation which controls this land-bridge connecting the two richest and most popu-

lous continents, and the water route that crosses it, can dominate a vast east-and-west trade between these continents, thereby subjugating the ambitions of other trading nations. And recent events in the Mediterranean, backed by the examples of history, indicate strongly that further turmoil will center on this vital trade intersection.

After the War the Allies assumed control of the Dardanelles and promptly demilitarized it. Under the leadership of France they then proceeded to create a bloc of buffer states between Constantinople (gateway to the Mediterranean) and Germany. This bloc includes Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia—nations which are bitter toward Germany for racial and other reasons. Undaunted, Germany has been equally busy since the war trying to penetrate and dissolve this bloc but has been squelched by Great Britain and France. In Germany's effort to establish a trade *anschluss* with Austria, for example, France saw the camel's head entering the tent, and acted accordingly. Nevertheless Germany has aligned on her side Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, each of which is pro-German in spirit—particularly Bulgaria. That country is especially important in the German hopes because she is the northern neighbor of Constantinople and borders on the Black Sea. Between Bulgaria and Hungary, however, lie Rumania and Yugoslavia, heretofore members of the French bloc, and therefore obstacles in the otherwise clear path of Germany toward the Dardanelles.

Small wonder, then, that the recent change of government in Rumania worried both England and France. The new government was thought to be pro-German, and the Germans quite naturally, were delighted. They were said to have been courting Rumanian favor with little courtesy visits, plus generous trade and finance offers. But the French and British undoubtedly got busy, for on September 2 the Rumanian Foreign Minister,



Eisenstaedt-Pix

THE DARDANELLES: ". . . key to one of the most important crossroads in the world."

Victor Antonescu, officially denied that his country had forsaken the Little Entente or that it had come to an understanding with Germany. In the meantime, the British dispatched their Number One trouble-shooter, King Edward VIII, to the Adriatic, where he cruised up and down spreading good-will among the Yugoslav peasants; and to the Aegean, where he did similar work among the Greeks and Turks.

Russia, too, has aspirations—mentioned above—in the Mediterranean, and she resents Germany's little acts. In addition to this, Russia has no love for Germany politically, and smarts under the German boast that she has been the bulwark of Western Europe against the spread of Russian Communism. In this instance Russia has taken sides with Great Britain and France in encouraging the Turks to refortify the Dardanelles.

As if these things were not enough for Great Britain, Italy has developed into the Bullyboy of the Western World and is strutting around the Mediterranean with a chip on each shoulder. Not only has she outbluffed the British in the Mediterranean, taken Ethiopia, menaced the main water supply of the Nile, frightened the French to death with her airdromes near the French border, and intruded herself into Balkan affairs, but she also has definite imperial visions of extending her power and influence to the East at the expense of Turkey, Greece, and, ultimately, of Great Britain and France. The sober fact remains, however, that unless she controls Constantinople and the Dardanelles, Italy cannot control the Near East.

Italy's Imperial Ambitions

After the Great War, Italy wanted that part of Asia Minor which lies north of Syria as her part in the spoils; she was refused. But both before and after the war, Italy managed to glean a little. She took Tripoli from the Turks and thus earned the hatred of those intense people. She also acquired the Dodecanese Islands and other islands belonging either to Greece or to Turkey. It is to be assumed that the Greeks are bitter. The Yugoslavs resent the Italians because of the port of Fiume, which the Italians took by main force shortly after the war. Albania is dominated by Italy and has no love for her. All told it is rather hard to determine who would go to Italy's funeral just now. But the important consideration is that Italy's newly acquired islands dominate the Aegean entrance to the Dardanelles. She can, if she wishes, control all the shipping using these straits. On these islands are garrisons of Italian troops, and fortifications are in progress. Thus Italy is seen to have its eye on the Dardanelles, and the Italian fortified islands—splendid air bases—are another worry for the British.

* * *

All this acts to make Turkey, once the scourge of Europe and the staunch ally of Germany in the last war, the fair child of Europe. She is sitting on the Dardanelles, while all around her ambitious nations are sitting like a ring of buzzards. Behind Turkey are Great Britain, France, and Holland, the three powers controlling world trade with the Orient. Also friendly to Turkey is Russia, which w[illegible] to get to the Mediterranean, as she has for a thousand years. To the north lies Germany, with a racial instinct to migrate south to the warm seas and clear skies, in the path of the old Teutonic tribes—the Goths, Visigoths, Franks, Ostragoths, and so on. The *Drang nach Osten* is but the modern manifestation of this tribal urge. For when the Germans wish for "a place in the sun" they speak literally, for North Germany is a bleak and cloudy land. Finally, in the Mediterranean itself, and at the very doorstep of the Dardanelles, is ambitious Italy, ready to follow the flag and rebuild the ancient empire of the Caesars.

"MR. WOOLWORTH" *Comes to PARIS**

*[*ED. NOTE*—AT LAST!]

By M. E. RAVAGE

IT MAY have been true in the first years of the last century that England was, as Napoleon contemptuously declared, a nation of shopkeepers. For all I know, it may even be true to this day; but it would surprise me greatly if she surpassed in this respect her neighbor across the Channel. In no Western European country that I know of has small commerce played so preponderant a rôle in the national economy as in France.

However things may have been under the First Empire, it is a fact that at the present time business in Paris—and even more so in the provincial cities and towns—consists almost exclusively of individual tradesmen. French industry is still largely hand industry. Ninety percent of the factories of the Republic, as the Blum Government lately discovered when it tried to apply its social-reform legislation, employ less than a hundred workers each. But if the artisan valiantly has barred the road to quantity production, his colleague, the merchant, has waged a much more victorious battle against the department store and the chain store. Nowhere West of the Danube is the neighborhood retailer more ubiquitous, better organized, less efficient and—until quite lately—so wholly master of the distribution system as in France.

This state of affairs is doubtless part of the explanation why the merchandising device developed, if not invented, by Mr. Frank Woolworth was so slow in gaining a foothold among the French. Our familiar five-and-ten-cent store for many long years has been a regular feature of retail trade in London and Berlin. In Paris, despite repeated attempts, it failed to take root. The hostility of the multitudinous and powerful merchants' guilds unquestionably had something to do with it. In my own opinion, the clumsiness, the timidity, and the inexperience of the innovators contributed more than anything else to the first failures. And then there were other factors—monetary, economic, and psychological—which perhaps played a more or less decisive part.

Let me enumerate these for what they may be worth. The French are, for all their advanced political ideas, a very conservative people. Unlike ourselves, mere change and mere novelty have little attraction for them. Intellectually alert and curious, they prefer, when it comes to the practical affairs of daily life, to be guided by custom and tradition. I am persuaded that it is this, far more than thrift, which, for instance, accounts for the fact that French people travel relatively little in their own country and almost not at all abroad. And it is not only because, like the child (that great traditionalist), they feel much more at ease in familiar surroundings. Crossing frontiers means changing speech (and the French are notoriously bad linguists); it means submitting to alien ways; above all, it involves eating strange dishes. The American is a glutton for all the cuisines of the world, but your Frenchman reserves his spirit of adventure for the things of the mind. Invite him to a Chinese restaurant, and he will sample the bird's-nest soup gingerly, pronounce it

"interesting" or "not bad" and then order, for his second course, beefsteak with fried potatoes and a green salad, and for the *finale*—if he can get it—cheese and fruit.

The same holds true for his shopping habits and his wife's marketing prejudices —or at any rate, to explain the tardy arrival of the five-and-ten, people said so. The French housewife, it was maintained, would never submit to the branded food-package, the way her American sister does. She insists on handling and touching what she buys. That is one of the reasons why the bread factory is, and probably will always remain, unknown in this individualistic country. Not only has France yet to reach the industrial age; her very genius is in conflict with the machine. And then —so it was said—the Frenchwoman really enjoys bickering with a dozen merchants in the open square and in little specialized *boutiques* for her day's food supply. She belongs—or imagines she still does—to a leisurely and artistic world. The American provisions warehouse, where you can get meat and fish and vegetables and fruit and cheese, all in the same establishment, is much too impersonal to suit the French woman's taste. She loves to wander among the stands and carts, to purchase beans from one merchant and cabbage from another, to obtain a fowl from the poulterer, and the beef for her *pot-au-feu* from the butcher, and the sausage meat for the stuffing from the pork-butcher. It conforms both to her upbringing and to her temperament. Besides she chats with a variety of men and women in the process, keeps in touch with the world and abreast of what goes on in the quarter. Oh, no, the Frenchwoman would never put up with anything so impersonal as the Woolworth stores.

Another insuperable obstacle presumably was the monetary unit. The franc, it was said, was at once too big and too small to be easily adapted to a commerce in which the price-range was restricted to two or three figures. The commodities which, in America, sold for a nickel could be had here in the ordinary way for much less than a franc; those offered for a dime would be too high—to sell—at two francs or even at one franc fifty. What was more, there just were not enough articles within those brackets to make a profitable business in France.

Then, suddenly and without warning, the impossible happened. Overnight there sprang up, as if by magic, not one chain, but a veritable network of *magasins à prix unique*. Arising in the center at first, they quickly spread to the *faubourgs* and the periphery until there was scarcely a neighborhood in Paris or a suburban town of any size without one or more of them. The pioneer chain heedlessly misnamed itself *Uniprix*. On its heels followed a series of others: the *Prisunic*, the *Monoprix*, the *Minimax*.

Contrary to all expectations, their success was thunderous. The supposedly insuperable difficulties crumbled before their triumphant onslaught. Manifestly the men at the head of the new enterprises were no tyros. Armed with skill and experience in merchandising, and with adequate capital, they seemed, in addition, to have gone for their inspiration and their guidance straight to the native homeland of the innovation—to the United States of America. A citizen of our Republic wandering into any one of these stores had the sensation of having been magically transported to his home town. The whole scene had the air of having been shipped bodily across the Atlantic, exactly as the American Museum of Natural History transplants a coral reef or a Papuan village.

On nearer inspection, however, one observed a vital difference. The counters, the aisles, the tenor of the floorwalkers and the sales-staff, the displays and the general effect were unmistakably American; the customers and most of the merchandise were quite evidently French. Here were, indeed, the kitchen utensils and the crockery, the biscuits and the candies; the mops and the sponges and the brushes and the

toilet articles; the screws and the hooks and the nails and the tools; the electric and radio gadgets; the stationery and hosiery and neckwear exactly as we have seen them in New York, Atlanta, Dallas, and Salt Lake City. But there was something else besides which none of us had ever seen in the original house of Woolworth. There were, to begin with, such specifically French articles as snail-clamps and salad shakers and "madeleine" molds (these last a poor consolation for the unfindable muffin pans). Then came the inevitable floor-wax, the no less escapable wash boilers and —somewhat unexpectedly—moldings and lumber by the foot. But what finally brought you out of your trance and made you aware of the alien latitude were the provision departments. The lunch counter seemed at first—for all its elaborate offerings—familiar enough. Presently, however, you stumbled on to the delicatessen counter, with its *boudins*, its *cervelat*, and its scores of varieties of cured meats and sausages; the dairy department, with its fragrant wealth of cheeses, not to mention the eggs and the cream; and lastly, but chiefly, the beverage section, with its bottled drinks ranging all the way from pink lemonade to champagne. There could be no mistake about it now: this was no mere translation from the American; it was an adaptation so thorough and adroit as to amount practically to an original creation.

This impression was heightened all the more when, having left the store, one emerged upon the street. It is by the sidewalk that a French shop proclaims its nationality, precisely as the French café and the French restaurant proclaim theirs by the *terrasse*. Whatever of the American invention might have been carried over in the interior completely vanished out here. Why, this was a Parisian *boutique de quartier*, swollen to monstrous proportions, if you like, but unmistakable for all that. Here were the improvised counters sprawling upon the pavement, disgorging "specials" of every species, from sardines to girdles, and from silver polish to fresh fruits and vegetables. The saleswomen had dropped their foreign masquerade and yelled their wares in honest French, like any private shopkeeper, and gossiped with their customers and made friends with them. Who said that the *commerce à prix unique* would kill the human side of marketing and shopping?

Prix unique, incidentally, was a pure misnomer. For to solve the monetary problem, the new enterprises did not, like their American models, restrict themselves to a two- or three-price range, but offered articles at every figure from 50 centimes up to 20 francs. This not only enabled them to offer a much greater assortment of commodities; it made it possible for them to cater to their clientèle's little prejudice of carving the franc into twenty thin slices. No wonder that the French housewife lost her heart to them from the start, and abandoned the small shopkeeper without a qualm. She loved the new stores for numerous other reasons besides—for the brown paper bags they gave with each purchase, for the gay music they dispensed all day long (a great attraction in a country where radios are still an extravagant luxury) and for the crowds she never failed to find in them. But she adored them most particularly for the savings they enabled her to effect in her budget. The kilogram of *cristaux*, for which the old stick-in-the-mud paint-merchant charged a franc fifty, could now be had for seventy-five centimes. Scores of other commodities, like electric wire, cosmetics, canned peas, toys, flower-bulbs, and numerous others, were to be obtained at reductions ranging between twenty-five and sixty percent. The new shops spelled a mercantile revolution.

But as in all revolutions there is one class of citizens that does not heartily approve the change. This one was no exception. The neighborhood shopkeepers, seeing themselves threatened with ruin, rose up in arms, and declared war to the death.

For the new-fangled commerce was in competition—and devastatingly successful competition—with all the little tradesmen of the quarters, with the restaurateur and the wine dealer, with the lumberman and the hardware store, with the crockery merchant and the modiste, and down to the fruit and vegetable pushcart peddlers. The whole fraternity united for resistance. They raised the alarm that the *commerce à prix unique* had been organized and controlled by Germans (which was tantamount to the charge that it was an invention of the devil), that the Polish Jews had a finger in it, that it sold smuggled and fraudulent goods. Nobody seemed to pay any attention. It was common knowledge that the innovators were, as a matter of fact, none other than the department stores, which had sent representatives over to America to study the novel trade in its native haunts. The merchants' associations thereupon tried to boycott their diabolical competitors by excluding them from participation in the lotteries offered by the private tradesmen in connection with the seasonal neighborhood fairs. The public seemed to prefer low prices to the chance of winning a painted vase, or even a bottle of perfume. But the syndicated dealers did not yet admit defeat. They managed to get their deputies in the Chamber to pass a bill declaring the nuisance guilty of unfair competition. Unhappily, by the time the law came back from the Senate, its teeth had been so effectively drawn as to make it harmless.

The battle is still raging at this writing. The new commerce is still prospering, and, if prophecy is in order, I greatly fear that the neighborhood dealers are fighting for a lost cause.

"Le Sport" Comes to Paris, Too

"Le sport" is now compulsory in the army, as well as in secondary schools. To understand this statement, however, it is necessary to understand what "le sport" means to a Frenchman, and particularly to a French bureaucrat. To the former it stands for athletic exercises and sometimes for games; to the latter I fear that it often amounts to little more than "physical jerks," or, at the most exciting, to gymnastic competitions. We read of a professor in a lycée, who, in the hour devoted to "le sport," can think of nothing better than to teach his pupils how to swim by making them go through the motions flat on a carpet; and in the instructions just issued by the Ministry of Air for the encouragement of what is called a "mentalité sportive" among all ranks the means recommended are a daily half hour of physical exercises and the laying out of a fully equipped stadium—no doubt with parallel bars and such things complete—in the neighbourhood of all barracks. In none of these regulations, neither the scholastic nor the military, is there a mention of games of any sort. So true is it, as I have more than once pointed out, that in spite of her tennis champions, the "mentalité sportive" is still confined, in France, to a limited proportion of a limited class, the richer bourgeoisie.

—*The Observer*, London, September 27, 1936.

A digest of comment quoted or translated from the original—

THEY SAY:

sometimes important . . . often amusing . . . always authentic

THE French monetary unit***the franc, remains, in spite of financial disturbances since the war, dear to the heart of all the French who see in it the prime basis of stability for their country.

The franc does not date from yesterday. Six centuries, in fact, have nearly elapsed since it was first coined to pay the ransom of John the Good [King of France] when England's prisoner. The franc was then a gold money with the value of a Tourinian pound [old French money]. On one side of the coin was a hooded knight on horseback. The knight was *franc* [free or frank] while the king was captive*** This money was called the *franc on horseback*. Under Charles V a coin of the same value was called the *franc on foot*.

The gold franc survived***when Henry III coined silver units. In 1641 francs disappeared to be replaced by***sols. They reappeared with the Revolution and introduction of the decimal system***Now the one-, two-, and five-franc coins no longer have any precious metal in their composition. They are only chips, cleaner to handle than paper money and merely fictitious in value.

—*Courier des Etats Unis*, French daily, New York, August 8, 1936.

✦ ✦ ✦

Rebel Orders

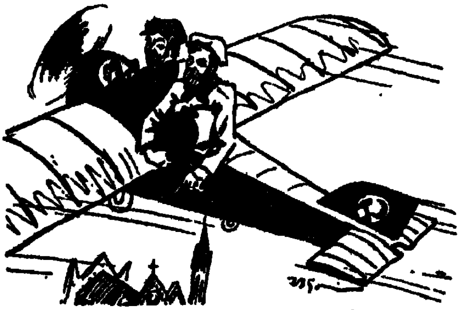
The first thing to gain victory is to annihilate the morale of the enemy. Therefore,*** it is necessary to obey strictly the following orders:

First, when advancing; in order to make sure of the rear, it is necessary to terrorize the population. For this reason, when our columns reach a village, all the local authorities must be shot. If they cannot be found,***we must treat in the same manner the members of their families.

To these executions we must give as much publicity as possible, making it known that we shall act in the same manner towards all who stand against us.***In the improbable event of finding serious resistance to our movement, it will be necessary to reckon as an enemy-zone the whole village or town.

Very private. It is proved that what, above all, greatly demoralizes troops in action is to see that hospitals and medical ambulances are attacked. It is necessary to remember this experience of the Great War.***If, despite all anticipations, Madrid should offer us a stubborn resistance, we shall consider as our principal and most urgent objective the cutting of water and electric supplies.***

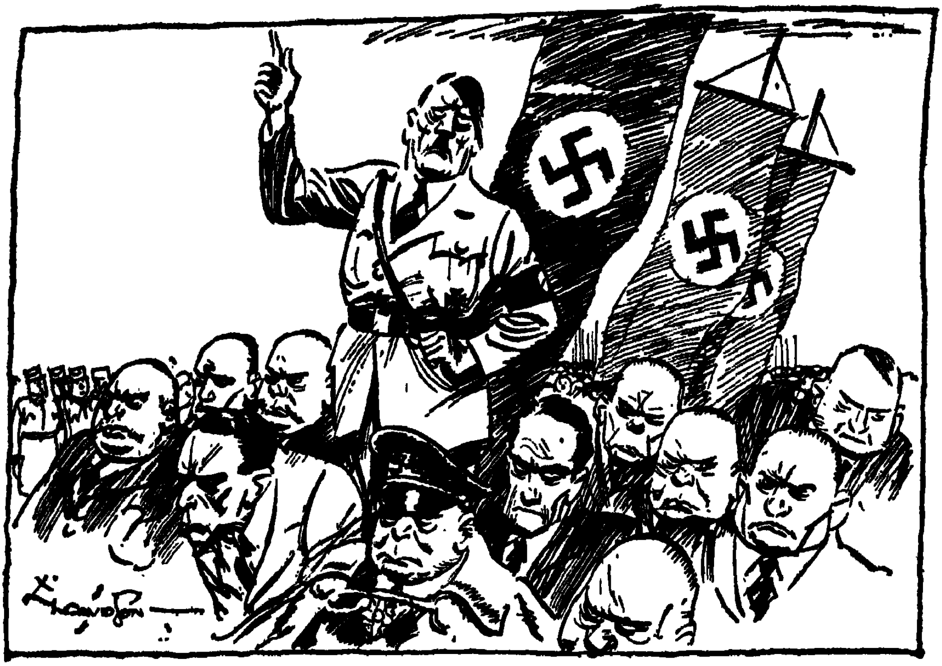
When we reach Madrid***our first duty will be to put Maxim guns on the church towers. From there our troops will fire on the people of the adjoining streets without being hindered by distinction of sex. Even if only a few persons are hit, the effect of the indiscriminate fire will be great.***



Il 420, Florence

COMMUNIST AVIATORS

"Do you sight the enemy?"
"Yes, Murillo, Velasquez, Jesus Christ"



Glasgow Ev. Times

Extract from the Fuehrer's speech:—"In another land there is devastation, grim murder, and ruin. Here are happiness, laughter, and beauty."

Important and private to officers above the rank of Lieutenant: Officers in command of columns shall not permit the rank and file to know that ordinary bullets have been soft-nosed and converted into dum-dum bullets. This measure must be kept strictly secret. Moreover, privates must be told that such bullets are used by the Government forces, and their indignation must be aroused by showing them the ghastly wounds caused by such bullets.

—Orders reported to have been issued to Spanish rebel troops, copies of which were alleged to have been found on captured insurgent officers. Recorded in the *New Times and Ethiopia News,* August 15, 1936.

* * *

Hitler at Nuremberg

The democratic powers had fifteen years in which they could have shown the German people what democratic brotherly love stands for. We have forgotten that and the world should be glad. Democracy is only a passing stage. We have no objection to it * * * but without reservation we remain the mortal enemy of certain policies that may succeed under democracy.

Our National Socialist principles are not intended for export. * * * If anyone is to complain of intolerance, surely we are.

* * * we recall the unshakable basis of our conviction in struggle and success. Responsibility and personal characteristics will be taken into account even more strongly than hitherto. The principle will be upheld [in the National Socialist State] that to genius from whatever class it may come every situation is open.

A cultural, political, and military resurrection has taken place [in Germany].

—Excerpts from Chancellor Hitler's speech at Nuremberg, September 14, 1936, as printed in *The New York Times.*

* * *

German Imperialism

The Fuehrer's proclamation is a pressing appeal to other countries that want to help surmount a dangerous menace. Adolf Hitler does not pursue the phantom of wanting complete German independence. He says: "I need the world to feed my people, but I don't want to be a slave to this world." The colonial problem will certainly be raised when the question of Germany's rejoining the League comes about.

—*Frankfurter Zeitung,* Frankfurt, September 10, 1936.

The Chancellor's pacific speech becomes him ill; he was unable, just the same, not to mention his aggressive plans and it must be said that the part of Hitler's speech in which he talked of imperialistic designs was far more

understandable and better stated than all the phantasmagoria which constituted its first part.

—*Isvestia*, Moscow, September 10, 1936.

◆ ◆ ◆

Wages—German and Austrian

We are not yet rid of social contrasts*** Germany's everyday life continues to have its problems that demand urgent solution because unsolved problems, specially social ones, always produce disintegration***One of these problems is wages. No secret is divulged if we say that workpeople now discuss ardently the "rigidity" of wages. How long will such "rigidity" last? This is an extremely urgent question as in recent years prices have, speaking moderately, had a depressing effect on wages.

—*Der Ruhrarbeiter*, German Labor Front publication, August, 1936.

The women of the [Austrian] working class have watched anxiously the prices of meat, lard and eggs rise 10%, 15% and then 20%***Workers are being subjected to warnings of further wage reductions that would jeopardize their standard of living. In many establishments wage reductions are being attempted even though such wages do not justify being called a just share in labor's product. The workers thus find themselves between two millstones***

—*Arbeiterwoche*, labor organ, Vienna, August 15, 1936.

◆ ◆ ◆

Rich Marxists

To obtain the victory, three things are necessary: A capable command, money, and a great spirit of sacrifice. We possess these three, while *the Marxists only have money.*

The latter send new columns against us and we are naturally obliged to disperse them as fast as they come.

—General Franco, Spanish rebel chief, in an interview broadcast by *La Coruña radio station*, September 17, 1936.



Glasgow Record

Herr Hitler has intimated that in due course he will take up the question of the restoration of Germany's colonies.



THE CEMETERY OF DEMOCRACY *Sunday Referee, London*
"Whose turn next, comrade?"

Bolshevism and Judaism

Let us examine the list of the present members of the [Soviet] Politburo. Of the ten, only one is a Jew—Kaganovitch—while the rest, (Stalin, Ordjonikidze, Voroshilov, Kalinin, Molotov, Andreev, Kocior, Mikoyan and Tchubar), are pure Russians, Ukrainians, or Georgians.*** Let us examine the list of the Council of the People's Commissars, who were elected in 1935 by the seventh Congress of the Soviets. The president and the vice president are not Jews, while the four Jews among the sixteen commissars are in no way identified with Jewry. Even in the Comintern [Communist International] itself, which well-nigh maddens Dr. Goebbels [Nazi Propaganda Minister], the number of Jews is very small.

—*L'OEUVRE*, Paris, Sept. 14, 1936.

✦ ✦ ✦

Cosmetics for Teachers

The Association of Primary School Teachers and Officers in Shanghai has decreed that no trainers of youth may color their face or nails or dress in manners unbecoming a lady, according to its point of view.

Why not?

Many women look prettier in their best toilet and in well-made and well-designed dresses. Children like to see pretty things and respect those who are smart in dress as well as in ability.

Really only those possessing peculiar thoughts would not appreciate the best in looks and manners.

After a day of hard work amid dusty and smoky surroundings, being somewhat tired, thirsty, and hungry, what a joy it is to mix again with pretty things, however decorated, enjoying cold drinks, hot stuff, nice dinners, pleasant talks and faces.

Painted faces and colored dresses do no harm. These may cost time and money but have their compensation in ways other than material.

—*China Outlook*, August 15, 1936.

✦ ✦ ✦

Government in Business

Efficiency of public investments * * * to revive economic life, requires * * * that * * * investments of the State should not act as a brake on private enterprise, and further that these public investments should create new development of private enterprise which should be able to take upon its shoulders the continuation and further expansion of the revival brought

about by public investments. Only such stimulation * * * can enable the State to gradually withdraw from its role of contractor * * * to break the depression and revive economic processes and protect it against the danger that the task undertaken by public initiative would have to be continued, entailing a further and greater expenditure of funds.

—Monthly Review, *National Economic Bank*, Warsaw, June, 1936

* * *

The Red Army

Are the Red armies as badly equipped and commanded as those of the Czar?

A big effort has been made by the Soviets to give its Army the most modern engines. There are 4,500 tanks and as many airplanes. * * * Russia was first to build enormous troop transport planes. Evidence shows it must have supplies. It is unanimously agreed it will enter a campaign with full equipment for its men. * * * Where the problem comes is in the renewal of this armament, and it is there that the Government of Nicholas II found itself blocked.

Russia's industrial power has been strongly increased. * * * The Soviet Union has the abundant agricultural resources needed in modern warfare. * * * There is oil in the Caspian, wheat in the Tchernoziom, and cotton in Turkestan.

The problem of command [of the Army] poses an unknown something more mysterious.

—*Le Petit Journal*, Paris

Once again * * * the public must be on guard against "steam-roller publicity." This engine is dressed up to suit modern taste—with propellers, wings and motors. * * * It appears the Soviet air force has 4,500 magnificent air machines. Heavens! There aren't that many in all Europe. Modern machines, of course.

The truth behind this publicity screen for distinguished visitors is that the Soviets only have old "tubs", worn and useless in war today.

If the communists really have 4,500 machines, they don't need ours to annihilate Germany's 1,500 planes.

—*Candide*, Paris, September 17, 1936

RUSSIA'S TRIAL OF THE SIXTEEN

Following is a translation from the Russian newspaper *Izvestia*, of the last-day trial minutes in the now well-known case of the sixteen conspirators, since reported executed for plotting the overthrow of the Stalin Government:

At the evening session, on August 22, Presiding Justice Ulrich offered the accused the privilege of the last word. First to speak was Mratchkovsky. He began with an autobiographical recitation, concluding:

"I became a Trotskyist in 1923, thus starting on my deceitful road. A cross will be placed on my previous services to the Party, as the past no longer exists for me; but it is impossible to put a cross on the present. I am a counter-revolutionary.***

"I shall not plead for leniency—that is not what I want. What I want is to make my exit from life without having to carry the filth along.***

"It might be argued that the Party, perhaps, was not helpful to me,***that it had made no effort to tear me away from my counter-revolutionary associations, and thus rescue me. But, no, the Party has done everything,***it has helped me, *it has helped me mightily indeed!****

"***I have told everything. Let all remember that a [Czar's] general, or a duke, or a nobleman, is not the only one who is apt to turn counter-revolutionary, but a worker or a descendant from workers, such as myself, may also turn counter-revolutionary. I retire a traitor, a perfidious person, well deserving to be shot.***"

"Who will believe even a single word we say?" began prisoner Evdokimov, "after we had played such despicable comedy.***Who will believe us a counter-revolutionary gang of bandits, in league with fascism and with the Gestapo [German State Secret Police]?***Too prodigious are our crimes against both the Proletarian State and the International revolutionary movement to permit us even to count on clemency.***"

"I am guilty of the murder of Kirov," declared prisoner Bakayev, "and I participated directly in the planning of other terrorist acts against the leaders of the Party and the Government.***I am weighed down by the realization that I have become an obedient instrument in the hands of Kamenev and Zinoviev,***and that I lifted my hand against Stalin. I am fully conscious of the enormity of my crime and am ready to suffer the justly merited verdict of the proletarian Tribunal."

"* * * There can be only one conclusion," said the accused Pikel after tracing the history of the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition. "We constitute the cruelest gang of criminal offenders, serving international fascism. Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev have been our standard bearers, and not alone we, the dregs of Sovietland, gravitated towards them, but also the spies and the secret agents of foreign states. The past eight years have been for me years of horribly base, nightmarish deeds. I fully merit the extreme punishment."

At the morning session of August 23, the last words of the accused were continued:

Kamenev: "Together with Zinoviev and Trotsky, I organized and directed the terrorist conspiracy aiming at the lives of the leaders of our Government and Party and actually carrying out the murder of Kirov. For ten years, if not longer, I led the fight against the Party and the Government of the Soviets, and against Stalin personally. In the struggle I used, I think, the entire arsenal of political weapons at my command, including open political discussions, boring from within the factories, running underground printing presses, hoodwinking the Party, precipitating street demonstrations, organizing conspiracies and terror.

"I once studied the histories of political movements, and I am unable to recall a single form of political warfare which we failed to employ in the past ten years. The Proletarian Revolution, too, accorded us respites which no revolution in the past ever accorded its enemies. The bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth century allowed its enemies no more than weeks and days, and it destroyed them afterwards. On the other hand, the proletarian revolution gave us ample opportunity to mend our ways and rectify our mistakes, but we haven't done that.

"Thrice I was personally restored to the Party. I was permitted to return from my place of banishment solely on the strength of my personal pledge. * * * I was even entrusted, after all my errors, with posts and missions of responsibility. Today, for the third time, I again face the proletarian court on charges of conspiracy and terror. * * *

"Twice my life has been spared, but there is a limit to everything, and there must be a limit also to proletarian magnanimity. * * * I ask myself, is it by sheer accident that alongside of myself, Zinoviev, Bakayev, * * * there sit also emissaries of foreign secret police, people who travel on forged passports, people of dubious origin but of undoubted connections with the Gestapo? I say, no, it is no accident. We sit here side by side because we wielded a common weapon, because our hands gripped long before fate linked us here on the bench of the accused. * * * Such has been our path and such is the pit of despicable treason into which we have fallen. * * *"

Zinoviev: "I declare again that I am fully and totally guilty. I confess that, next to Trotsky, I was the organizer of the Trotsky-Zinoviev block, aiming at the murder of Stalin, Voroshilov, and a number of other leaders of the Party and the Government. And I confess to being the chief organizer of the murder of Kirov.

"The Party saw whither we were drifting and duly warned us. In one of his addresses Stalin predicted the probability that the opposition might yet seek to foist their will upon the Party by sheer force. * * * Stalin, Voroshilov, Ordjonikidze, Derzhinsky, and Mikoyan endeavored in every way to save us. On several occasions they told us: 'You are apt to cause enormous harm to the Party and to the Soviets, but you yourselves will thereby perish.' But we remained deaf to those admonitions. * * *

"You will believe me, citizens Justices, that greater even than the punishment which I shall suffer was the punishment I underwent when I listened here to the confessions of [the terrorists] Nathan Lurie and Valentine Olberg. For it then dawned upon me that my name will forever be linked with the names of these men: Olberg to the left of me and Lurie to the right * * *"

Evening Session of August 23. *Ter-Varanian:* "I am crushed by the weight of what has been revealed here * * * How I would strain every bit of power if only I could bridge the bottomless precipice which now separates me from my former comrades! But I may only bow my guilty head before the Court and say, however severe your verdict, I will accept it as fully merited."

Fritz-David: "I want to assure the Proletariat's Court that I curse Trotsky. I curse that man for having ruined my life, for having pushed me on the road to high crime."

At seven o'clock in the evening the Court retired into the consultation chamber. At 2:30 A.M., August 24, the Court returned and Presiding Justice Ulrich made public the verdict, [presenting in legalistic fashion the history of the case and of the defendants as follows]:

1. *Zinoviev, G. E.;* born in 1883, clerk, sentenced on January 16, 1935, in the case of the "Moscow Center of Zinovievists", to imprisonment for a period of 10 years;
2. *Kamenev, L. B.;* born in 1883, clerk, sentenced (same date and same case) to a jail term of 5 years, subsequently sentenced again, on July 27, 1935, to imprisonment for a period of 10 years;
3. *Yevdokimov, G. E.;* born in 1884, clerk, sentenced (same date and case) to a jail term of 8 years;

4. *Bakayev, I. P.;* born in 1887, clerk, sentenced (as above) to 8 years jail.
5. *Mratchkovsky, S. V.;* born in 1883, clerk.
6. *Ter-Varanian, V. A.;* born in 1893, clerk.
7. *Smirnov, I. N.;* born in 1880, clerk. These seven were indicted of crimes specified by articles 58-8 and 58-11 of the Criminal Codex of the RSFSR.
8. *Dreiser, E. A.;* born in 1894, clerk.
9. *Reingold, I. I.;* born in 1897, clerk.
10. *Pikel, R. V.;* born in 1896, clerk.
11. *Golzman, E. S.;* born in 1882, clerk.
12. *Fritz-David, alias Kruglianski;* born in 1897, clerk.
13. *Olberg, V. P.;* born in 1907, clerk.
14. *Berman-Yurin, alias Alexander Fomitch;* born in 1901, clerk.
15. *Lurie, M. I., alias Emel Alexander;* born in 1897, clerk.
16. *Lurie, N. L.;* born in 1901, clerk.

All these were indicted of crimes specified in articles 19-58-8 and 58-11 of the Criminal Codex of the RSFSR.

"Previous and subsequent investigations [the verdict read] have established the following:

"In the Fall of 1932, by direction of L. Trotsky and under the supervision of I. N. Smirnov, leader of the Trotsky underground organization in the USSR, a union of all the Trotsky and Zinoviev underground counter-revolutionary groups was effected, forming a *United Center*, with Zinoviev, Kamenev, Yevdokimov, and Bakayev representing the Zinovievists, and with Smirnov, Ter-Varanian and Mratchkovsky representing the Trotskyists.

"The basis on which these counter-revolutionary groups united was a program of individualistic terror against the leaders of the All-Union Communist Party and of the Soviet Government.

"In accordance with direct orders from Trotsky, transmitted to the United Center by the prisoners Smirnov, Golzman, and Dreizer, during the period 1932-1936, the Trotskyists and the Zinovievists concentrated all their hateful activities against the Soviet Government and the Party, organizing terrorist acts against their leaders.

"The Court has established that the United Center * * * organized and carried out, on December 1, 1934, * * * the murder of the Member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, * * * Comrade Serge Kirov.

"* * * It has been established that L. Trotsky from without and Zinoviev from within were the powerful instigators of Kirov's murder * * * and that in June 1934, Kamenev journeyed to Leningrad * * * specifically to negotiate with the leader of the Leningrad terrorist group, Yakovliev, whose case will be heard separately, the terroristic act against Kirov.

"The Court likewise established that, on instruction from the United Center, the accused Bakayev, too, journeyed to Leningrad * * * to foster the killing of Kirov, which actually took place on December 1, 1934. * * * likewise in 1934, the accused Bakayev, Reingold, and Dreizer * * * twice attempted to assassinate Comrade Stalin.

"With a view towards the speedier execution of their terroristic acts, * * * in 1933 they organized the *Moscow Terrorist Center* * * * under the immediate leadership of the accused Bakayev of the United Center. This United Center instructed Bakayev specifically to bring about the murder of Stalin and Kirov, while Dreizer was instructed specifically to bring about the murder of Voroshilov. * * *

"During 1932-1936, L. Trotsky systematically smuggled a number of terrorists into the USSR. Thus, in November 1932, the terrorists Fritz-David and Berman-Yurin were smuggled in, * * * after having been instructed personally by Trotsky how to plan the killing of Stalin. The same year Trotsky smuggled into Moscow from Berlin the terrorist Nathan Lurie, who, in conspiracy with one posing officially as a foreign Socialist, but who was in reality an agent of the Gestapo—a man named Franz Weitz—was planning the assassination of Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Kaganovitch and Ordjonikidze. * * *

"In 1935, L. Trotsky, assisted by his son L. Sedov, succeeded in smuggling in from Germany the terrorist V. Olberg, who traveled on a forged passport of a citizen of the Republic of Honduras. The passport Olberg acquired with the help of the German Secret Police, having previously obtained Trotsky's approval, conveyed through his son Sedov, to cooperate in this matter with the Gestapo. * * *

"In this manner it has been established that Zinoviev, Kamenev, Yevdokimov, Bakayev, Mratchkovsky, Ter-Varanian and Smirnov were guilty of:

"A) Organizing a United Trotsky-Zinoviev Terrorist Center with the object of assassinating the leaders of the Soviet Government and of the Party.

"B) Planning and executing, on December 1, 1934 * * * the villainous murder of Comrade Serge Kirov.

"C) Organizing a number of terrorist groups with a view to assassinating Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kaganovitch, Ordjonikidze, Kociora, and Postishev. That is [they are] guilty of the crimes specified by articles 56-8 and 58-11 of the Criminal Codex of the RSFSR.

"Dreizer, Reingold, Pikel, Golzman, Fritz-David, Olberg, Berman-Yurin, Lurie M. E., and Lurie N. L., are proven guilty of belonging to an underground counter-revolutionary terroristic organization and of actively participating in the murder-plots against the Party and the Government leaders. That is, they are guilty of the

crimes specified by articles 319 and 320 of the Criminal Codex of the RSFSR.

"Wherefore, the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR hereby sentences them all to suffer the highest measure of punishment, to be shot, and to forfeit all personal property.

"Lev Davidovitch Trotsky, now residing abroad, and his son Lev Lvovitch Sedov, having been exposed * * * as directly participating and personally leading in the organization of terroristic acts in the USSR against the leaders of the Party and the Soviet Government, if, and when, discovered in the jurisdiction of the USSR, [are] to be immediately apprehended and delivered to the Court of the Military College of the Supreme Court of the USSR."

Justice V. Ulrich, Presiding Justice

I. Matulievitch }
I. Nikitchenko } Associate Justices

✦ ✦ ✦

Conscription

On August 24, immediately after the Olympics, the Reich extended the period of military service two years, so doubling its standing Army. In addition * * * there is 6 months preparatory training in the so-called Labor Camps.

The Berlin Stock Exchange responded at once to Hitler's peace gesture. The shares in German armament firms advanced considerably, those of heavy industry the most * * * The Stock Exchange scented more armament profits. They know the Nazi program said that war profits would be confiscated. But they also knew their Hitler.

—*Fascism*, bulletin of the International Trades Federation, Amsterdam, September 5, 1936.

With the extension of the military service to two years, the life of a young German consists of the following stages: at the age of 6 he enters school; at 10 he joins the Nazi childrens' organization Young Folk; at 14, the Hitler Youth or State Youth; at 18 the (Nazi) Party and S. A.; at 19 he enters the Labor Service (now 6 months); at 20 the defense forces, so completing his military service at the age of 22.

—*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 26, 1936.



South Wales News

THE OUTCOME——????

✦ ✦ ✦

Capitalism Doomed?

Unemployed millions clearly prove that private enterprise is incapable of guiding the economic destinies of the human society.

An economic system based on privately owned production must inevitably arrive at an epoch where, while goods and stocks increase, millions suffer from misery and privation. Crass contrast between increased production and decreased consumption is the curse of capitalism which seeks vainly a way out of the crisis. For when the remedy is looked for in restricted production, the destruction of stocks, and reduction in living standards for the great masses of people, the situation is not only aggravated but perpetuated***Capitalism is condemned to defeat***

Fascism is the sum total and expression of capitalist efforts and does not lead to the well-being of mankind, certainly not labor. On the contrary it sows hate, imperils peace, puts economic burdens on the workers, cuts down social service***Fascism is made attractive by disguising its real nature.

—From the introductory statement at the 10th congress of the Joint National Trade Union Center of Czechoslovakia at Prague, December 8-11, 1934. (Only recently published.)

✦ ✦ ✦

China's Opium Racket

For many years, the opium smuggling racket in Shanghai was controlled by a gang having its headquarters in the French Concession from whose safe precincts it defied all law and authority. The racket brought in millions and the Big Shots became so politically powerful that they constituted the invisible government of the port. Naturally, an entrenched criminal organization, more than a match for the authorities, would have to be either ruthlessly suppressed or taken care of liberally by the Government before it could hope to muscle in on the spoils. As it is the custom in China to take over bandit armies and their chiefs into the government forces, it is not difficult to believe what is now openly stated as a fact, that the opium revenues have been set aside in a fair proportion for the upkeep of a terrorist gang which came into being three years ago simultaneously with the establishment of the opium monopoly.

The Blue Shirts are described as Chiang Kai-shek's secret Blood-Brothers, the OGPU of China, wielding absolute power of life and death, in charge of censorship, direction of the Tangpus and all anti-Japanese movements.

Here we have the most powerful secret organization in China with ramifications all over the country, charged with carrying out political assassinations and instigating anti-Japanese riots, maintained by Government funds derived *largely, if not entirely*, from an opium monopoly imposed in violation of treaties! Not a peep has been heard out of the missionaries and uplifters who labored so hard and so long to put an end to opium smoking in China. The kind-hearted and trustful British even indirectly transferred over forty millions of their Indian revenues to Nanking without a murmur. But when Chiang Kai-shek overreached himself and made possible profitable smuggling on a large scale and he ran crying to Britain and the United States, protesting that he could not pay his interest instalments on foreign loans because goods are being smuggled into his bailiwick to an extent that it was depriving him of twenty to one hundred millions a year in customs revenues, it becomes highly immoral, contrary to international law and a violation of treaties, calling for concerted action on the part of all interested Powers!

So Great Britain, who made no audible protest when Nanking violated a treaty to uphold which India surrendered revenues totalling £3,500,000 annually, gets all excited when smuggling of Japanese goods into China cuts Chiang's revenues some £1,500,000! The loss of a few million pounds in the budget of India can be made up by additional taxation on the lowly ryot, while the impairment of a Chinese gilt-edged security on which foreign-bondholders expect regular returns on due dates, is something altogether different. Of course, the British Government will protest, and the good old U.S.A. will rally around even though there are no American loans secured on the Chinese Customs or for that matter any other security worth a whoop.

—*The Far Eastern Review.*

✦ ✦ ✦

Japan Must Expand

Japan is about to become the third most populous country in the world, but it is extremely poor in natural resources.***It is really strange that Japan with its strength and convictions cannot demand of the world fair redistribution of the world's natural resources. Only through this means can Japan cast off the accusation of being aggressive and imperialistic and



New York Post

HELP! THE LAMB IS ATTACKING THE BUTCHER AGAIN!

only through this means can it escape the economic blockade and trade pressure of the powers. With Premier Hirota's assumption of office as the occasion, it is to be hoped that the Government will make fresh efforts to obtain natural resources throughout the world. ***We stand for correction of the lopsided distribution of profits and securing of fair distribution and respect for labor. We believe that appropriate State control may be exercised in order to realize this. We thus take the stand of combination between laissez-faire economy and managed economy. Through this means the illegal economic policy will gain many-sidedness.

From a speech delivered by Mr. Kunimatsu Hamada before the Japanese diet, May 7, 1936.

—Trans-Pacific, May 14, 1936.

✦ ✦ ✦

Franco-Polish Relations

In drawing closer to Poland, the Blüm Government showed patriotism and a European spirit. Poland felt Europe's equilibrium menaced by Germany's application of the two-year military service, and its [Poland's] prime anxiety is to maintain this equilibrium. For Czechoslovakian-Polish relations, this deals with only one sector of European politics and any improvement in the general situation must imply an improvement in these relations.

Ciske Slovo, Prague, September 7, 1936.

Spanish events have deepened the gulf existing between the [French] Government parties and still more so the current of opinion among



Glasgow Bulletin

"POLITICS DON'T SEEM SO IMPORTANT HERE, NEVILLE!"
Mr. Baldwin has decided to prolong his holiday for a little longer and leave Mr. Chamberlain to look after the shop.

the French people themselves. In England the furies of communism have deprived the Popular Front of support, and friends of the Soviet their best arguments. * * * The Franco-Polish exchange of visits is not explained by the adoption of the two-year service in the Reich which has long been foreseen, but by France's need to set up a counter-assurance in the very possible event that she turns away from Moscow.

—Walter Hagemann, in *Germania*, Berlin, September 9, 1936.

♦ ♦ ♦

Britain vs. Japan

There is no doubt that Britain is prepared to fight Japan in the very near future as soon as the formidable Singapore base is ready. It is an open secret that Britain is prepared to abandon Hongkong the moment hostilities begin and withdraw to Singapore which is heavily fortified and is regarded as a second Gibraltar. The Japanese people know that the Singapore naval base is aiming at their country, for there is no other Power in the Pacific that is in a position to challenge British naval power except the Island Empire. It is expected that because of racial and cultural affinities, in any war which may threaten the safety of China and Japan, these two great nations will bury all their differences and join hands to fight and expel the enemy from this part of the world and to put an end to further British domination and arrogance in the Far East. China and Japan are not hereditary enemies like France and Germany and it is fervently hoped that the two great neighbors will find a satisfactory formula to compose their differences and forever bury the hatchet to resist a common foe, be it Britain or Russia.

—*China Outlook*, Aug. 8, 1936.

♦ ♦ ♦

Franco-British Relations

No clearsighted Englishman does not think about Franco-British relations. The question is discussed in all political circles, and to a certain extent in those of business, but without any pro-French sentimentalism.

Political thought in Britain about France takes two apparently opposed roads. One school favors closer Franco-British cooperation. These remember England is in Europe, or at least near Europe, and cannot remain indifferent to Europe's fate. Others want to isolate England from Europe and detach it politically and economically from the Old Continent and make its role only that of one of the oldest and most important of a Dominion in a federation of British Dominions.

These two currents play one on the other.
—Wickham Steed in *Le Figaro*, Paris, December 31, 1932.

France has the best army in the world * * * Britain has the greatest navy * * * The two nations must stand together against aggression.

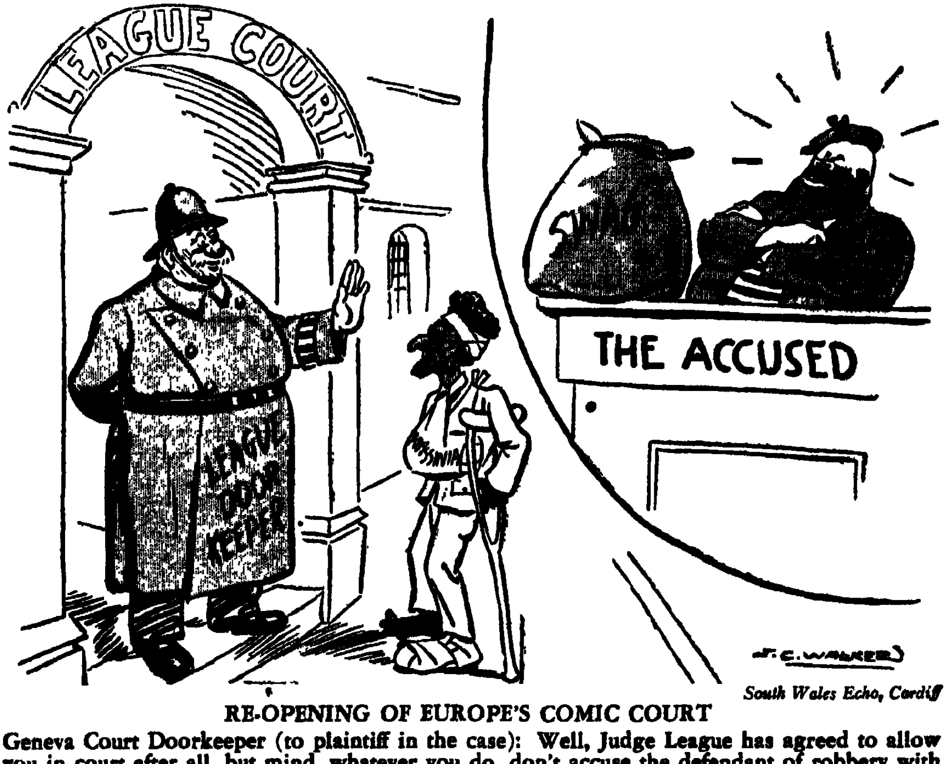
There are three kinds of nations * * * those governed by Nazis, Bolshevists, and those who govern themselves. The British, French, and American democracies would be miserable if suddenly put under Nazi or Bolshevist rule * * * The three great democracies must steadily march forward into a better age.
—Winston Churchill, British statesman, in a lecture at Paris, September 24, 1936.

France must keep her friendship with Great Britain which is the best guarantee to European peace. Germany is persistently trying to break it up. France must maintain friendship with Italy. But Italy and Britain are at odds. France's friends also include the Little Entente, its ally. But the Little Entente is at odds with Italy and the three countries comprising it do not have the same problems or adversaries. Czechoslovakia fears Germany. Yugoslavia and Rumania fear the loss of the ex-Hungarian provinces. France has Poland as an ally. But certain Polish officials lean to Berlin. Poland is on chilly terms with Czechoslovakia. Poland suspects Russia with whom France is bound by treaty. These are some of Europe's contradictions***
—*Le Temps*, Paris.

* * *

Seen by the Swiss

After the 1929 crash, America took long to understand that the period of prosperity was at an end and that a long and severe crisis was to follow. The same applies after the violent shocks of 1932 and 1933; the crisis mentality persisted in spite of a net improvement in the economic situation. Only in the middle of 1935 was some optimism forthcoming—at first hesitant. With the remarkable developments of the last twelve months, confidence is now general. ***It is possible that 1937 will prove a marktime year in the United States' recovery. But the strength of the accumulated demands of heavy industry will probably not allow this interruption in recovery to be serious or durable.
—*Perspectives Economiques en Amérique*, by W. B., in *Journal de Genève*, Geneva, September 4, 1936.



South Wales Echo, Cardiff

RE-OPENING OF EUROPE'S COMIC COURT

Geneva Court Doorkeeper (to plaintiff in the case): Well, Judge League has agreed to allow you in court after all, but mind, whatever you do, don't accuse the defendant of robbery with violence, or he may get touchy and LEAVE THE COURT.

Trade Revival

Thanks to our cheap and rapid means of communication, the nations are now so close to one another that in terms of time and cost of transport, the whole present-day Europe is no larger than the Switzerland of yesterday. * * *

When we think of the obstacles of all kinds at present impeding traffic within this limited space, we no longer feel inclined to smile at the memory of an Italy divided in the days of Mazzini into seven or eight different customs territories or a Germany scarred, in the time of Goethe, by thirty-nine customs frontiers.

The world would be much nearer the restoration of comparative liberty in international trade if everyone were imbued with a conviction of the affinity—one might almost say the blood relationship—existing between our national economy, whatever its form, and what we call external economy.

* * * every citizen, even if he never buys or sells anything outside his own little town, has a personal stake in the revival of international trade.

—Bulletin Economic Committee of the League of Nations, Geneva, September 13, 1935.

◆ ◆ ◆

Syrian Independence

It is not displaying pessimism out of season to say that the period of transition [following the Franco-Syrian treaty just signed for Syrian independence] will be full of ambushes. It is feared that difficulties may arise and that interested intriguers will place obstacles in the way. * * * Those having charge of applying the treaty must be on guard. The period of transition must evolve in calm, and the Syrian people know how to oppose any agitations and provocations through dignity and wisdom.

—*Nahar*, Beyrouth, Syria, September 10, 1936.

◆ ◆ ◆

Blum on French Policy

By an immense majority, France remains attached * * * to the memories and traditions of the French Revolution.

France believes in political liberty * * * civic equality * * * in human fraternity * * * Among the fundamental rights of the individual, she places the liberty of thought and conscience in the first rank.

Democracy is contrary to anarchy * * *

How can the magnificent testimony offered for so many years by the great Anglo-Saxon nations be rejected?

France utterly refutes the idea of wars of propaganda and wars of reprisal.

Peace must be general * * * because there is no single armed conflict in present Europe that could be limited * * *

French peace supposes for all nations liberty of self-determination * * * equality of right between States, big or little * * * progressive elimination of war, solidarity against an aggressor and material and moral disarmament.

She [France] seeks to constrain no one. She will not permit herself to be constrained by any one, directly or indirectly.

Excerpts from a speech by Premier Léon Blum of France, as reported in The New York Times, September 18, 1936.

The French press of all shades approves Mr. Blum's speech and unanimously praises his efforts for peace.

—*Broadcast* from the French Government Radio Colonial Station, Paris, September 18, 1936.

◆ ◆ ◆

Friend of China

By virtue of her vast wealth and resources and her industrial products along the line of machinery, airplanes, and munitions and because of her lack of desire for territorial conquest (she has more territory than she needs and besides China is too far from her base anyway), the United States should be, in the long run, a good friend of China, whose help could be accepted without fear of territorial aggrandizement. The one obstacle in the way of getting substantial help just now is the psychology of "splendid isolation" that is being preached in that country. But even this isolationist attitude would not prevent China from getting certain assistance from the United States on a strictly give-and-take basis. The cotton and wheat loans and the recent silver agreement are eloquent illustrations. It is idle for China to expect any help from any country on purely altruistic grounds. Altruism and diplomacy are mutually exclusive and are fundamentally contradictory in terms.

—*China Weekly Review*, August 1, 1936.

◆ ◆ ◆

Friends

Links of amity existed in the past between our two, brother-peoples which resemble one another in historical destiny. Czechoslovak and Bulgarian journalists have decided to create an entente of their own to help statesmen continue this policy of understanding on an economic and cultural basis. Results until now surpass all anticipations.

—*Slovo*, Sofia, September 16, 1936.

AUTHORS *in this* ISSUE:

Reinhold Niebuhr (*Which Way, Great Britain?*) was editor of *World Tomorrow* and is now contributing editor of the *Christian Century*. A clergyman, he has been professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary since 1930. Always a keen student of world affairs, Dr. Niebuhr recently returned from Europe where he obtained from outstanding political figures the facts upon which he bases this article. Among the books he has authored are: *Reflections on the End of an Era* (1934); *Does Civilization Need Religion?* (1927); and *Leaves from the Notebook of a Tamed Cynic* (1929).

✦ ✦ ✦

Ludwig Lore (*Intervention in Spain*) is a well-known New York newspaper columnist and editor whose articles have appeared in leading American publications for years. A native of Germany, he came to this country in 1904 and became editor of the *New Yorker Volks Zeitung.* He now writes the column *Behind the Cables* for five American dailies, concerning himself exclusively with the foreign scene, and following even the minutest developments with a rare thoroughness and exactitude.

✦ ✦ ✦

Maurice Halperin (*Mexico the Incredible*) is a member of the faculty of the University of Oklahoma and an associate editor of *Books Abroad.* For the past few years, he has made exhaustive studies of conditions in Mexico, and in 1934 contributed to CURRENT HISTORY on the subject. He predicted the turn of events in that country two years before Calles was proved to be a political mortal after all, though experts everywhere were of the opinion that Mexico's Iron Man would last forever.

✦ ✦ ✦

S. A. Mokarzel (*Arab Empire*) is publisher of *Al-Hoda,* a daily Arabic-language newspaper published in New York City. He has made two recent trips to the Near East, and knows personally most of the political, governmental, and social leaders there. He has contributed to many American publications on the Arab movement.

✦ ✦ ✦

Charles Hodges (*The Polish Paradox*) is professor of politics at New York University. He spent last summer in Europe, where he interviewed many of the political leading lights. He is author of *The Background of International Relations,* and this is his third contribution to CURRENT HISTORY.

✦ ✦ ✦

Gordon Rend (*Switzerland Prepares*). See CURRENT HISTORY for September.

Joseph Barnes (*Harvard Tercentenary*) is himself a graduate of Harvard (1927, *cum laude*). He reported the Harvard Tercentenary Conference of Arts and Sciences at Cambridge for the *New York Herald Tribune,* by which newspaper he is at present employed. He was formerly engaged in research work, having been secretary of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. He edited *Empire in the East,* a symposium on the Far East (Doubleday, Doran & Co, 1934), and has contributed to the *American Historical Review,* the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* and other journals.

✦ ✦ ✦

Carlton Kendall (*Peace on the Pacific*) is author of *The Truth About Korea*—a book which ran through two editions, was used at the Naval Disarmament Conference in Washington, and was highly debated in the Japanese Diet. He served during the World War in the U. S. Air Service, and for a time, in the Secret Service; later, he became a free lance correspondent at the League of Nations. Widely traveled, Mr. Kendall's adventures would make up volumes; he has lived in the slums of Naples, tramped the jungles of Central America, spent nights with Llahmas from Tibet, and witnessed a private Zen Ceremony by the Japanese priest who officiated at the Mikado's coronation.

✦ ✦ ✦

Albert Handy (*The Small Home Owner*). See CURRENT HISTORY for August.

✦ ✦ ✦

W. Carroll Munro (*AUTO: model 1866*) is a staff writer for CURRENT HISTORY.

✦ ✦ ✦

Edward C. McDowell, Jr. (*The Dardanelles*) is a former staff member of CURRENT HISTORY, now free-lancing for various magazines.

✦ ✦ ✦

M. E. Ravage ("*Mr. Woolworth*" *Comes to Paris*) has been living abroad, principally in France, for the past eight years. He is author of *The Malady of Europe, An American in the Making,* and other books, and has contributed frequently to many American publications.

✦ ✦ ✦

Conrado W. Massaguer (*Caricatures of Roosevelt and Landon*) is among the world's best-known masters of his art. Born in Cuba and now residing there, he has edited and published *Social,* the island's smartest magazine, since 1916. He has contributed to *Vanity Fair, Town and Country, Cosmopolitan,* and *Colliers,* in addition to illustrating many books published in this country.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Sept. 11--October 10

DOMESTIC

SEPTEMBER 11—President Roosevelt, addressing World Power Conference at Washington asks for "more abundant and more widely distributed national income."

Doctor Friederich Bergius, Germany, reports to Harvard Tercentenary Conference that synthetic food containing basic nutriments can be extracted from sawdust.

SEPTEMBER 12—New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania chambers of commerce ask for legal control to curb labor unions.

Representatives of private utility companies are charged with misrepresentation by protagonists of municipal ownership at the Third World Power Conference.

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, asks for changes in Constitution to "avert disorderly confusion—even civil strife."

Federal Judge John D. Martin at Memphis upholds penal provision of Securities Act of 1933.

SEPTEMBER 13—Morris S. Tremaine, New York State Comptroller, challenges Republican Vice Presidential candidate Knox to prove assertion that banks are not safe.

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace organizes community meetings with corn-belt farmers to plan for 1937.

SEPTEMBER 14—Atlantic coast division of International Longshoremen's Association submits new pay demands to Atlantic ship lines.

Associated Press challenges Wagner Labor Relations Act in U. S. Supreme Court, appealing from order handed down by National Labor Relations Board.

Ossip Gabrilowitsch, director of Detroit Symphony Orchestra, dies.

SEPTEMBER 15—Insurance men report to President Roosevelt that assets rose $3,000,000,000 from Jan. 1, 1933 to June 30, 1936.

Republicans win Maine election; both parties hail vote as omen of November victory.

Hurricane rages south of Bermuda; headed for Atlantic coast.

California lettuce pickers continue strike; harass strike-breakers.

SEPTEMBER 16—New Jersey Federation of Labor endorses Roosevelt for re-election.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull announces there will be no recognition of Manchukuo by present Administration.

Secretary Wallace announces that $10,000,000 has been set aside for seed-corn loans.

Harvard formally welcomes 554 world scholars from 502 universities at Harvard Tercentenary Celebrations.

Atlantic ports post hurricane warnings.

Hearst defers plan to abandon permanently the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*.

SEPTEMBER 17—Hurricane sweeps Atlantic coast.

Secretary Roper warns profits must be repudiated if U. S. would stay out of war.

President Roosevelt asks private agencies to enlarge their welfare services to insure firm base for returning national prosperity.

SEPTEMBER 18—Tropical hurricane batters Atlantic coast; 47 die.

Harvard Tercentenary ends; world scholars pledged to fight for truth.

Printers Union defies A. F. of L.; votes to aid Committee for Industrial Organization.

SEPTEMBER 19—President Roosevelt calls power conference for Sept. 30 to discuss "pooling" public and private operations in Southeast.

Roosevelt Administration denounces certain "notorious newspaper publisher" for linking it with Communists.

Secretary Perkins reports 128,353 applicants were put to work in August by U. S. Employment Service.

Federal Judge Merril E. Otis at Kansas City voids "gold clause" resolution of 1933 by upholding gold payment lease signed in 1890.

Colorado River floods portion of central Texas.

SEPTEMBER 20—W. R. Hearst answers Roosevelt Administration rebuke by denouncing Tugwell, Frankfurter, and Richberg for preaching subversive doctrines.

President Roosevelt forms two committees of experts to study crop insurance and improvement of land use.

Federal Commerce Commission forces Pittsburgh radio station WCAE to broadcast the speech of Earl Browder, Communist candidate.

SEPTEMBER 21—Five maritime labor unions appeal to Washington to delay operation of Safety-at-Sea Act which unions fear will outlaw strikes.

Senate Civil Liberties Committee indicts six officials of the Railway Audit and Inspection Co., Inc., for contempt of Senate.

President Roosevelt proposes Government loan at "moderate" interest rates to assist farm tenants in buying land.

SEPTEMBER 22—Sir Walter Citrine, president of International Federation of Trade Unions, warns that democracies must combat fascism with force.
Senate Civil Liberties Committee hears labor spies relate technique for breaking strikes.
Minneapolis mill strike reported out of control; Sheriff demands troops from Gov. Petersen of Minnesota.
Governor Landon pledges cash aid to farmers if elected.
Norman Thomas, Socialist Presidential candidate, accuses President Roosevelt of ignoring tenant farmers in South.

SEPTEMBER 23—President Roosevelt appoints three members to Maritime Commission ordering them to set up a skeleton organization for immediate action.
American Legion in convention at Cleveland pledges drive on radicalism; demands increased expenditures for national defense.
B. F. Goodrich Company suspends production to foil "sit-down" strike; 10,000 idle.
President Roosevelt urges press to combat public political prejudice.

SEPTEMBER 24—Senate Civil Liberties Committee uncovers coal operators' plot to gas mine strikers; purchase of 7,500 bombs revealed.
Federal Grand Jury at Little Rock, Arkansas indicts City Marshal Paul Peacher of Earle, Arkansas, for "aiding and abetting in holding in slavery"; cotton workers allegedly enslaved on Marshal's farm through false arrest.
Akron union votes to end "sit-down" strike at Goodrich plant.

SEPTEMBER 25—Pinkerton National Detective Agency admits before Senate Committee that 200 undercover men in the pay of employers spy on unions.
U. S. Forest Service reports that 20,000,000 shelter belt trees are already restoring fertility to semi-arid acres in West.
President Roosevelt announces recess appointment of Acting Secretary Harry H. Woodring as Secretary of War to succeed the late George Dern.
The Most Rev. John McNicholas, Archbishop of the Cincinnati Roman Catholic Church, condemns Rev. Charles E. Coughlin for describing President Roosevelt as "anti-God."

SEPTEMBER 26—Governor Landon condemns Social Security Act; pledges old age pensions.
Rocky Mountain States suffer sub-freezing weather and snow.
Labor Board examiner strikes out testimony in *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* case that local chapter of the American Newspaper Guild was organized as an "anti-Hearst vendetta."

SEPTEMBER 27—Forest fires sweep Southwest Oregon destroying homes and threatening towns.
Stone spearheads place age of man in North America at 10,000 years.

SEPTEMBER 28—Admiral William Sowden Sims, U. S. N. (retired), dies.

SEPTEMBER 29—President Roosevelt makes first campaign address in Syracuse; repudiates Communist support; says his Administration fights Communism by striking at its social causes.
Republicans nominate Justice William F. Bleakley for Governor of New York State.
Maritime Commission appeals to West Coast union officials to delay pier strike.
Government joins Associated Press in seeking ruling from Supreme Court on Newspaper Guild.

SEPTEMBER 30—New York State reports having received total of $2,308,301,268 from New Deal.
Ecuador and Peru open boundary parley in Washington; Secretary Hull attends.
New X-ray machine perfected; reported to rival all available radium.
Sheriff of Terre Haute, Indiana, jails Earl Browder, Communist Presidential candidate, in order to prevent speech.

OCTOBER 1—Alfred E. Smith, insurgent Democrat supports Landon, Republican Presidential candidate.
President Roosevelt predicts balanced budget as tax revenues rise; hails year 1936 as first in 55 years without bank failure.
Terre Haute officials release Browder; Communist Presidential candidate threatens suit.
Harry Hopkins, WPA Administrator, reports Federal relief load lowest since 1931.
West Coast unions plan 15-day truce to avert shipping tie-up.
Secretary of Treasury Morgenthau denies Hearst accusation that France borrowed money from U. S. to stabilize franc in violation of Johnson Act.

OCTOBER 2—Republicans claim Al Smith's support of Landon will switch 3,000,000 votes.
United States Chamber of Commerce reports that approximately 7,000,000 workers obtained jobs since depression depths.
Resettlement Administration reports that 38,728 farmers have had debts reduced through voluntary adjustment 25% in year.

OCTOBER 3—Secretary Wallace accuses Armour and Swift packing companies of "unfair trade practices."

OCTOBER 4—Leaders of the Committee for Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labor seek peaceful settlement.
United States merchandise imports exceed exports for the first time in ten years.

OCTOBER 5—William Green, president of the A. F. of L., says Roosevelt will receive bulk of labor vote.
Massachusetts joins New York and Illinois urging reconsideration of five-to-four decision invalidating State minimum wage law.
Maritime Commission refuses to suspend Subsidy Act terms despite insistence of seamens' unions.

OCTOBER 6—Report Republican Party's Campaign expenditure will be $8,636,000.

Safety Congress urges State Governors to curb auto speed.

President Roosevelt announces he will seek to retain power to devaluate currency at next session of Congress.

Federal Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond, Virginia, limits powers of National Labor Relations Board to interstate commerce.

OCTOBER 7—Secretary Hull reports that "agricultural exports have increased steadily since 1932" under reciprocal trade treaties.

Secretary of State Hull and Secretary of Labor Perkins defend New Deal; President Roosevelt launches personal tour for reelection.

Governor Landon begins 2400-mile campaign tour of the Great Lakes states.

OCTOBER 8—Mgr. John A. Ryan of Catholic University decries Father Coughlin's statements that President Roosevelt is a supporter of communism.

Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, arrives in New York.

John L. Lewis joins move for peace between the A. F. of L. and C. I. O.

Longshoremen and Atlantic ship lines reach wage agreement.

Tenth Cooperative League Congress opens at Columbus, Ohio; spread of cooperative movement is hailed.

U. S. Army and Navy disagree over defensive plans to neutralize Philippines.

OCTOBER 9—Landon promises balanced budget if elected President.

Father Charles E. Coughlin recants denunciations of President Roosevelt for Communistic leanings, but says he never called him Communist.

United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union dispatches peace proposal to A. F. of L. and C. I. O. hoping to end labor rift.

Seven Black Legion "terrorists" sentenced to life imprisonment at Detroit.

INTERNATIONAL

SEPTEMBER 11—Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, and Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Nazi Propaganda chief, launch vitriolic attack on Russia; Soviet press replies in kind.

SEPTEMBER 12—Hitler tells Germans they would prosper if they possessed Soviet lands. Dr. Ley, head of German Labor Front, says National Socialism must triumph among all peoples.

Italy announces increased military expenditures.

Japan drafts largest budget in history, estimates for fighting service accounting for nearly half the total.

SEPTEMBER 13—Hitler tells Russia millions of Germans are prepared for war.

Franco-Polish pact includes French credits for modernization of Polish industry, particularly arms.

Russia accepts Hitler's challenges; claims leadership in struggle against dying capitalism.

Deadlock between pro-Russian Czechoslovakia and pro-German Rumania and Yugoslavia at Little Entente Conference.

SEPTEMBER 14—Pope Pius deplores horrors of Spanish war, denounces bolshevism and Nazism.

Poland extends Army training to boys under 21.

League of Nation's Economic Committee, in report to League Council, states that economic conference would be unable to deal with present economic conflicts.

Germany demands delay in Locarno parley.

SEPTEMBER 15—Austrian Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Rome to complain that Austro-German Pact is economically useless and has failed to curb Nazi agitation in Austria.

Italy balks German demand to delay Locarno meeting.

Haile Selassie reported intending to attend League Assembly meeting.

SEPTEMBER 16—Chinese in Shanghai prevent investigation of killing of Japanese merchant.

Meeting planned among Italy, Hungary, and Austria to review Central European situation, especially in regard to Austro-German agreement, and to draw those three countries closer.

SEPTEMBER 17—Russian Defense Commissar Klementy Voroshiloff warns Germany that Russia would not be content to meet an invader on her own territory, but would attack invader's territory.

M. Nicholas Titulescu, former pro-French Foreign Minister of Rumania, suffering from unexplained blood poisoning.

Conversations in Rome said to have included consideration of economic cooperation among Italy, Hungary, and Austria and the Little Entente.

France will fight for democracy, says Premier Leon Blum.

SEPTEMBER 18—Italy asks League to exclude Ethiopians on condition of Italian return.

Japanese officer attacked by Chinese outside Peiping.

Evidence points to poisoning of M. Titulescu; had headed Rumanian Iron Guards' death list since 1933; I. G. made attempt on his life in 1934.

SEPTEMBER 19—Berlin paper reports Stalin dangerously ill.

SEPTEMBER 20—Fengtai, North China's most important rail base, to be controlled by Japanese Army as result of series of incidents.

Dr. Goebbels visits Greece for discussions with Metaxas.

In face of French pressure, Ethiopia asks American, E. A. Colson, to act as delegate to League Assembly.

SEPTEMBER 21—Ethiopian delegation temporarily seated by League.

Titulescu maintains that he was poisoned.

German Foreign Minister Neurath visits Hungarian Regent Horthy, reportedly to renew proposals for German-Hungarian military pact.

Herr Fritz Von Papen, German minister to Austria, leaves Czechoslovakia for Rumania after 3-day attempt to persuade Czechoslovakian agrarians to abandon M. Benes in favor of Conrad Henlein, leader of Sudeten Germans.

SEPTEMBER 22—Japanese fleet in Chinese waters increased as result of murders of Japanese in China.

Great Britain abandons attempts to exclude Ethiopia from League of Nations; Italian delegation withdraws.

Sir Samuel Hoare states Great Britain will defend position in Mediterranean.

Italians plan expedition to take Gore in Ethiopia.

British support Franco-Russian alliance.

League of Nations Financial Committee urges gold bloc to devalue currencies to bring price levels into line with sterling and dollar prices.

Uruguayan Government severs diplomatic relations with Spain.

Japanese marines landed at Hankow and Pakhoi to investigate killings of Japanese.

SEPTEMBER 23—League Assembly votes 39–4 to seat Ethiopia.

Italy determined to withdraw from international negotiations until Ethiopian situation is settled satisfactorily.

Japanese occupy Hongkew district of Shanghai after shooting of 3 sailors by Chinese.

SEPTEMBER 24—France plans to devalue franc; British and U. S. cooperation promised.

League Assembly elects Italian vice president.

Czechoslovakian press assures Austria of good will.

SEPTEMBER 25—Heavy Japanese force patrols Shanghai, but situation is easier.

Moderates in Japanese Cabinet anxious to avoid armed clash with China; Japanese landing force in Shanghai reduced.

Gold content of franc to be reduced by one-third by agreement among France, Great Britain, and United States. German mark uneasy; devaluation rumored.

Germany to inaugurate Atlantic air service in 1937.

Czechoslovakia protests Dr. Goebbels' charges again Russian airdromes.

Spanish delegate warns League that non-intervention has amounted to "de facto" blockade of Madrid Government.

M. Titulescu, former Rumanian Foreign Minister, reported out of danger.

SEPTEMBER 26—Switzerland, Belgium, and Netherlands forced to follow French currency lead; Poland decides to remain on gold; Germany and Italy in doubt. Sec'y Morgenthau of U. S. stops sterling slump by purchasing English pounds dumped by Russia.

SEPTEMBER 27—Portugal agrees to join committee on non-intervention in Spain.

SEPTEMBER 28—Terms of settlement offered by Japan to China amount to deprivation of all independence.

Lawrence E. Simpson, American sailor, sentenced in Berlin to three years in penitentiary on charges of importing communist literature into Germany.

Pressing her demands that China end anti-Japanese propaganda, Japan offers China the choice of peace or war.

Great Britain and U. S. plan coordinated use of stabilization funds.

Maxim Litvinov proposes strengthening coercive features of League.

SEPTEMBER 29—Canada and New Zealand differ on League powers, former opposing automatic sanctions.

SEPTEMBER 30—Spanish delegate publishes notes at Geneva disclosing extent of intervention by Germany and Italy.

Sean Lester's appointment as Deputy Secretary General to League of Nations seen as League retreat from Danzig.

OCTOBER 1—Armed Japanese sailors take over Hongkew area in Shanghai International Settlement.

Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, sails for America. Rumor he will curb Father Coughlin's political activities, or will seek U. S. cooperation in anti-Communist drive.

OCTOBER 3—France cuts tariffs 15–20 percent; M. Blum makes over 100 import quotas, cuts price of import licenses, institutes committee for tariff revision and control.

At Geneva, Premier Leon Blum upholds French treaty system; urges disarmament efforts; praises currency agreements as step to international trade.

Japanese reduce guard on Shanghai, but press demands for eradication of anti-Japanese sentiment and recognition of Japan's position in North.

London *Economist*, in special supplement, praises New Deal in U. S.

OCTOBER 4—League hopes for general lowering of trade barriers; Great Britain holds back.

OCTOBER 5—Italian lira devaluated by 41 percent; old parity with dollar and sterling re-established. Prices pegged at September 30 level.

Economic Committee of League of Nations seeks accord on trade barriers. France promises positive, Britain, negative, aid.

Renewal of Bolivian-Paraguayan war threatened with failure of Chaco negotiations.

Prospects for Locarno conference fade.

OCTOBER 6—Sino-Japanese talks commence with return of Chiang Kai-Shek to Nanking.

Premier Julius Goemboes of Hungary dies.

OCTOBER 7—Great Britain urges U. S. and Japan to renew article XIX of Washington Naval Limitation Treaty, restricting fortifications and bases in Pacific.

Belgium, Poland, and Yugoslavia seen as nucleus of neutral bloc of small nations.

Soviet note delivered, accusing Germany, Italy, and Portugal of aiding Spanish rebels.

OCTOBER 8—Germany perturbed by economic isolation; press hints devaluation near.

OCTOBER 9—Soviet note causes conflict in committee supervising non-intervention.

League names committee of 28 to study reforms.

OCTOBER 10—Chiang Kai-Shek demands freedom for China from Japanese interference.

Seventeenth League of Nations Assembly closes, praising efforts to encourage trade.

FOREIGN

Spanish Civil War

SEPTEMBER 11—Madrid Government returns confiscated foreign industries to legal owners.

San Sebastian under artillery fire; anarchists threaten to burn city.

SEPTEMBER 12—San Sebastian captured by Rebels; loyalists flee.

Intense fighting at Talavera; loyalists report gains with infantry, cavalry, and planes.

SEPTEMBER 13—Loyalists halt rebel march on Madrid by air bombardment.

Portugal openly ships arms to rebels.

SEPTEMBER 14—German planes bolster rebel drive on Madrid.

United States Consul at Bilbao withdrawn by Secretary Hull; Pope denounces all foes of Catholic Church in Spain.

SEPTEMBER 15—Catalonians form proletarian councils; confiscation of property reported by rebels and loyalists.

U. S. Embassy in Madrid orders Americans to leave Spain.

SEPTEMBER 16—United States Navy recreates European Squadron.

SEPTEMBER 17—Rebels claim capture of Maqueda.

SEPTEMBER 18—Alcazar fortress at Toledo partially reduced by dynamite.

Britain dispatches warship to Malaga.

SEPTEMBER 19—Alcazar defenders still resist loyalists. Rebel army prepares for drive on Madrid.

SEPTEMBER 20—Lisbon, Portugal, revealed as clearing house for rebel supplies; virtual Italian dictatorship reported on Island of Majorca.

SEPTEMBER 22—Rebels drive on Toledo; Madrid Government calls on citizens to resist fascist terror.

SEPTEMBER 23—Rebels approach Toledo and Madrid.

Madrid Government charges rebel bargain with Germany, exchanging the Azores for war equipment and direct aid.

SEPTEMBER 24—Rebels approaching Toledo menaced by flood; loyalists open dam flooding district between Alberche and Tagus Rivers.

SEPTEMBER 25—Azana, Spanish President, is reported seeking refuge on Argentine warship.

Minister Julio Alvarez del Vayo of Spain warns the League Assembly that world war may be already on way.

SEPTEMBER 26—Rebels invade Toledo.

SEPTEMBER 27—Rebels relieve Alcazar defenders at Toledo.

Loyal warships shell towns near Bilbao; loyalists threaten to inundate rebels on Talavera front.

SEPTEMBER 28—Toledo scene of carnage after rebel battle of occupation; loyalists report gains against rebel drive on Madrid.

SEPTEMBER 29—Madrid food supply menaced by rebel advance; loyalist destroyer sunk by rebel warship.

SEPTEMBER 30—Loyalists defeat rebel force at Huesca.

Madrid Government formally accuses Germany, Italy, and Portugal of open conspiracy with rebels to overthrow a legally elected Government.

OCTOBER 1—Rebels install General Franco as nominal dictator of Spain.

Loyalists bomb Huesca; Spanist Cortes meets in Madrid.

OCTOBER 2—Madrid prepares for war crisis as rebel advance quickens; loyalist officers state they will execute flinchers.

OCTOBER 3—Rebel leaders deny fascist objectives; doom capitalism.

OCTOBER 4—Loyalists recapture Maqueda.

Italian airmen aid rebels in seizure of Balearic Isle.

OCTOBER 5—Rebels report nine-mile advance on Madrid; predict easy victory.

OCTOBER 8—Rebel forces near Madrid; capture Navalperal, Navalcarnero, and San Martin de Valdeiglesias.

OCTOBER 10—Loyalists repulsed near Toledo; beseiged rebels resist strongly at Oviedo.

Austria

SEPTEMBER 27—Nazis end attack on Schuschnigg Government.

Austrian participation in clerical and Nazi anti-communist campaign seen.

OCTOBER 1—Flaunting threatened opposition and with Italian support, Government violates Treaty of St. Germain by enlisting 8,000 youths for compulsory military service.

OCTOBER 2—Prince von Starhemberg expels from Heimwehr Major Fey, Chancellor Schuschnigg's nominee for leadership.

OCTOBER 3—Major Fey retaliates by seizing command of Vienna Heimwehr.

OCTOBER 10—Chancellor Schuschnigg consolidates his dictatorial powers by disbanding Heimwehr and other Fascist bodies.

Cuba

SEPTEMBER 22—Military authorities press round-up of radicals following dynamiting of newspaper office.

OCTOBER 3—Four killed in clash between radicals and police.

President Gomez signs bill reestablishing death penalty and providing for immediate execution of terrorists.

France

SEPTEMBER 11—Premier Blum calls meeting of employers and employees to settle strikes.

SEPTEMBER 12—Government fails to prevent textile walkouts.

SEPTEMBER 15—Lille under police guard as Blum continues to attempt conciliation.

SEPTEMBER 17—Lille textile strike ended through compromise.

SEPTEMBER 20—Radical-Socialist speakers declare they will support Popular Front but will not tolerate "stay-in" strikes; Premier Blum promises furtherance of socialization.

SEPTEMBER 21—At Lille 33,000 return to work; Government negotiations fail elsewhere.

SEPTEMBER 27—Bill devaluing franc passed by Finance Committee of Chamber of Deputies.

SEPTEMBER 28—Senate Finance Committee opposes price control clauses in devaluation bill.

SEPTEMBER 30—Houses deadlocked over compensation clauses in devaluation bill.

OCTOBER 2—Franc bill finally passed; Premier Blum leaves for Geneva.

OCTOBER 4—Police stop Croix de Feu effort to disrupt Communist demonstration.

OCTOBER 5—Government plans to disband de la Rocque's Social Party, following provocative demonstrations.

OCTOBER 9—Government faces open break with Communists planning demonstrations over week-end.

OCTOBER 10—Communists yield to Government, agreeing to limit number of week-end propaganda meetings.

Germany

SEPTEMBER 21—Largest Army maneuvers since 1921 held.

SEPTEMBER 22—Attacking forces shatter defenders in sham battle.

SEPTEMBER 23—Dr. Schacht warns of limits to expansion of Government credit.

SEPTEMBER 24—Nazi Party attacks Catholic bishops for defense of sectarian schools.

Reich Colonial League initiates pamphleteering campaign.

SEPTEMBER 25—Peasants urged to deliver up 30% of grain crops to Government.

SEPTEMBER 29—Germans warned of shortage of certain foodstuffs during winter.

Lutheran World Convention, meeting in New York, foresees peace between Nazis and moderate German Lutherans.

SEPTEMBER 30—Dr. Schacht announces Germany will not devalue mark.

OCTOBER 2—Nazis resent British Conservatives refusal to share colonies.

OCTOBER 3—*Scharnhorst*, Germany's first large battleship, launched.

Minister of Jurisprudence demands eradication of Jewish influence from legal and economic sciences.

OCTOBER 4—Thanksgiving celebrated by 700,000 peasants.

Period of schooling required for entrance to universities cut by three years.

Great Britain

SEPTEMBER 14—Sir William Beveridge, speaking before British Association for Advancement of Science, estimates irreducible minimum of unemployment at 6-8%, or between 800,000 and 1,000,000.

George Andrew McMahon given one year hard labor for threatening King; claims to have been bribed by unnamed foreign power.

SEPTEMBER 15—London *Times* abandons pro-German foreign policy.

SEPTEMBER 21—Editor of *The Fascist* sentenced to 6 months for libeling Jews.

OCTOBER 1—Conservative Party Conference refuses to discuss cession of colonies to Germany.

OCTOBER 2—Speaking at Conservative conference, Neville Chamberlain advocates security through arms, upholds tariffs and Ottawa agreements.

OCTOBER 4—Disorders prevent Mosley's Fascists from parading through London's Jewish section.

British labor faces split over non-intervention policy.

OCTOBER 5—Annual conference of Labor Party denounces Government for permitting provocative Fascist demonstrations; supports non-intervention.

Unemployment increases 10,399 in September, reaching total of 1,624,339.

OCTOBER 6—Labor Party favors rearmament in face of dictators.

OCTOBER 7—Government decides not to ban Fascist demonstrations.

Palestine

SEPTEMBER 25—Fifty-four Arabs killed in clash with British.

SEPTEMBER 29—British order-in-council provides for enforcement of martial law in Palestine.

OCTOBER 3—British High Commissioner withholds martial law, pending appeal by Ibn Saud and other Arab monarchs urging Palestine Arabs to call off strikes and terrorism.

OCTOBER 10—Arabs plan to call off strike, following appeal by Arab High Committee instigated by Arab kings.

Poland

SEPTEMBER 25—Clashes between peasants and police lead progressive elements in Government to advocate land reforms.

SEPTEMBER 28—Socialists win majority in Lodz city council, defending anti-Semitic Nationalists on Jewish issue.

Russia

SEPTEMBER 19—Anti-Trotskyite purge to be moderated.

SEPTEMBER 21—Head of League of Militant Atheists asks that priests be enfranchised.

Need for political loyalty in army stressed as maneuvers begin.

SEPTEMBER 23—Naval maneuvers held in Baltic.

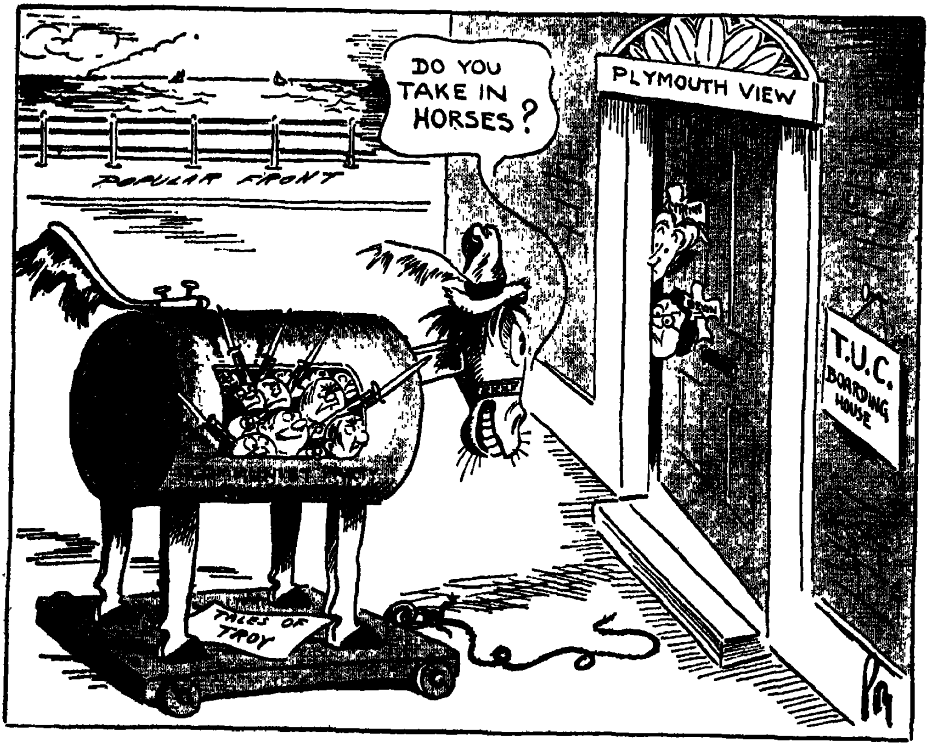
SEPTEMBER 27—Nikolai Yezhoff appointed new head of OGPU; milder secret police policy forecast.

SEPTEMBER 28—Soviet grain crop slightly below 1935 level, but suffices for winter needs and addition to reserves.

SEPTEMBER 29—Baltic and Pacific fleets begin maneuvers, stressing defense against combined attack from east and west.

OCTOBER 3—Satisfaction expressed that maneuvers demonstrate ability to ward off invasion.

OCTOBER 7—Karl Radek arrested as Trotskyite.



Daily Mail, London

SEASIDE LODGINGS: At the conference of the Trades Union Congress, the Communists will again launch a plea for affiliation with the Socialist Party.

—Speaking of Travel—

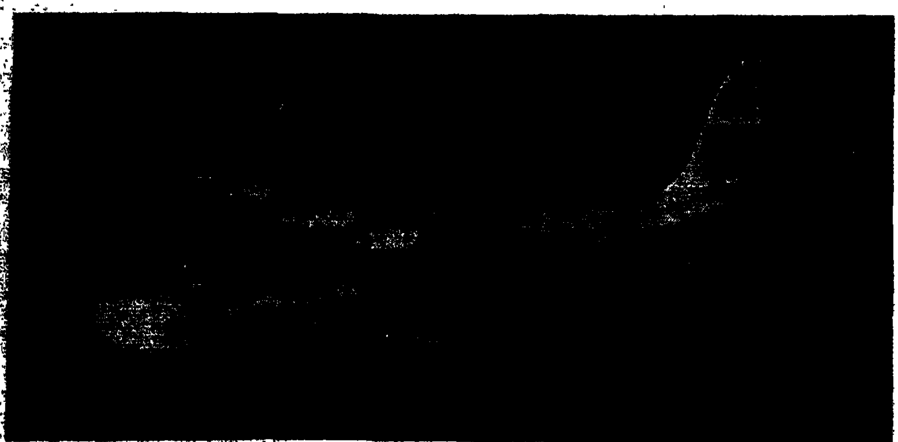
The Three-Week Vacationist Travels Around the World

MORE than four hundred years ago a half-starved, waxen-faced sea captain brought a battered, barnacled, and listing ship into a Spanish port. The captain was Sebastian Elcano, in command of the *Victory*, only remaining ship of five which three years earlier had set out under Fernando Magellan on what was to prove to be the first round-the-world trip in history. Magellan did not survive the voyage; indeed, only eighteen of 237 men who set sail August 10, 1519, returned with Elcano.

Now, almost on the four hundred and fourteenth anniversary of the day on which Captain Elcano completed Magellan's voyage, a regular air service has been instituted between Manila and San Francisco, making possible a round-the-world trip in twenty days by regularly established commercial transportation. Of course, Wiley Post buzzed around the globe in eight days, but he flew his own plane day and night, only landing long enough for refueling or for repairs. The three-week round-the-world tourist, however, can sleep and eat with almost usual regularity and still have time for sightseeing. He can sleep in hotels more than a dozen nights. And while traveling, there are accommodations along each part of the globe itinerary equal to that of the finest hotels.

Fact and Fiction

Jules Verne's hero, Phileas Fogg, seemed to have accomplished the most impossible of all of his author's wonders when he skimmed around the earth in the then unbelievable time of eighty days. Fogg was forced to use camels one part of the journey and was able to coax amazing speed out of the animals. Nellie Bly, newspaper reporter, reduced the fiction of Phileas Fogg's eighty-day trip to fact when she astounded the world in 1889 by girdling the globe in seventy-two days. Since then, both time and distance have yielded greatly to the efforts and contrivances of man to span the earth. Using only land forms of transportation, John Henry Mears established a temporary record in 1913 by finishing the journey in less than thirty-six days. This record was shattered many times thereafter when man took to the air. Linton Wells and Edward S. Evans made the trip in twenty-eight days in 1926. Three years later the *Graf Zeppelin* again established a new mark with the time of



CHINA CLIPPER: A new service between Manila and San Francisco on the 25-ton giant bird has made the three-week world trip on commercial transport possible.

twenty-one days. After that, Post whittled and scraped the old mark until he brought the time within slightly more than a week.

Today, a tourist on a three-week vacation* with a maximum budget of $3,000 starts out for Lakehurst, say, on the first of the month. He boards the *Hindenburg*, a silver ship of stadium proportions whose innards are stuffed with enough helium to lift an average-sized skyscraper. At midnight, a command is given to "Up ship!". Mooring cables drop away, and soon the huge balloon is funneling a path through night air, its four 1,300-horse-power Diesel engines singing the song of flight. Within half an hour one is over the ocean. He wakes the next morning to look out over the North Atlantic coast. By afternoon, the rocks of Newfoundland spread below, with little sign of life except for a few itinerant birds.

By evening of the third day, the ship has completed its trans-Atlantic voyage, cutting over Belgium and sailing up the Rhine to its new shed at Frankfort. (Approximate cost, $400.)

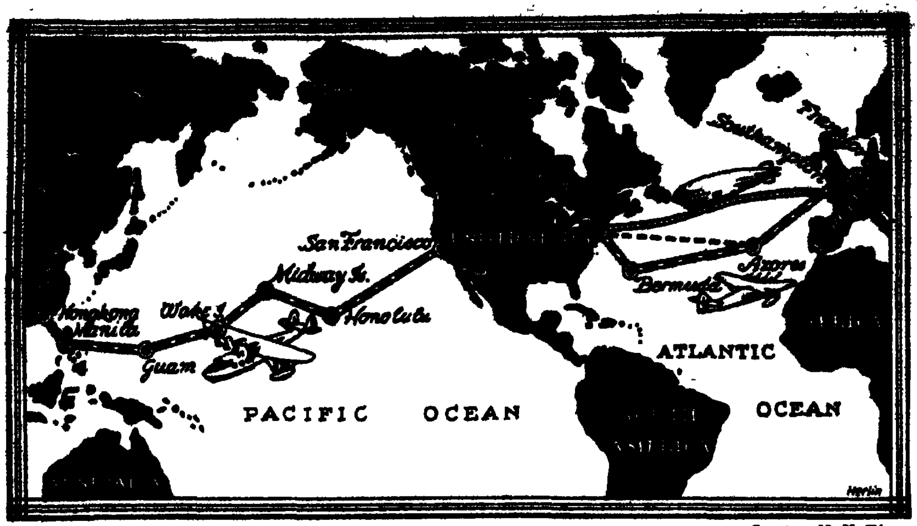
Frankfort to the East

From Frankfort, the tourist has at least two choices for a speedy trip to the Far East. He can use the special plane service to Croydon, England, there to shuttle over to London where he can purchase an Imperial Airways ticket for a flight to Hongkong ($875). He might also fly from Frankfort to Amsterdam on the *Deutsche Lufthansa* airlines, there to make a series of flights which will take him to Hongkong. Or he can board an Imperial Airliner, perhaps at Brindisi, which will take him to the desired destination.

Assuming that the tourist chooses the second route, or series of routes, the fourth day will find him at Amsterdam. He spends an evening there, visiting the historic landmarks of the Dutch city, but he retires early, for the next morning at 6:00 A.M. the Royal Dutch airliner sails for Athens. He arrives at the Greek capital late in the afternoon, having an evening and night at his disposal. Early again the next morning (sixth day) the Royal Dutch airliner takes off for a full day's voyage to Baghdad. Flying over India, he looks out of his cabin to gaze down upon a colorful carpet of slow-moving rivers, stretching rice fields, bunched villages, and even dense jungles. Arriving at Baghdad at 6:45 P.M., the tourist has just enough time to make a tour of the historic city and arrange for a single night's hotel accommodations, for his plane leaves again at 3:00 the next morning (seventh day) for Jodhpur, another full day's journey. The eighth day finds the tourist on his way to Rangoon, where he arrives late that afternoon. His schedule permits him to stay that evening and night in the quaint Indian city, but he is off again with the sun on the ninth day, winging low over the Malay Archipelago, and coming to a stop shortly after noon at the Georgetown airport, Penang. From Frankfort to Penang on this route the cost has been $750. (Total cost thus far, $1,150.)

After spending almost a full day at Penang, the globe traveler changes from

**The itinerary used in this month's* Speaking of Travel *was prepared with the cooperation of the American Express Company and the North German Lloyd.*



Courtesy N. Y. Times

OCEAN AIR SERVICE: Regular plane transportation over the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, together with the routes, are shown in the above map.

the Royal Dutch Airlines to the Imperial Airways for a complete day's flight to Hongkong (tenth day). The trip to Hongkong takes the tourist over the Gulf of Siam, and skirts along the coast of French Indo-China. After pointing north up the China sea, the plane taxies up to the hangar at Hongkong early in the morning of the trip's eleventh day. The cost of the Penang-Hongkong flight has been $150, making a total in all of $1,300.

Boat to Manila

At present, there is no air service from Hongkong to Manila, although the Panama Pacific Airlines expect to institute such a service by the beginning of the new year. When in operation, this flight will cut more than a day and a half from the twenty-day time budget. Considering only the transportation available at this time, therefore, our tourist will leave Hongkong by boat on the twelfth day, bound for Manila. This voyage, taking more than two days, costs approximately $70, for a total thus far of $1,370. The tourist arrives at Manila to find mechanics tuning up the four engines of the twenty-five-ton *Clipper* ship, a giant bird with the power of a locomotive. The *Clipper* will carry the tourist on the longest lap of his trip, flying thousands of miles to San Francisco by way of Guam, Wake Island, Midway Island, and Hawaii.

The tourist boards the *Clipper,* then, on the fourteenth day and experiences the same sensation of overwhelming power as when he first started out on the *Hindenburg* two weeks earlier, except that this time one seems much closer to the heart of the ship's fabulous energy. As if clearing its throat of hoarseness, the motors spin faster and hum a sweeter tune with every increase of revolutions. The ship begins moving; soon it is roaring and rocketing across the bay, bashing the water into gleaming cataracts of silvery foam. Then, without any apparent additional effort, the great bird rises slowly out of the sea, widening its distance from the water until it levels off at 5,000 feet; the *Clipper* is off on a 1,600 mile stretch of the Pacific for Guam.

After an overnight stay at Guam, the great bird is in flight again, this time winging in the direction of Wake Island, 1,400 miles away. Wake Island is a pencil dot of sand on the Pacific, but key to the trans-Pacific voyage, since it is here that the *Clipper* is nursed and fed before stretching its wings again for a flight to the Midway Island. It is on this flight that time does the impossible and moves backward, for one leaves Wake Island on a Saturday, crosses the International Date Line, and arrives at the Midway the day before—Friday!

The seventeenth day of the globe voyage finds the traveler still aboard the *Clipper,*

headed now for Honolulu, 1,400 miles past the Midway. A day later, Pearl Harbor, Honolulu, is a fast-disappearing detail on a deep blue-green canvas. The *Clipper* is now on the last leg of its flight, pointing towards California, a distance of 2,500 miles. All through the afternoon and night of the eighteenth day, and half of the next day, the ship speeds on to San Francisco. Finally, the big bird circles the Golden Gate and settles down majestically in the silhouette of a Pacific sunset. From Manila to Hongkong, six days of flying, one has covered more than 8,000 miles at a cost of approximately $950, making the trip around the globe to the United States so far at a total cost of $2,320.

It is evening of the nineteenth day and the world tourist is back on native shores again. But the journey is not complete; there is still the trip back to the Eastern coast. The flight across the country, costing $160, can be made on three airlines. The traveler can choose from the United Air Lines, the American Airlines, and the Transcontinental and Western Air. The trip from the Coast is made in less than a day and the three-week vacationist is back East a few hours before the twentieth day has elapsed. He has circled the world, passed over more than two dozen countries, traveled approximately 25,000 miles; all at a total cost of $2,480.

And that the twenty-day globe trip will be reduced to less than two weeks by regular commercial transportation seems certain. Next year, new flying boats, now under construction, will cut in half the four-day journey across Europe and Asia to Hongkong. And when the *Clipper* service is established, an almost similar saving in time will be effected.

One can almost hear Phileas Fogg saying: *"Te morituri salutamus!"*

Here and There

The smallest village in France, and probably in the world, is Morteaux, with a permanent population of three. The citizenry consists of a mother, her adult son, and a sixteen-year old daughter.

Morteaux, founded almost 700 years ago, is located a few miles from Chaumong, widely famed as General Pershing's World War headquarters. The vest-pocket village has a municipal council, of which Monsieur Albert Cheny is chairman, vice-president, and board. Morteaux believes in a balanced budget. Last year, its receipts were 956 francs, and its expenditures 950 francs, making a surplus of six francs. All complaints about excessive spending are handled by M. Cheny.

◆ ◆ ◆

Business men returning from a vacation in Glasgow are enthusiastic about the new adult education centers operating in the city. The "schools" are golfing emporiums, where business men are taught to straighten out that persistent slice, or how to pitch a shot to the green from a sand trap. In the Queen Street school a "headmaster" will explain whether the ball has been pulled, sliced, topped, or skied. In the basement is a nine-hole putting green, complete with thick, green felt grass and natural hazards. From this school are such graduates as Donald Cameron, Scotland's amateur winner of the Edwards Trophy, and William Hay, who shot a 68 in the 1936 Bute competition.

The World in Books

(*Continued from page 7*)

a biography of the highest importance. Mr. Van Doren's memoirs tell of an early boyhood on an Illinois farm, experiences at Columbia University during the World War, a subsequent career as editor of *The Nation* and the Literary Guild, and as a writer and critic. But equally important: Mr. Van Doren has also written a distinguished and significant literary history.

The three worlds of Mr. Van Doren's title are the pre-war, the early post-war, and the late post-war periods.

The account of Mr. Van Doren's experiences with prominent authors and critics and his keen interpretation lends additional color to an already fascinating book.

Biography of an Artist

Fairfax Downey chose a life of exceptional richness and vigor in writing the biography, *Portrait of an Era as Drawn by Charles Dana Gibson* (Scribners, $3.50). A reading of this book is in reality a visit to an art gallery with a competent guide, for the author has drawn heavily for illustrative material from among the noted artist's finest work. Here one meets the famous Gibson Girls, as symbolic of an era as the modes of transportation. Here, too, is a picture of the art and publishing worlds in the three decades before 1920—when *Life* was a great magazine whose pages sparkled with the genius of Gibson. Mr. Downey's book is a worthy tribute to a master of the drawing board.

English History

Two months ago an American professor of History gave the English their most comprehensive biography of Lord Palmerston. Last month, Lawrence Henry Gipson, professor of History at Lehigh University, again demonstrated the prominent part American historians are playing in the recording of English history. In *The British Empire Before the American Revolution* (Caxton Printers, 3 vols., $15), Dr. Gipson has given students of English history a work of unusual significance and of the first importance. Volume I is entitled *Great Britain and Ireland;* Volume II, *The Southern Plantations,* and Volume III *The Northern Plantations.*

Dr. Gipson's work is a carefully integrated and copiously documented study of the British Empire from the end of the war of the Austrian succession to the outbreak of the Seven Years War arising out of the conflicts between the English and the French in North America. It concerns itself with an analysis of several of those forces—economic, social, and political—motivating geographical groups within those forces prior to the American Revolution.

The Balkans

The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente, 1930–1935 (University of California Press, $3), by Robert Joseph Kerner and Harry Nicholas Howard, is a detailed analysis of the recent Balkan conferences. It is the authors' belief that the conferences have helped point the way to the formation of a confederation of the Balkan States. This confederation, they say, will enable the people of the Balkans to "go forward to the rich heritage that is theirs." Moreover, the groundwork laid in the conferences may be influential in inducing other Near Eastern States to enjoy genuine cooperation. The book is of high value to students of European history; one obtains a clear picture of the countries which may be the "powder kegs" of the next war.

Swish of the Kris

In *Swish of the Kris* (Dutton, $3.00), Vic Hurley writes of the Moros, natives of the Philippines, who successfully withstood the imperialistic appetites of Spain, England, Portugal, China, Japan, and even Holland. The Moros were able to fend off all, in fact, except the United States. But the United States knew it had been in a fight; even General Pershing, after directing many battles against the Moros, conceded the amazing skill of the native warriors. Those who have read and enjoyed Mr. Hurley's *Men in Sun Helmets* will find in *Swish of the Kris* more of the same toothsome and pleasing ingredients.

Story of Communications

Present-day civilization has been generous in its bounty of mechanical and electrical aids to man. Of them, none has as fascinating a story, perhaps, as the telegraph, tele-

phone, and wireless. Man's attempt to communicate with his neighbor at long distance has been in evidence for thousands of years. Homer's *Iliad* tells of a fire signal system used by Agamemnon and Queen Clytemnestra about 1200 B.C. announcing the fall of Troy. From that point on, man's skill in long-range communication began to broaden.

The story of the development of this skill is told with rare ability by Alvin F. Harlow in *Old Wires and New Waves* (Appleton-Century, $5). After the signal fires, it was smoke columns, voice pitches, the heliograph, and even whistling. Later came Robert Hooke's semaphore, or visual telegraph, and finally a number of experiments with electricity which convinced man that he was able to harness that strange force for his purposes of communication over distances of thousands of miles.

Mr. Harlow is definitely an ace storyteller. He has found and recorded more of the dramatic in a story of wires than one would think is outside the province of fiction.

More White House Memoirs

Ike Hoover's White House memoirs had that salty and intimate touch of his description of Presidential personalities. Now Mary Randolph, who was White House social secretary for seven years, four of which were in the Coolidge Administration, relates her experiences and observations in *Presidents and First Ladies* (Appleton, Century, $2.50). The life of a First Lady is a continuous round of diplomatic parries, counter-parries, refusals, and extended correspondence. Invitations, requests, and even protests pour in with every mail. And it is the duty of the White House Secretary to gracefully bow out most of them. Here is an informal, informative, and interesting book.

Biography of a Bandit

The Dillingers and Nelsons of the twentieth century apparently have had their counterparts through most periods of American history. In *Sam Bass* (Houghton Mifflin, $2.50), Wayne Gard writes of a two-gun, bank-robbing desperado who spread his fame across the Southwest as a desperado in the late seventies and died from a sheriff's bullets on his twenty-seventh birthday. Mr. Gard has been careful to sift fact from the legend that has grown up around Bass, and his story is as quick-moving as the desperado himself must have been.

Between the Pages . . .

Not even former President Eliot, of Harvard, says Dr. Victor Heiser in his *An American Doctor's Odyssey* (reviewed in September), has been able to perfectly spell the physician's favorite list of ten "stickers." Dr. Heiser put the test to editors, educators, and lawyers; no one was able to spell the words without failing on at least three. The words are: inoculate, embarrass, harass, supersede, innuendo, rarefy, vilify, plaguy, desiccate, and picnicking.

✦ ✦ ✦

Almost coincident with the announcement by Yale University that Noah Webster's birthplace would be destroyed was the publication of the second edition of one of the famed lexicographer's most popular dictionaries, *Webster's New International Dictionary* (Merriam-Webster). The new edition is definitely outstanding in its field.

✦ ✦ ✦

The publishers of the *Encyclopedia of Recorded Music* (Gramophone Shop, $3.50) received more than 2,000 advance paid orders from all over the world when it became known that a new work of this kind would be undertaken. The confidence thus shown has been well founded, for the *Encyclopedia,* just out, is the most ambitious and most comprehensive work on the subject yet published. It lists 681 composers and their recorded works, covering the full span of history, and contains, in addition, the national music and folk songs of more than fifty nationalities.

R. R. DONNELLEY & SONS CO., CHICAGO

DECEMBER, 1936 **PRICE 25 CENTS**

ACCORD *on* MONEY

By H. Parker Willis

GERMANY tightens her belt

By Cortez Enloe

Other Articles • Log of Major Currents • They Say • Chronology

THE WORLD IN BOOKS

Books Reviewed This Month

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
The Nine Old Men	Drew Pearson Robert S. Allen	Doubleday Doran	$2.50
Democracy and the Supreme Court	Robert H. Carr	Univ. of Oklahoma	$1.50
The Constitution and the Men Who Made It	Hastings Lyon	Houghton, Mifflin	$3.00
Brandeis	Alfred Lief	Stackpole	$3.00
The Letters and Journal of Brand Whitlock	Edited by Allan Nevins	Appleton Century	$10.00
Why We Went to War	Newton D. Baker	Harpers	$1.50
The Spanish Tragedy	E. Allison Peers	Oxford	$2.50
Covering the Far East	Miles Vaughn	Covici, Friede	$3.00
I Found No Peace	Webb Miller	Simon and Schuster	$3.00
And Fear Came	John T. Whitaker	Macmillan	$2.50
French Policy and Developments in Indochina	Thomas E. Ennis	Univ. of Chicago	$3.00
The Promise of American Politics	T. V. Smith	Univ. of Chicago	$2.50

WHICH way, New Deal? Catapulted back into office by the biggest electoral vote in American history, the Roosevelt Administration finds itself on dizzy heights of almost universal approval. Logically, then, the New Deal will proceed along the way on which it has come. This means a continuance, if not a direct extension, as the President himself has indicated, of the Government's efforts to take a strong hand on behalf of social legislation and perhaps attempt to successfully re-enact certain of such measures which have already been choked by the Supreme Court.

Yet one wonders whether there is any reason to believe that the Men in Black will suddenly discover heretofore hidden fountains of progressivism in the Constitution not visible to them during the last three years. Will they now give their blessings to minimum wages, abolition of child labor, and new social security measures? Will they regard the Roosevelt landslide of November 3 as a direct order from the people to clear away their barbed-wire barrier to progressive legislation? The authors of *The Nine Old Men* (Doubleday Doran, $2.50) think that they will not. History shows, say Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, that the Court is not responsive to popular will, regardless of economic conditions or even critical emergencies. In 1861, Abraham Lincoln raised the issue that: ". . . . if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court . . . the people will have ceased to be their own rulers . . ." It is easier, contend the authors, to change the ruling head of the European monarchal system, which we shook off, than the Supreme Court's decree.

This is the theme, too, of *Democracy and the Supreme Court*, by Robert H. Carr (University

of Oklahoma Press, $1.50). Professor Carr is convinced that democracy is not compatible with the powers of the Supreme Court. The cardinal principle of democracy requires, he points out, that all officials who have any say in the determination of the legislative policies of a government be elective. Yet the Supreme Court, whose members are appointive, has certainly taken an active role in legislation. How, he asks, can Americans justify this negation of democracy?

Messrs. Pearson and Allen ask similar questions. Although their book is intended primarily as a behind-the-scenes camera in the lives of each of the "nine old men", it does make the point that the Supreme Court, dominated largely by the cemented economic and political views of its members, is a threat to the progress of a democratic people. As Sir Wilmott Lewis once remarked, "Legislation in the United States is a digestive process by Congress with frequent regurgitations by the Supreme Court."

Caricature of the Court

The authors term members of the court "nine black-gowned beetles, aloof from all reality, meting out laws as inflexible as the massive blocks of marble that surround them in their mausoleum of justice." Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes is "the man on the flying trapeze" who swung into the center seat on the judges' bench because of a mistake; now the "most pathetic figure" in the court. Justice Harlan Fiske Stone is "Hoover's Pal", who disappointed the former President by stoutly defending most of the social legislation promulgated by the New Deal. Justice Pierce Butler is "The Bruiser"—who, as an attorney, pleaded for special privilege and who "creates and sanctifies it" as a justice. Justice Owen J. Roberts did not reflect the wishes of his progressive supporters and "is the biggest joke ever played upon the fighting liberals of the United States Senate." As for the rest, Justice Louis Dembitz Brandeis is a "Crusader" whose "fervor will live and bear fruit long, long after he has passed away"; Justice James Clark McReynolds ("Scrooge") is a "tragedy" who fails to get along, not only with his colleagues, on the bench, but with himself; Justice Benjamin Nathan Cardozo is a "Hermit Philosopher"; Justice Willis Van Devanter is the "Dummy Director of the Court"—a "fanatical reactionary" and "fanatical dry"; and Justice George Sutherland's economic and social theories are as "up-to-date as the moldy opera house, the gilded saloons . . ."

The Nine Old Men, written in the best spirit of the newspaper scarehead, is deliberately, but not maliciously, calculated to raise the eyebrows

of the nation. Despite its percussion tactics at the expense of the nation's highest tribunal, it is far from bitter or spiteful. One expects, in fact, that the "nine old men" themselves will read it and be more amused than enraged.

The Court and Congress

To return to the more scholarly *Democracy and the Supreme Court*, Professor Carr would restrict the power of the high court to invalidate acts of Congress. He realizes, however, that political expediency puts definite action toward that end beyond the realm of possibility, at least for the immediate future. A number of other methods are suggested: Congress, for example might vote itself additional powers, or even enlarge the membership of the Court and appoint liberal justices. But the author admits that practical politics dictates a policy of "hopeful waiting." The rule of averages should present the Administration with an opportunity to appoint enough liberal justices to create a majority favorable to social legislation, he says. This, however, would fail to change the long-time view of the problem of restricting the Court's power, and Professor Carr concludes that eventually the people will have to decide whether the Supreme Court shall serve as a potential, if not actual, frustration of democracy. A direct challenge to one of America's oldest institutions, *Democracy and the Supreme Court* is thought-provoking and raises many points that few will be able to dispute successfully.

Fundamentally, of course, it is essential to turn to a study of the Constitution itself for any mature consideration of the scope and definition of the Court's powers. As one is reminded by Hastings Lyon in *The Constitution and the Men Who Made It* (Houghton, Mifflin, $3.00), there was far from unanimous agreement among the founding fathers on the question of the extent of jurisdiction to be vested in the Court. Further, there was even disagreement as to the method of the justices' appointments.

It seems clear from Mr. Lyon's work, too, that the entire issue regarding the determination of the constitutionality of Federal and State legislation occupied a minor role at the Constitutional conventions. There were the basic questions of State and Federal powers and privileges, the Bill of Rights, and commerce regulations. Without considering, in fact, whether the signers intended the document to be rigid or flexible on social legislation, it would appear that the higher judiciary was not meant to have the power to invalidate acts of Congress.

As a matter of historic fact, it was the Supreme Court itself which decided that it had this power. There is no specific mention in the Constitution of such a provision and it remained for Chief Justice James Marshall in the famous *Marbury v. Madison* case in 1803 to rule that the Court could override Congress.

Ever since Marshall's decision, of course, the legal heavens have been thick with dispute as to whether the original framers ever intended the judiciary to have any such power. We return, then, to *The Constitution and the Men Who Made It* for an objective consideration of the document. Mr. Lyon has carefully assembled his material facts from the best available sources, which include Madison's reports of the debates, and the *Federalist* papers. He has presented the story of the Constitution in a competent, scholarly fashion.

Should the Court Yield?

Through most of the books attacking or criticizing the Supreme Court there runs a thread of pessimism to the effect that if left to itself, the Court will never bend to the people's will. Yet only recently, Justice Stone said in his historic dissent in the AAA decision:

". . . the only check upon our own exercise of power is our sense of self-restraint. For the removal of unwise laws from the statute books, appeal lies not to the courts but to the ballot."

And Justice Louis Dembitz Brandeis, who concurred in Stone's dissent, believed, according to Alfred Lief in the biography *Brandeis* (Stackpole, $3.00) that the Supreme Court on occasion had usurped the normal legislative functions. Further, Justice Brandeis was convinced that the real solution or remedy to the social problems of the nation could not be brought about by the courts but by the people themselves. All the Supreme Court should do was to curb excesses; neither the Court nor the enlargement of the Government's powers could create a free people. So that instead of amending the Constitution, Justice Brandeis would amend men's social and economic ideals.

Twenty years service on the nation's highest tribunal has not changed the philosophy and spirit of the jurist whom many have come to regard as America's greatest legal mind. In 1916, Justice Brandeis was nominated for appointment to the Supreme Court by President Wilson. Describing him as "a friend of all just men and a lover of the right", the President said that Brandeis knew more than merely how to talk about the right; "he knows how to set it forward in the face of its enemies." Justice Brandeis obtained

ratification by the Senate, but only after the bitterest fight that the Capitol had ever seen on the question of an appointee to the Supreme Court.

Mr. Lief's story, told with an understanding and a grasp of the personality that is Brandeis, skilfully and sympathetically traces the life of his subject from a boyhood in Kentucky to a career as a lawyer and a member of the Supreme Court. As a biography it rates with the year's best; as a story of an American ideal, it cannot fail to be measured with the same yardstick which established the greatness of *The Making of an American.*

Brand Whitlock

Another literary event of major importance last month was the publication of *The Letters and Journal of Brand Whitlock* (Appleton Century, $10). Edited by Allan Nevins, the work is published in two separate volumes: the first containing Whitlock's letters, and the second, his diary, religiously kept from the outbreak of the World War to his death two years ago.

Apparently, Brand Whitlock was the exception to the rule of mediocrity following versatility, for he was master of at least half a dozen callings. He began his career as a reporter, building a creditable reputation as a good writer and a keen observer. Law appealed to him and he studied during his spare time, being admitted to the bar while still a reporter. As a lawyer he first made his pact with the people, whose great benefactor he later was to become. Law led into politics, and Brand Whitlock became Mayor of Toledo. His reform administration put human problems above all others and his career as a humanitarian took solid root. As a writer, several of his novels of political and social significance gave him wide literary recognition; many considered him among the finest novelists and thinkers of the early twentieth century.

In 1913, when the progressive movement reached its climax in the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson, Whitlock wrote the memorable *Forty Years of It*, a "sheaf of reminiscences"—opinions on politics, religion, literature, morals. President Wilson appointed the novelist and historian to the post of Minister to Belgium that same year. One year later the war broke out and Whitlock was destined to make a record in Belgium that was to be recorded among the finest emissary work in the nation's history.

As edited and selected by Allan Nevins, distinguished historian, Whitlock's letters and journal are an important contribution to both litera-

ture and history. It will outlive not only this year, but the next and the next.

Mr. Baker on War

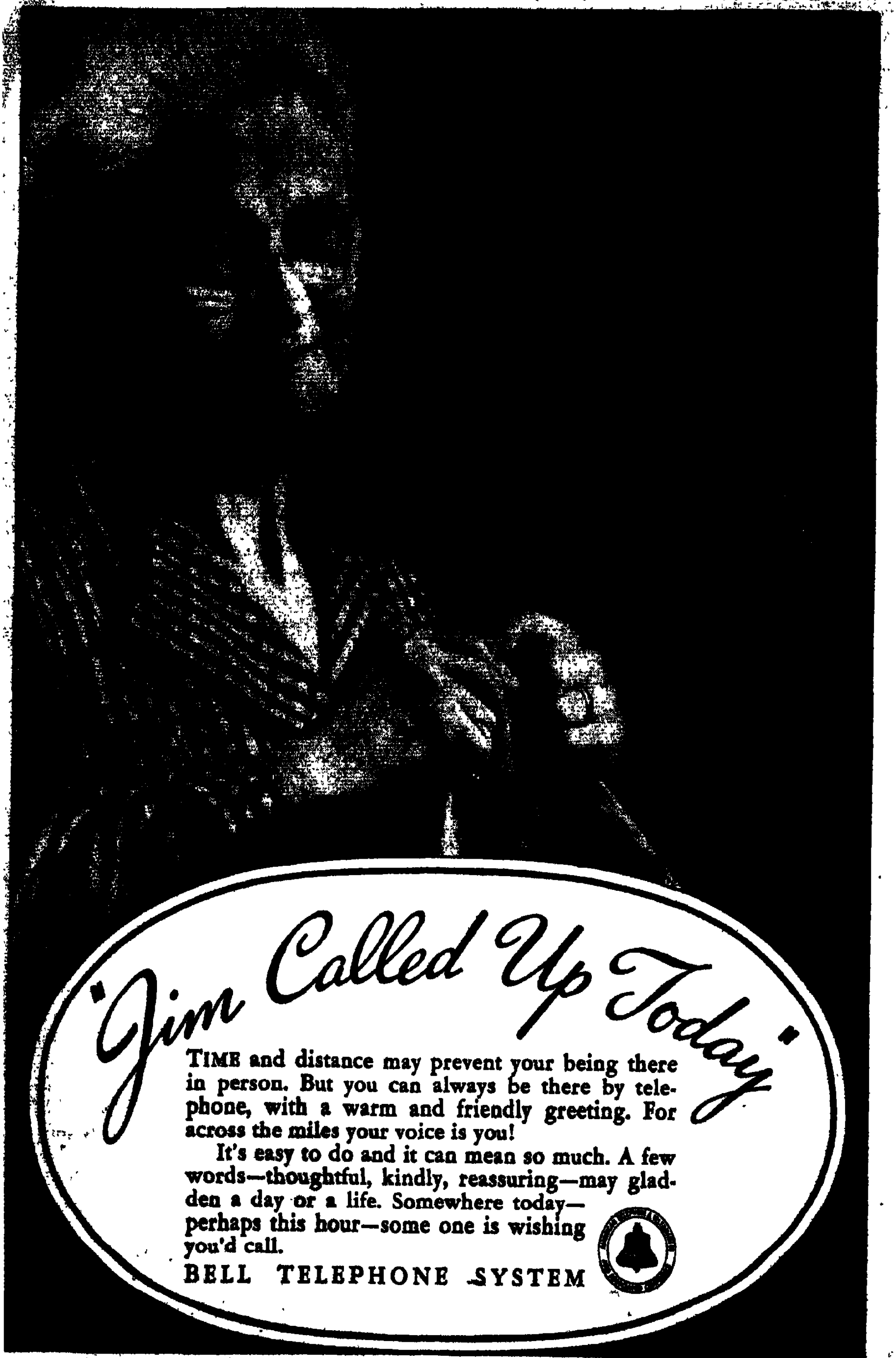
Newton D. Baker, who was one of Whitlock's closest friends, and who writes a preface to *The Letters and Journal of Brand Whitlock*, was also a member of the Wilson Administration during the World War. As Secretary of War, Mr. Baker was in a position to examine the influences—internal, external, or both—which caused the United States to be swept into the conflict. His conclusions, based upon his personal observations and such records as are now available, are contained in his *Why We Went to War* ($1.50), published by Harpers for the Council on Foreign Relations.

It is eighteen years now that word went out from a stuffy palace in Versailles to stop the slaughter. But though the tons of human debris on the fields of Flanders have been cleared away and poppies grow again, much bitterness remains. There are those who still insist that we were too hasty in our decision that American youth was not too high a price to pay for an Allied victory. Did not big business have a hand in forcing America to make that decision? What about our giant loans to the Allies? And did not the armament interests smear the country with propaganda?

It is in answer to these questions that Mr. Baker has written *Why We Went to War*. His reply is an emphatic and categorical "No!" The United States entered the World War, he says, because of the resumption of submarine warfare by Germany. Minor contributing factors, he admits, were business interests, adherence to particular forms of civil liberty, and fear of the consequences of the triumph of militarism. But the conclusive and damning cause was Germany's submarine warfare. Since it involved the lives of American citizens, "there could be but one answer and about which there could be no delay." This country had been perilously close to conflict against Great Britain in 1916, Mr. Baker writes, but our property rights were the issues involved.

"Our controversies with Germany, however, centered upon the problem of human life, as to which no compensation was possible," he says. "No government which conceded that some other government might kill its citizens in response to some exigency of its own, with no more serious consequence than a postponed attempt to secure a money compensation, would be intrinsically re-

(*Continued on page 127*)


"Jim Called Up Today"
TIME and distance may prevent your being there in person. But you can always be there by telephone, with a warm and friendly greeting. For across the miles your voice is you!
It's easy to do and it can mean so much. A few words—thoughtful, kindly, reassuring—may gladden a day or a life. Somewhere today—perhaps this hour—some one is wishing you'd call.
BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

Current HISTORY

DECEMBER 1936

LOG OF MAJOR CURRENTS

At Home:

A POLITICAL avalanche swept over the United States on November 3, moving straight down a middle pathway, sweeping aside radicals as well as Republicans, and piling up an unprecedented majority in favor of what may justly be described as New Deal objectives. Though casualties were many, they were few by comparison with those dissenters who climbed aboard the Roosevelt juggernaut.

The virtual obliteration of third parties and left-wing groups matches, if indeed it does not overshadow, the Republican defeat. The Lemke movement, backed by Father Coughlin, delivered less than ten percent of what was promised and hoped for by its enthusiastic leaders. True to his preelection pledge that he would retire if the Union Party failed to mobilize a specified number of votes, Father Coughlin retired from the air four days after the election. Whatever else may be thought of him and his ideals, let it be recorded that he kept his word.

The most reassuring aspect of this amazing poll was its freedom from disorder and violence. Preceded by four months of bitter campaigning and strenuous appeals to group prejudice, people were justified in being apprehensive of what might happen on election day. As the result proved, their alarms were psychological rather than realistic. The United States never held a more orderly election; never emerged the morning after in better spirits. In holding the post-mortem, let us not forget to mark that down as a real triumph for American democracy.

It is necessary to go back one hundred and sixteen years to find a parallel for the Roosevelt landslide. In 1820, President Monroe, running for a second term, had only one electoral vote against him. Four years afterward, however, the political situation had so completely altered that the election of a President was thrown into the House of Representatives. Without drawing any conclusion from this analogy or making any prediction, it can be stated as a historical fact that in a democracy like ours, huge majorities often presage a crack-up.

In 1908, after the Democratic Party had been defeated for the fourth consecutive time, Henry Watterson, one of its greatest editorial advocates, left for Europe doubting whether it contained sufficient vitality to be revived. Four years later, the Republican Party split and Woodrow Wilson was elected.

In 1920, the Democratic Party polled only 33 percent of the vote while the Republican Party polled 61 percent, and minor parties 6 percent. In 1924, the Progressives, under the leadership of LaFollette, bolted the Republican Party, and the results were as follows: Democratic Party, 29%; Republican Party, 54%; Progressives, 16%+; minor parties, less than 1%.

In 1928, the Democratic Party, under Smith, polled 41 percent of the total vote, the Republicans, 58%, and again minor parties, less than one percent. This result was practically reversed in 1932 with the Democrats, under Roosevelt, polling more than 57% of the vote; the Republicans, under Hoover, 39%, and minor parties, 3%+.

Summing up this record, we find that the Harding landslide in 1920 was followed by a



NEA Service

A Prospect for Some Unemployment Insurance

split in the Republican Party four years later, and that the Hoover landslide of 1928 was followed by a complete somersault in 1932. What does the enormous Roosevelt majority in 1936 portend for 1940?

Difficulties

From a purely political standpoint, President Roosevelt will enter upon his second term under obvious difficulties. The majority his Administration will have in both houses of Congress is too unwieldy for coherent action. Besides, it is too definitely exposed to group pressure. It will be far less responsive to the promise or denial of patronage because most of the patronage has already been given out. Granted that President Roosevelt's support came largely from sincere confidence in him and his program, there were distinct groups who lined up in his favor because of

gratitude for what they had received during his first Administration and because of hope that they would receive the same, if not more, during his second Administration. Some of these groups are bound to be disappointed. It is inevitable that, no matter how great a degree of prosperity the nation enjoys, certain economies will have to be effected by the Federal Government. No one realizes more keenly than President Roosevelt and his advisers that the increase of debt must be gradually eliminated, and the budget brought into balance. That means a definite, if gradual, curtailment of relief and credit programs which have played such an important part during the last four years.

Furthermore, prosperity depends on the orderly, uninterrupted conduct of business. To hold what it has gained in rehabilitating business, the Administration has no choice but to discover ways of adjusting the relationship between capital and labor without such terrific disturbances as have been, and are now, occurring. It requires no second sight to suspect that President Roosevelt, though standing firmly for equitable readjustment, will not tolerate such disorder in the field of industry as would destroy the benefits of any program, no matter how desirable or how appealing. Nothing that he has said or done can be construed as indicating that he will permit any group, any program, or any particular objective to jeopardize the public interest. On the contrary, it is a fair assumption that he will exercise a rather stronger hand in the conduct of public affairs during his second term than he did during his first, and that it will be a more inclusive hand.

Polls and the Press

The election resulted in many surprises, but in none so great as the apparent inability of prophets and pollers to forecast such a landslide. Even President Roosevelt guessed that he would get only 360 electoral votes, while the *Literary Digest*, which made four bullseyes in the past, had Landon elected with 370.

One can only marvel why the editors of the *Literary Digest* let their poll go to press without analysis or explanation. The second and third columns left no doubt that it was wrong in total numbers. These columns showed where the vote came from, making it perfectly clear that vastly more Republicans than Democrats had registered an opinion. According to the second and third columns, Hoover should have been elected in 1932 but, as everyone knows, he was not. Because of this, the value of the poll lay solely in the percentage of shifts which it revealed. Had these percentages been carefully figured out, they would have shown a very different result and brought the poll much nearer in line with what happened.

Press support was at quite as much variance with the outcome as was the *Literary Digest* poll. According to CURRENT HISTORY, two thirds of the newspapers favored Landon, while according to other estimates, they ran as high as 70 percent in his behalf. Sir Wilmott Lewis went so far as to guess 80 percent. Not pausing to argue the exact proportion, the fact that a great majority of the newspapers opposed the New Deal while a great majority of the people voted for it is rather startling. There are some who see in it a definite repudiation of the press or, at least, a deep lack of confidence in its leadership. This is not a conclusion which should be formed lightly. It is doubtful whether a majority of our leading newspapers ever favored prohibition, but prohibition was adopted and remained the law of the land for thirteen years. Neither is it right or logical to assume that the press was intimidated, coerced, or subsidized by commercial interests. The press simply got out of step with the majority of people for the time being—or, if you prefer, the majority of people decided to ignore its advice. Those who take this to mean that the press has ceased to be a powerful influence in national affairs or that politicians can afford to disregard it in the future, trifle with a dangerous assumption.

Foreign Reaction

Speaking of the press, its reaction in foreign countries was singularly favorable, especially in countries where it is the official or quasi-official medium of expression for those in power. Russian, Italian, German, French, and English editors all interpret President Roosevelt's reelection as most reassuring, but largely because those in control regard it as an endorsement of their particular theories. The Nazis, for instance, see it as a drift toward dictatorship; the Russians, as a definite swerve toward the left, and the English, as a vindication of constitutional democracy. All, however, seem to agree on one point: that it is a distinct triumph for international peace.

President Roosevelt apparently has made himself the world's outstanding exponent of orderly adjustment and neighborliness among nations. Regardless of their differences over statecraft and economics, all people seem to regard him as the most reliable and effective anti-war leader. To some extent, the responsibility of living up to such a reputation has been thrust upon him, but what man on earth would not be glad to have this happen, regardless of risk or consequence?

Following are typical comments from abroad:

Great Britain

"* * * the people have risen against 'big business' and newspapers. * * * Unquestionably there are troublous days ahead and it is in the form of labor unrest that trouble is most likely."—London *Times* (moderately conservative).

"Give the people leadership such as Roosevelt has given them and they will follow



New York World-Telegram

"Gosh! I Couldn't Stand That Oftener Than Once in Every Four Years!"

every time without need for proscriptions and torturings to persuade them."—*The News Chronicle* (liberal).

"[We hope] the President will agree to participate in a new world economic conference as a tardy recompense of his lack of helpfulness at the 1933 conference."—*Manchester Guardian* (liberal).

"When all allowances are made, Roosevelt may justly claim to have introduced a new principle of responsibility for individual welfare into American Government and to have won widespread acceptance of it."—*Morning Post* (ultra-conservative).

France

"It [President Roosevelt's re-election] will bring hope and encouragement to international democracy because to the entire world President Roosevelt personified with particular strength that ideal of justice toward which all free people and democratic government itself aim."—Premier Blum.

"* * * liberty and the peace of the world are now to be defended by a voice powerful above all others."—*Paris-Soir* (independent).

Italy

"The American people approve the tendency of the President to concentrate political, economic, and directive powers in a form that a European democracy would call dictatorial." *Giornale d'Italia* (official).

Soviet Union

"We are extremely gratified because we consider it a step toward united cooperation for peace and international affairs." (Semi-official statement)

Germany

"President Roosevelt more intensely perhaps than any other American, has interpreted the drift of the new era." *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*

"Party politics will go on as before and Roosevelt, who is an adept at the game, will continue to play it, but there are unmistakable signs in the United States of a shift in the political centers of gravity and this shift is destined to become more perceptible during the next four years."—The *Tageblatt.*

Geneva

"President Roosevelt's recent monetary accord is an unequivocal demonstration of sympathy toward two great European democracies. It is particularly significant of a more benevolent attitude toward European nations." —*Tribune de Geneve* (independent).

Social Security

Making due allowance for those groups who supported President Roosevelt for some particular reason, it is safe to say that the vast majority of his supporters voted for social security—a program by which people would be protected against various contingencies by compulsory insurance or cooperative action in one form or another. Like most ideas which eventually find their way into statecraft, this one originated in private enterprise. The Government is merely asked to render services which have been performed in a limited way by corporations, societies, and institutions for a long time. Old-age pensions, accident insurance, provisions for taking care of those obliged to quit work temporarily, assistance to farmers through subsidies, tariffs, and beneficial laws—all these schemes and many more have been tried out through private practice. Many people feel that the time has come to make their application more universal and inclusive. Thus through a century and more of experimentation, we come to a broadening of the insurance idea through governmental agencies. The more difficult problems to be solved had to deal with method rather than objective.

While social security is promoted by all programs which benefit a considerable number of people, it can only be made to mean what it should by the extension of such programs to include the greatest possible number. The outstanding defect of the present law consists in its limited application. It reaches only about one half the people, only those who are regularly employed by commercial and industrial enterprises, even banks affiliated with the Federal Reserve System being disqualified. As for farmers, domestic servants, small tradesmen, professional people, etc., they have no chance whatsoever to benefit, though they must pay their share as consumers.

Meanwhile, it must be clear to everyone that no social security program can function efficiently unless and until our industrial structure is liberated from the disturbances constantly arising because of the disputes between capital and labor. If a dependable program is to be instituted, one of the first tasks to be accomplished is the discovery of

some orderly method of arriving at just decisions without such disturbances. Neither this nor any other country can hope for social security except through the orderly administration of justice, not only as between and among individuals, but as between and among groups. Take the maritime strike which has played such havoc with the shipping industry, for instance. Is it not apparent that social security is impossible as long as we tolerate such a method of meeting the problems involved? The question of whether labor, shipowners, or rank-and-file committees are right is completely over-shadowed by the greater question of setting up agencies and providing codes by which the right can be impartially determined.

Maritime Strike

In 1934 the Maritime Federation of the Pacific composing six unions (Sailors Union of the Pacific; Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Association; Masters, Mates and Pilots; Marine Engineers Beneficial Association; Cooks and Stewards; and the American Radio Telegraphists' Association), numbering some 18,000 men, and having the sympathetic support of the International Longshoremen's Association, struck militantly against the employers and shipowners. After a bloody general strike that paralyzed San Francisco for four days, the unions scored a spectacular victory and obtained favorable agreements. On September 30, 1936, these favorable agreements expired at a time when the employers and shipowners were determined to fight against their renewal, and the workers were just as determined that they be renewed with additional concessions.

Control of hiring halls, the pivot of the 1934 disagreement, again became the focal point of dispute. It is admitted that control of hiring halls by the union immeasurably strengthens union discipline, and in essence results in an absolute closed shop. Employer control of halls would, of course, enable them, by judicious hiring to curb union activity, and subsequently weaken such opposition as would render collective bargaining impotent.

With the expiration of the 1934 agreements on September 30, the Maritime Federation demanded union preference in the hiring of workers; cash payment for all overtime instead of time off; and an eight-hour day for ship's officers, cooks, and stewards.

The Ship Owners Association of the Pacific and the Waterfront Employers Association countered these union demands with demands of their own which specified that: unions agree to penalize "quickie strikes"; all hiring halls be placed under neutral control; disputed terms in the prevailing (1934) agreements be arbitrated.

After two months of negotiating and indefinitely extended truces, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific under Harry Bridges, and the seamen under Harry Lundeberg called a joint strike, despite bad personal feeling between the two leaders. Some 37,000 workers responded, immediately disrupting one of the busiest seasons of the year in the movement of Western fruits and canned goods.

Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady, who sought to arbitrate the disputes prior to the expiration of the agreements and afterward, reported some progress up to the time the new Federal Maritime Commission under Admiral Hamlet tried to force both sides into a quick settlement. Both union officials and employers repudiated the action of the Federal Maritime Commission, charging that it exceeded its legal authority in any forceful attempts to bring the strike forces to heel. Despite the confusion between arbitration heads, however, Mr. McGrady continued to work for a peaceful settlement.

In San Francisco a separate strike of 1,400 warehousemen further complicated the situation, while in the Northwest the lumber industry, crippled by transportation stoppage, began to shut down, with fifty thousand lumbermen and mill workers affected. The indirect result of the maritime tangle spread like creeping paralysis to Alaska where food shortage was threatened, and to the railroads clamping embargoes on consignments destined beyond the Pacific Coast through Western ports. Fifty-seven ships were strike-bound in San Francisco; fifty-seven in the north Pacific ports, including Seattle, Tacoma, and Portland. Twenty-two were tied up in San Pedro and San Diego, while in Hawaii six were not permitted to sail despite perishable cargoes and full passenger lists.

In New York the International Seamen's Union under Joseph P. Ryan was confronted with a revolt of "rank-and-file" workers led by Joseph Curran who, since early 1936, has inspired militant labor trouble in the Port of New York and along the Atlantic Coast. Faced with a demand for a strike in sympathy with the Pacific Coast workers, the union

officials refused on the ground that existing contracts did not expire until December 31, 1937. This legal consideration did not, however, deter the insurgent workers composing some one thousand members of the Seamen's Defense Committee, who contended that the contracts had been forced upon them by the I.S.U. against their wishes. They called a sympathetic strike under the banner of the Seamen's Defense Committee (subsequently the Strike Strategy Committee) and successfully thwarted attempts of the I.S.U. to break the strike by supplying crews to port-bound ships. Eighteen vessels were held in New York where 2,100 deckhands, stewards, and engine-room hands walked out, while along the Atlantic and in Gulf ports seventy-seven American flag ships were similarly affected.

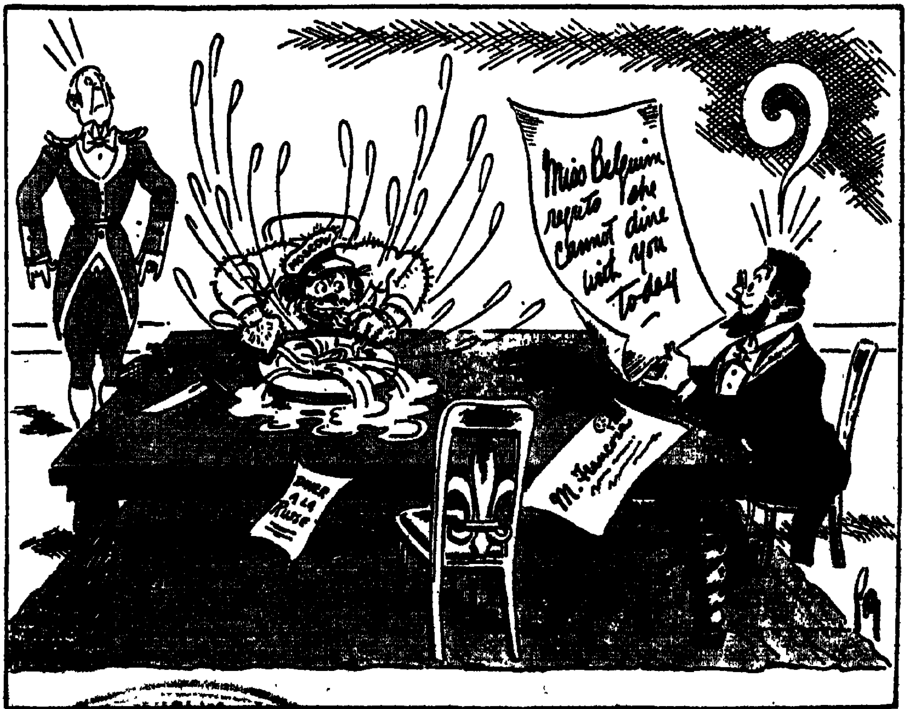
On November 4, John M. Franklin, president of the Mercantile Marine Company, charged that "racketeers" were conducting the New York waterfront strike. Joseph Curran speaking for the strikers denied the Franklin allegation and countered with the statement that the Strategy Committee had furnished the police with the names of twenty known thugs and gunmen imported by the ship lines for the purpose of breaking the peaceful strike.

Meanwhile, the Federal Maritime Commission which has jurisdiction over $100,000,000 in ship subsidies, investigated shipping conditions. Rumors persisted that the Government would assume neutral control of all hiring halls, exerting pressure through its subsidies to force a compromise settlement.

International

*THE situation differs materially from the situation in 1914. In 1914 there were in existence definite commitments. * * * In the present case there are no such commitments. We shall have to judge the situation when it arises, and my own view is that we would be unwise to make either affirmative or negative commitments as to how or where we are going to use an all-purposes force."*

In these words, Sir Samuel Hoare, First Lord of the Admiralty, reserved England's freedom to act as she sees fit under the Locarno Treaty (which still stands despite Germany's infraction of the agreement), her assurances of support which France still ex-



The Daily Mail, London

I WONDER WHY!

pects in case of attack by Germany, and her duties against aggressors under the Covenant of the League. While professedly referring to the *form* of assistance, the words frightened Europe.

Consider the antecedents of this statement. The non-intervention pact had dwindled into an open farce. Both sides in the Spanish civil war received assistance in contravention of that pact—particularly the rebels, whose victory has been assured by this flouting of the treaty. There seems no room for doubt that this was with the connivance of the governments concerned, but where it was not, it was clear that private interests in those countries in a position to send supplies to Spain were willing to turn an irresponsible, if not actually dishonest, penny and to put their profits before their national interests. Then again, Belgium had foresworn her post-war treaties and agreements and had reverted to an isolated armed neutrality.

All this adds up to the fact that the "devil-take-the-hindmost" attitude, which scrupulously ignores any treaties liable to be of national inconvenience, has spread its contagion even to England; nations are not yet ready to fight, but the chances of preventing them from ultimately doing so have declined correspondingly.

Non-Intervention Passes

On October 14, Russia demanded that the other Great Powers show their sincerity by instituting a munitions blockade of Portugal by British and French navies. She had little reason to expect that the proposal would find acceptance, for Great Britain was patently unwilling to go to lengths which would offend Germany and Italy. It was surprising, however, that the British should refuse a meeting on the grounds that Portugal had not answered the complaints made—as if she were expected to establish the case against herself.

After a period of further charges and counter-charges, Russia once again toned down her demands; Great Britain was prodding the fascists for satisfactory answers to accusations against them and seemed willing to take a firmer stand, while the Soviet was not anxious to run counter to France, Czechoslovakia, and Great Britain. However, on October 23, Russia served notice that she could not feel bound to respect the agreement "to any greater extent than the remaining participants." On the following day, Great Britain brought to the attention of the committee four cases of alleged intervention—three attributed to Russia, one to Italy.

On October 28, the committee whitewashed Italy and Portugal of charges made against them, although a *New York Times* correspondent, who had evaded the censorship, was at that moment penning a detailed report to the contrary.

Russia herself was finally given absolution by the committee, but there was no reasonable room for doubt as to where the sympathies of the English Government lay in the matter. And, since Great Britain had virtually dictated French neutrality, under threat of withdrawing her guarantee of assistance against Germany, Russia necessarily stood alone. What she would, or what she could, do about it, remained to be seen.

Fascist Entente

Encouraged by their successes in Spain, on October 25 Germany and Italy concluded an agreement, designed to consolidate the German-Austro-Hungarian-Italian fascist bloc, which, for the time being at any rate, may be considered a working entente.

Germany was to recognize Italy's Ethiopian empire, in return for which she was to receive certain economic concessions there. Spain's territorial and colonial integrity was to be maintained. This measure was to soothe the nerves of the democratic powers, which feared that Germany and Italy would be granted bases in Spanish Morocco and the Balearics as a result of a rebel victory. Nevertheless, General Franco will be hard put to find means of paying off the allies who insured his success, particularly if the Spanish Government succeeds in removing the gold reserves from Madrid. It is therefore impossible to believe that Germany and Italy will not receive substantial advantages in the Mediterranean—possibly in the form of airports in the Balearics, less probably in the cession of Ceuta to the colony-demanding Reich, but almost surely in the free use of Spanish ports in case of war.

Apart from the general clause providing for mutual collaboration in matters concerning their parallel interests, the three remaining sections of the treaty deal with what is implicitly its paramount objective—the break-up of the Franco-Soviet alliance. To this end, the two nations are to defend European civilization against communism, work toward the

conclusion of a new Locarno pact, which would exclude Russia, as a basis of European peace, and cooperate economically in the Danubian region within the framework of the Rome protocols and the Austro-German agreement of July 11.

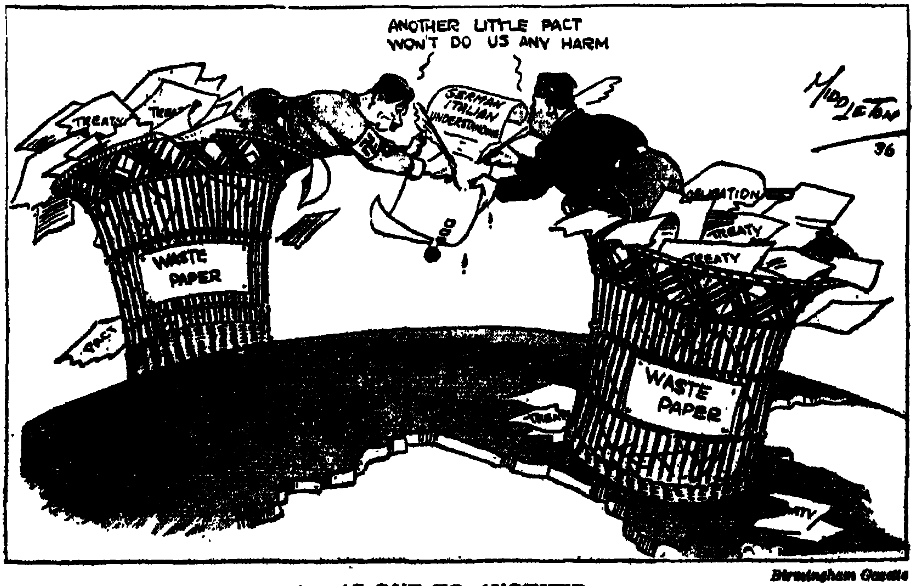
This last condition is potentially the most effective in the agreement. Based upon Germany's economic penetration in that region and pointed up by Mussolini's suggestion of the territorial satisfaction of Hungary, it would attempt to wean the Little Entente away from France and completely sever the latter from the Soviet.

Fascist Hopes and Setbacks

The fascist tide has been running high. The Spanish war definitely promises the surrounding of France by fascist powers, while German and Italian influence in the Mediterranean, once assured, would cut her off from her sources of troops in Africa, where, incidentally, French officers are reported planning a *coup* to parallel that of Franco in Spain. Degrelle had been making progress in Belgium and had been, in no small measure, responsible for that country's declaration of neutrality, which deprived France of an assured war-time ally and pulled out another prop from under what little remained of the collective system. Great Britain, despite a sudden awakening of the Labor opposition, who demanded the lifting of the embargo on Madrid, had shown marked friendliness to the rebel cause in Spain. Then again, the Catholic Church had come to terms with Hitler as the embodiment of anti communism; the Papal Pro-Russian Commission, originally formed to assist Czarist emigrés, was carrying on active propaganda in Poland, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia; associations such as "Pro Deo" had started in Switzerland and were spreading; finally, Catholic-communist cooperation for humanitarian purposes—one of the factors making for the success of the French Popular Front—had been expressly forbidden by the Vatican. All this was not necessarily pro-fascist, but it was irrefutably devoted to the purpose of enrolling the voters against communism, the arch-enemy, which was definitely on the retreat.

Mussolini felt strong enough to challenge Great Britain in the Mediterranean, but he was still careful to hold out an olive branch at the same time. Germany, too, needed the friendship of Great Britain, which was in a key position to make possible the isolation of Russia from any European settlement, toward which events seemed to be marching; Von Ribbentrop was sent over as ambassador to cultivate that friendship.

However, the plans for gaining Great Britain's favor went awry. Von Ribbentrop landed in England and stepped off on the wrong foot



Birmingham Gazette

AS ONE TO ANOTHER

immediately by lecturing the English on the communist menace to the British Empire. Rebel ferocities in Spain did not impress public opinion. Mussolini's bombast about the Mediterranean touched a sensitive British nerve. But what was probably more impelling in inducing Anthony Eden to give a direct refusal to the proposal to isolate Russia, was the growing realization that the face of what would be a fairly even struggle between Great Britain and France and the two fascist powers would be overwhelmingly changed by the introduction of the Russian forces—particularly in the air.

Once again, the fascist dictators seem to have overstepped themselves. But they have done it before and, on the present horizon, there is no firm opposition in sight.

Great Britain

NATIONAL pride was hurt by having to admit the necessity of enlisting American help in order to reach the goal of an additional 1,500 first-line airplanes, with a reserve of 4,500 by 1937. But, across the Rhine, Germany had accelerated production; at home, a strike threatened, skilled labor was scarce, and the much-vaunted "shadow scheme" had been shown up by Lord Nuffield.

This last plan calls for the subsidized construction of seven "shadow" factories for the production of aircraft engines. Each is to turn out a specific part—one the cylinders, another the crankshafts, and so forth. Five motor manufacturers and the Bristol Aeroplane Company have signed up, and are said to have proposed this "seven-unit" scheme. Lord Nuffield's complaint was this: Foreseeing the need for airplane engines in 1929, he had constructed the Wolsey factory. Since then the Government had turned down repeated offers to supply engines at, or below, the prices then being paid by the Air Ministry (which the "English Henry Ford" felt were too high). Finally the Government had asked him to surrender the fruits of his foresight and erect a "unit" factory at their expense, leaving the Wolsey plant idle.

The suspicion that politics was jeopardizing the rearmament program disturbed the public; what was equally alarming was Lord Nuffield's demonstration that in time of war the destruction of a single factory in the chain would render the whole "shadow scheme" abortive. Sir Thomas Inskip managed to soothe the irritation between Lord Nuffield and the Air Ministry, and it was announced that the Wolsey factory would be given contracts for Army supplies. But doubts as to the efficacy of the whole program continued unabated.

In the face of the great rearmament administration already set up under Sir Thomas Inskip, the report of the royal commission, appointed more than a year and a half ago to investigate the armaments industry, could not have been expected to take much effect, even had it decided that England should follow the French example and nationalize the business—which it did not.

Also caught up in the swirl of rearmament was the League of Nations Union. A year ago, it encompassed the downfall of Sir Samuel Hoare and nearly that of the National Government. Today its membership and funds are melting; the crusading pacifists are turning to the International Peace Movement—a body which is more strongly anti-fascist than anti-war and which is not therefore likely to offer the same opposition to bigger and better armaments.

France

THERE is an ominous groundswell in French politics, but on the surface Premier Leon Blum is finding quieter waters.

The preeminent reason for an outwardly stable political situation was the outcome of the Radical-Socialist conference, held October 22–25. Strong anti-communist feeling was evident, but support of the Government was voted on condition that extremist agitation and stay-in strikes be suppressed, and that a "sound" budget be enacted. It was perfectly clear that the party has little love for the Communist element in the Popular Front; nevertheless, the fear of the political chaos which would succeed a break-up of the present administration prevented them from carrying their hatred to the point of political action.

The Communists, for their part, have been declining in the Government's favor. The 122 meetings scheduled for Alsace-Lorraine October 11–12 were ordered reduced to 10. The Communists, piqued, complained that this put them in the same class as the fascists, whose demonstrations had been banned but

a week before. The fact of the matter was, however, that the Government feared to provoke the strong Catholic and pro-Nazi groups in that province. As it was, the German press whipped itself into a frenzy over such meetings as were held. The joke was that M. Thorez' speech was simply a series of quotations from Herr Hitler; the more serious aspect was that it showed how much Germany would welcome an excuse to regain the iron and steel resources of that province.

As Parliament opened, M. Blum faced another epidemic of stay-in strikes occasioned by the dismissal of 775 men by the Panhard company. The Government is pledged to evict such strikers, but their numbers in this case will make such action extremely difficult. The situation will cause more difficulty with the Communists, but the latter have been more vocal of late on the question of intervention in Spain. On both scores M. Blum is likely to continue his moderate trend toward the Radical-Socialist rather than the left-wing elements of the Popular Front.



Il 420, Florence

IN THE BLUM CLINIC

***Salengro:* "Suppose we try removing the communism?"**

***Blum:* "But suppose he dies under the knife?"**

Belgium

KING LEOPOLD'S declaration of Belgian neutrality can be explained in terms of the League's failure to prevent the remilitarization of the Rhineland and the fear that the Franco-Soviet pact might drag the nation into a war which didn't concern her. It can also be attributed to three distinctly domestic factors: (a) the Flemish population leans toward Germany; (b) the Catholic crusade against communism has aroused the suspicions of many good Belgian Catholics against France under the Popular Front; (c) the new Rexist Party was making capital of both these sentiments and had to be circumvented.

The Rexist march on Brussels October 25 proved a fiasco, and Leon Degrelle, the leader, ended up in jail. The Government was fully prepared for the attempted *coup* and acted firmly and effectively; nevertheless the new movement was scotched rather than killed, and a brief account of this recruit to European fascism is relevant.

"*Christus Rex*"

Leon Degrelle started out as a vociferous, but dubiously regarded, member of the Belgian Catholic Party—the leader of the insignificant "Christus Rex" faction which aimed at cleansing the party of impurities.

Failing to gain a place on the Catholic list for the 1936 election, Degrelle's ambitions grew wider. Dropping "Christus" from the party label—presumably at the instigation of the Church—he launched a muckraking campaign, aimed at the Catholics and then, as the elections grew nearer, extended to Liberals and Socialists. Obviously well financed, the movement made considerable headway, although only obtaining 10% of the total poll.

During the summer after the election, Degrelle seemed destined for oblivion. This fate he avoided however, by initiating an unprecedently violent anti-communist campaign. Actually, Communists only account for about 7% of the Belgian electorate; the population is, by and large, a contented one, for the Van Zeeland Government has made praiseworthy progress toward reform and recovery. Nevertheless, Degrelle had several factors in his favor: His movement coincided with the Pope's crusade in an overwhelmingly Catholic nation; short-sighted capitalists jumped on the bandwagon; the Franco-Soviet pact was drawn as a force which would lead Belgium into war with Germany and possibly to bolshevism. Further, Degrelle, if poor in scruples, was rich in funds and enjoyed financial support from Germany as well as the assistance of Nazi agents in Belgium.

However, he made two slips. His September 27 visit to Berlin was revealed just before the attempted *coup;* and the alliance he concluded with the pro-German Flemish separatists seemed to loyal Belgians strangely inconsistent with his nationalist professions.

At the moment, he is at a discount; but his fascism is still a force to be reckoned with in Belgian politics.

Germany

THE slogan, "guns instead of butter", was firmly stamped upon the German economy by the appointment of Colonel General Hermann Goering to carry out the Nuremberg four-year plan.

As a virtual dictator of the internal economy of Germany, Goering will be the person to determine how fast Germany will rearm, whether she will inflate or deflate, what share of the national income will go to capital and what to labor. He will hold the balance between the "Nationalists", who lean toward capitalism, and the "Socialists", who call for a completely state-controlled economy; between the German industrialists and Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, who demand orthodox finances and regard economic isolation as a temporary expedient, and the Nazi extremists, who demand self-sufficiency at any cost and by any financial means.

As a military man, it is clear that Goering will speed rearmament at all costs and will concentrate his efforts upon making impossible a blockade of Germany during war time. (See *Germany Tightens Her Belt,* Page 69.) His program will call for the intensified production of raw materials at home, with particular respect to the development of oil from coal, synthetic rubber, and other *Ersatz* substances; the adaptation of German industries to these materials; the prevention of waste; and rigid price and wage control.

To a large measure, this means a defeat for Dr. Schacht, who has been opposed to the four-year plan from the start insofar as it involves, according to the estimates of its proponents, the expenditure of from 3,000,000,000

to 5,000,000,000 marks. However, Dr. Schacht's good offices have been retained, reportedly on condition that all expenditures are covered either by new taxation or by savings in other directions. In addition, Wilhelm Keppler, Herr Hitler's personal economic adviser and a foe of Dr. Schacht, has been removed from office.

Nor can it be said that the plan is unmitigatedly isolationist. The demand for colonies, although subdued for diplomatic reasons, still persists in the Nazi intentions, while even extreme autarchists look to the establishment of a regional Central European economy, in which Germany could obtain assured supplies of the foodstuffs she needs from her neighbors. The application of this principle to the Danube Basin was one of the subjects included



United Feature Syndicate

MODERN ECONOMICS

in the German-Italian agreement of October 25.

If the democratic countries have moved towards a freer international economy, it is apparent that the authoritarian states east of the Rhine are planning a counter-bloc, in which economic objectives will be subjected to political ends.

Far East

ON OCTOBER 31, General Chiang Kai-Shek celebrated his fiftieth birthday. The event was distinguished by belligerent anti-Japanese demonstrations. Posters depicting the General summoning China to fight the menace to the North lined the streets; a popular fund promised to donate 50 new bombing planes to the anti-Japanese cause. One of the General's lieutenants had been assassinated for suspected pro-Japanese activities, and a few days later another Japanese citizen was stabbed in Shanghai. There was no mistaking the temper of the Chinese people; and, if, as it is said, Chiang Kai-Shek had pledged himself, at the grave of Sun Yat Sen, to unify his country no matter what the cost, he had reason to congratulate himself upon the unprecedented success of his mission.

What appeared to be a new climax of Chinese nationalist sentiment had inevitable repercussions upon the current Sino-Japanese negotiations. Tariff revision was the only item upon which any agreement was reached. Beyond this, the Chinese are now more adamant in claiming recognition of China's, and not Japan's "special position" in North China; this demand she backed up by a strong protest against the Japanese military maneuvers in Peiping and Tientsin, where strong garrisons have been established for reinforcing the Japanese position in the north. China has further refused to join hands with Japan in an anti-communist crusade for fear that it might involve her in war with Soviet Russia as well as deprive her of an invaluable anti-Japanese asset—the Chinese Red armies.

Two other factors operated in Chiang Kai-Shek's favor. Although Great Britain disclaimed any intention of invoking the Nine Power Treaty to protect her rights in China, she nevertheless addressed to the Japanese Foreign Office a note protesting against Japanese activities in the Yangtse valley. Of more substantial assistance was her announcement of commercial credits for China, a move which must stiffen resistance in that country.

A second factor was Premier Hirota's success in warding off the demands of the Japanese Army for a reorganization of the Government which would give the military element substantially enlarged powers. The Japanese civilian and military groups do not differ in their conception of Japan's ultimate position on the continent; but they disagree as to the speed and the methods by which it is to be attained.

This civilian victory in Japan will afford Chiang Kai-Shek time to build up the defenses of his nation. And the British credits will help make that task financially possible.

Pan America

TWO events should prove of inestimable worth to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, which is to hold its opening session at Buenos Aires on December 1. (See *Peace and the Americas*, Page 57). The first is the overwhelming re-election of President Roosevelt, involving as it did a thorough endorsement of the "good neighbor" policy, to cement which the conference was held. The second was the decision of the President to deliver the opening address. Secretary of State Hull will be in active charge of the United States delegation, but the President's presence, even though informal, inevitably will lend prestige to the conference.

The United States delegation is not expected to assume an aggressive policy at the conference; rather, it will content itself with supporting such measures raised by other delegations as it deems worth while. However, it will take a definite stand on the question of limitation of armaments, making it clear that the United States defenses must be measured, not only in relation to American nations, but also with an eye to her wider interests in the rest of the world. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Hull's delegation will take the lead in proposing the adoption by the twenty-one nations concerned of an equivalent of the Monroe Doctrine. It is more probable that they will actively suggest to the conference the general adoption of neutrality legislation paralleling that now in force at Washington.

The Realm of Science

LIKE most reports emanating from the Soviet Union the outline of science for the third five-year plan is tremendous. It is so enlightened and so completely subsidized that unregenerate capitalistic sinners may well look to the future and wonder what punishment it holds for their wasteful scientific hodge-podge. Today the Soviet Union is foremost in the deference accorded scientific research by government. From the first and second five-year plans science emerged as an indispensable tool destined to play the dominant role in the third five-year plan. Stalin, among others, recognized science as the evolutionary leaven to twentieth century progress. More than 250 laboratories throughout the Union are testament to the certain unique abilities of totalitarian states for turning decision into accomplished fact. For complete harmony and synthesis each one of the laboratories is subordinate and responsible to the Academy of Science, an institution two centuries old.

Within the last decade the academy has been rehabilitated to where the caliber and ability of its researchers is second to none. And despite Bukharin's pronouncement of 1932 that "science for science's sake is rubbish," the academy has encouraged an intense cultivation of pure science with a surprising success in the field of atomic physics. Statistically this scientific beginning in the third five-year plan finds the academy with an able though numerically small total of ninety-eight members with 1,558 subsidiary workers and researchers spotted in key positions.

Scientific Goal

As with all Soviet planning, whether in the manufacture of tooth-picks or tractors, a scientific goal has been set and a scientific concept approved as a basis for progress. Accepting the tenet that energy is the base upon which mechanized society is constructed, the Soviet researchers have been directed to place primary emphasis upon energy—electric energy. Such a conception will necessitate the unlimited development of water power and fuel resources. In fact some of the academy's engineers go so far as to envisage a colossal grid of energy covering all of Soviet Russia—a simple electric system with interconnected central stations and regional pools of energy. Since the Soviets swear that their country must lead the world in the generation and utilization of power, they may be depended upon to push this type of distribution to the extreme.

None doubt that war or fear of war is the motivation behind the academy's desire for power and more power. In any crisis industrial regions poorly supplied with fuel because of inadequate transport, present a dangerous weakness. Immediate and ranking plans call for the intense electrification of trunk lines to abolish once and for all this weak link in the chain of defensive strategy.

With power as the base Soviet research stems into hundreds of practical fields. Natural resources are scheduled for an exploitive assault never before attempted even in the hard-pressed Germany. Coal mines will be ignited and sealed in order to create huge underground gasometers available for use at will. Building upon the research of others the Soviets will seek to discover just how nature formed coal and petroleum, determining in this way to utilize the components of the crude product more sanely. As an indication of what can be done it will be recalled that Professor Bergius has already converted coal into synthetic gasoline, synthetic alcohol and synthetic lubricating oil.

To meet the demand for improved agricultural methods the Genetics Institute has been pressed into service. Even now it is suspected that the Soviets lead the world in breeding new varieties of plants and animals adapted to specific regions. It is rumored that in the future we will hear more of Arctic wheat, of goats and sheep with longer and curlier hair, of cotton to challenge the superiority of the Sea Island and Egyptian product.

Vernalization

Only recently the Stakhanov plan has been applied to plant life through a "vernalization" process. In principle it is the retardation of seed germination by insufficient soaking, low temperatures and other methods which induce premature flowering and fruiting. Although as a technique it gets surprising results, the causative agent or agencies is still a mystery. D.N.G. Cholodny of the Laboratory of Plant Physiology, Academy of Sciences, Kiev, reports that a higher concentration of growth hormone in the cells of the embryo may be the explanation.

Soviet physicists among other things will do their part through the study of ultra sounds, those uncanny sounds that are inaudible but capable of decomposing liquids and sterilizing milk. In this research the Soviets will make use of the exhaustive studies which Dr. Alfred Loomis and Prof. R. W. Wood of this country have already made.

Thus the five-year plan of science outlines objectives that will stir researchers throughout the world. Americans, at least, may fretfully look to the billions poured into public works while their own science is almost wholly ignored. It is also probable that in a generation the subsidized and directed research of the Soviets will lead the world.

Big Heads

In the Aleutian Islands Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, of the Smithsonian Institution unearthed the largest skull on record in the Western Hemisphere. Its proportion implies a brain capacity of 2,005 cubic centimeters, a mere twenty-five cubic centimeters less than that of the Russian novelist Turgeniev, largest on record.

Dr. Hrdlicka remarks: "There is a rough correlation between brain size and intelligence in normal human beings. Such a vast superiority in this extinct man in the former was almost certainly attended by superiority in the latter."

There is some basis for the doctor's thesis since the ancient Aleuts were comparatively intelligent. Remnants of the civilization found in deposits of Aleut material indicate a tool making creature with some scientific curiosity. There is evidence that the Aleut went so far as to crack open the skulls of seals in an effort to discover the reason for the animal's acute hearing.

However, excessive brain capacity does not presuppose genius. The acutely philosophical Hindu performs metaphysical wonders with subnormal equipment while the sluggish Eskimo boasts a brain far above the average in weight. Innumerable statistics of this nature relegate huge skulls to the category of the merely curious. For instance, compared with the record-breaking weight of 74 ounces for Turgeniev, Thackeray did well with 58.6 ounces; while Napoleon, whose reputation for intelligence is still in debate, had a 68.5 ounce brain, Walt Whitman struggled along with only 45.3 ounces.

Various explanations account for this disparity. It is said that intelligence depends not so much on the mass as on the cortex, a "bark" sheathing the convolution of the cerebral hemisphere. Another theory, taking into account the synthesis and interdependency of physiological structure, maintains that if man is to be articulate he must have a proper jaw; the right conformation of vocal organs; the right hands; the right eyes, etc.

Mind and Body

To further establish this latter thesis of the inseparable interconnection of mind and body, Sir Joseph Barcroft, Noble Prize winner, reports a series of brilliant experiments with sheep. By stimulating an embryo still one hundred days from birth, Barcroft observed nature at work establishing the delicate relations of mind to body. Almost the first movement of a newborn lamb is an attempt to rise from the ground, first on the forelegs and then on the hind quarters. Under stimulus Barcroft saw the embryo attempt a similar movement. Another stimulus and the embryo went through the motion of breathing although there was nothing to breathe. A more powerful stimulus made the embryo pant as though out of breath.

Experimenting with a more advanced foetus Barcroft discovered that lessening of oxygen made it behave as it had done at an earlier period of gestation. "We can turn back the clock," Barcroft points out; "we can remove the cause, whatever it may be, of the suppression of function; we can indeed produce irritability."

Freezing to Death

To further the study of the precise interconnection of mind and the internal environment of the body Barcroft deliberately froze himself nearly to death. In this way he demon-

strated to his own satisfaction, at least, that with man any bodily alteration profoundly affects the mind. Human intellectual development and motility depend on the temperature and the other factors of his internal environment remaining constant—one degree of fever will affect the mental processes.

Barcroft said in describing his feelings during the near-freezing: "Up to the point at which shivering ceased, nature fought the situation; my instinct was to be up and about, an effort of will was necessary to remain the subject of the experiment; after that point I gladly acquiesced, initiative had gone.

"And I was conscious of other reversions of mental state: not only was there a physical extension of the limbs, but with it came a change in the general mental attitude. The natural apprehension lest some person alien to the experiment should enter the room and find me quite unclad disappeared."

Barcroft concluded from this experiment that the immediate effect of interference with the chemical or physical properties of the blood is a general impairment of the higher qualities of the mind. "The thoughts of the human mind," he reported, "its power to solve differential equations, or to appreciate exquisite music, involve some physical or chemical pattern, which would be blurred in a milieu itself undergoing violent disturbances."

W. CARROLL MUNRO

Highlights of the Law

OF MAJOR concern to American business today is the recently enacted Robinson Patman law. Essentially, the bill represents an attempt to extend to the chain-store system the principles of the Sherman Anti-Trust laws and the Clayton Act.

These earlier anti-trust regulations sought to protect the consumer and the independent against the nullification of competition by price, production, and sales agreements and, later, by combinations, trusts, incorporated holding companies, and mergers. The Robinson Patman Act deals with a similar problem.

Today, the chain-store system has played havoc with the independent dealer. These vast organizations enjoy advantages through large-scale merchandising which would-be competitors cannot share. Not only can they obtain goods at lower costs, commanding discounts not available to the smaller purchaser, but they also purchase directly from the manufacturer, either eliminating brokerage charges or stipulating that the goods be brokered through a subsidiary. They can undermine competitors by varying prices between different cities or within the same city, low prices in one locality being offset by higher prices elsewhere. They profit from advertising allowances not available to the small dealer.

The Robinson Patman law would equalize the advantages and disadvantages of this system. It supplements the existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies and prohibits devices that have grown up under the Clayton Act. To achieve its objective, it would "strengthen existing anti-trust laws, prevent unfair price discriminations, and preserve competition in interstate commerce."

The law concerns itself first with the sale of products of like quality at different prices. This price differential is declared unlawful where it tends to create monopoly in interstate commerce or to injure, destroy, or substantially prevent competition. It is, however, permissible when: (1) it is a quantity discount not exceeding the difference in cost of manufacture, sale, or delivery; (2) it relates to a different method of operation or dealing and does not exceed the resulting difference in cost of manufacture, sale, or delivery; (3) it represents a price change in response to changing market conditions; (4) it involves services or allowances which are available in equal proportions to all purchasers.

In short, the act looks to the establishment of a price structure of the type of a single list price with reasonable and uniform discounts, adequately related to costs. The law, however, does not affect the manner in which various

industries compete to capture the market; low prices and intensified advertising may, and undoubtedly will, be resorted to.

In the field of brokerage and commissions, the advantages enjoyed by large firms over their smaller competitors are to be restricted. The payment or receipt of commissions and brokerage is to be limited to compensation for services actually rendered, and the seller is forbidden to pay brokerage to the agent of the buyer, or vice versa. Thus the payment of fees through dummy agencies which perform no service is eliminated.

These clauses will tend to reduce the differences in net prices as between large and small purchasers. Commentators do not, however, expect a change in the level of the *average* prices; after the initial period of readjustment they will continue to move up or down, according to the nature of the industry and market conditions, as before.

The act may stimulate the development of trade standards and strengthen the trend towards a one-price policy. The existing spread between prices of different quantities, and the offer of free deals when certain quantities are purchased cannot be restricted to special customers. Individual sellers will be stimulated to record market data more systematically, and manufacturers will give their prices greater publicity, if only as a defense against charges of misrepresenting prices. It is expected that advertising bonuses will be limited or withdrawn.

It is clear, however, that there will be many difficulties in the administration of the law. Price discrimination may be camouflaged by including essentially similar products in different grades and qualities. Again, distributors may acquire manufacturing plants or contract for the whole output of a plant, limiting the product to a single channel. Finally, manufacturers will probably concentrate upon particular classes of customers, confining their sales exclusively to wholesalers or mass distributors.

From the legal point of view, the law has been criticized as a "maze of inconsistencies" and "shot through with unconstitutionalities." It is unanimously agreed to be confusing and believed by many to be impractical. The Clayton Act is enlarged to make buyers equally guilty with sellers if they induce or knowingly accept unjustified discounts or rebates. Injury to a single competitor, and not to the competitive field generally, is declared not only illegal but actionable. While the Clayton Act involved only civil consequences for a violator, the present law adds a criminal penalty—a fine of not more than $5,000 and/or one year in prison. What is more significant is that the burden of proving justification of price discrimination is laid upon the party against whom a case has been made before the Federal Trade Commission; in other words, the presumption of innocence, hitherto an inviolate right under our law, has been discarded.

Though it is entirely too early to expect an authoritative explanation of this latest attempt at Federal supervision of business, the potential consequences of the Robinson Patman law appear to be more serious for the business man than those of the Prohibition Act or the National Recovery Act.

Labor Relations Act

Pending before the Federal Supreme Court, among a list of New Deal cases, is one in which the Associated Press is questioning the validity of the National Labor Relations Act and the application of the act to its relations with editorial employees and another in which a lumber company is seeking to enjoin proceedings by that board.

The National Labor Relations Act insures the right of collective bargaining through representatives of labor's own choice. It arose out of section 7a of the National Recovery Act and provides permanent machinery for dealing with certain issues in labor relations arising in the process of collective bargaining.

The Board created under section 3 of the Act is to function as an independent quasi-judicial body somewhat like the Federal Trade Commission. The first complaint of any violation of the act is made to the Regional Board, 17 of which have been set up and operate in 21 cities. A review of the boards may be obtained by appeal to the National Labor Board, if deemed necessary, in the interests of justice. The board is empowered to prevent such unfair labor practices as: (1) interferences with, restraint or coercion of employers in the exercise of their rights of collective bargaining; (2) domination or interference with the formation or administration of any labor organization; (3) discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment designed to discourage membership in labor organizations. To enforce their regulations, labor boards under the NRA had to resort to a cumbersome procedure dependent upon the Department of Justice.

Though the new act provides no criminal penalties for violations, it permits the board to move more freely than its predecessors in the execution of its decisions by the issuance after a hearing on the evidence of "cease and desist" orders for failure to follow the order. The Circuit Court of Appeals may enjoin the enforcement of the decision.

The two fundamental issues on which the constitutionality of the act is challenged are: (1) that the employer-employee relationship is not the subject of Federal legislation under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution, which gives Congress power over interstate commerce; and (2) that the powers vested in the board amount to a taking of property without due process of law.

The United States Supreme Court held in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* that conditions in manufacturing exert only an indirect effect upon interstate commerce and therefore are not subject to Federal legislative control. The compulsory pension law for employees on interstate railroads was struck down in a 5–4 decision because the law was essentially related to the welfare of the worker and entirely "outside the orbit of congressional power." A similar fate befell the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Guffey coal cases. Mr. Justice Sutherland, referring to the evils arising from struggles between employers and employees, said: ". . . the evils are all local evils over which the Federal government has no legislative control. The relationship between employer and employee is a local relationship. . . . Such effects as these [controversies and evils] may have on commerce, however intensive it may be, is secondary and indirect . . ."

Though the board is already enmeshed in a maze of litigation, the Circuit Court of Appeals has thus far favored it by denying temporary injunctions sought against it, and the trend of decisions in the District Courts seems definitely to have turned against enjoining the board.

The special significance of the law is its reflection of labor's dependence upon governmental aid to organize the mass production industries. The act has been vigorously attacked as vesting authority to determine the form and character of labor organizations in the Labor Board. If the unions are unable to make adjustments necessary to provide for orderly collective bargaining, the board, it is feared, may assume full power in designating bargaining units and thus affect the very structure of trade unions. The act will stimulate improved personnel practices and compel company unions to act as the real bargaining agencies dealing with wages, laws, and conditions of employment. On the other hand, dependence on governmental aid may bring in its wake a greater dependence of labor on political alignments.

Blood Tests

Scientists have in recent years confirmed the old adage that "blood will tell." The Legislature of N. Y. has followed suit by a statute providing for blood tests to establish in bastardy cases that the accused could not be the father of the child. This recent development in the law of evidence was made possible by the discovery at the beginning of the twentieth century by Karl Landsteiner of the Rockefeller Institute, that human blood is divided into four groups characterized by the possession or non-possession of certain substances in the serum and the corpuscles of the blood. When a little blood of one is added to a little blood of another, either the two bloods will mix fully, or the red cells of the mixture will lump together and form a sediment, leaving a clear liquid. This phenomenon, called agglutination, is the basis of the blood group test. From it, scientists have deduced four blood groups: O,A,B, and AB, into one of which every human being falls. Additional investigation has imparted definite legal value to this principle of the individuality of blood by proving that the blood groups remain constant throughout life, despite age, disease, and environmental conditions. The discovery that it is possible to determine the blood group of dried blood, even though it had been subjected to the elements for long periods of time or to moderate extremes of heat or cold, renders the test even more reliable. Where it is possible to obtain the blood of the two adults and the child, conclusive evidence against parentage can be obtained in many cases. Thus, where the accused belonged to Group A and the woman (prosecutrix) to group O and the child to Group B, the true father could only belong to Group B or Group AB. On the other hand, had the accused been found to belong to Group B or Group AB, such finding, in itself, would not prove that he was the true father any more than another man belonging to either of these groups. Blood grouping, therefore, can be used *only* to *exclude* and not to establish paternity.

The conclusions of these scientists, accepted wholeheartedly by continental courts, have not met with the approval of Anglo-American juries. Though the principles were irrefutable, the theories and postulates explaining them were in conflict. And this conflict the legal world interpreted as uncertainty, entailing the consequent unreliability of the tests as evidence in a court of law.

That the court has the power to order such tests is conceded by authority and precedent. To aid in the administration of justice, plaintiffs have been required to submit to physical examination before medical experts on motion by the defendant, when necessary to a complete determination of facts. Since it is but natural that a litigant knowing his or her status should prefer the uncertainty of a jury trial to the accuracy of scientific tests, the future utility of these tests may depend on the willingness of the courts to compel their use.

The first American decision in point came from South Dakota. In *State v. Damm*, the defendant was charged with rape and accused of being the father of the prosecutrix's child. At the first trial (1933) the court refused the defendant's offer to submit to a blood test and his request that a similar test be made on the prosecutrix and her child to determine whether he could have been the father. Said the court: "We think it insufficiently appears that the validity of the proposed tests meets with such generally accepted recognition as a scientific fact among medical men as to say that it constituted an abuse of discretion for a court of justice to refuse to take cognizance thereof, as would undoubtedly be the case if a court today refused to take cognizance of the accepted scientific fact that the fingerprints of no two individuals are in all respects identical. We therefore find no error."

On a rehearing in 1936, however, the same court said: "We . . . say, without further elaboration or discussion, that it is our considered opinion that the reliability of the blood test is definitely, and indeed unanimously, established as a matter of expert scientific opinion entertained by authorities in the field, and we think the time has undoubtedly arrived when the results of such tests made by competent persons and properly offered in evidence, should be deemed admissible in a court of justice whenever paternity is in issue."

The contribution of science to the field of demonstrative evidence has mounted during the past few decades. Devices for detection and identification by secret automatic cameras, photographs, X-rays, and ultra-violet of otherwise invisible material, spectograms, stero-photogrammetric drawings, and motion pictures have been held admissible as trustworthy evidence. With the advancement of science and the liberalism of the courts in availing themselves of accredited scientific aids, ordering of blood tests in the rapidly mounting filiation cases probably will become the rule rather than the reluctant exception.

BENJAMIN WERNE

On the Religious Horizon

THE Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cicognani, agent of the purely spiritual authority of the Roman Catholic Church, speaking in the name of that authority to the delegâtes to the National Council of Catholic Women, said that the supreme issue today, here as elsewhere, is the struggle of the Church against the effects of "the denial of God, the widespread, vicious, unholy attempts against the Church, against that Christian liberty by which alone salvation can come unto the people, and by which alone civilization can live. . . . You read of the ruthless destruction of churches, of the slaying of religious, of the killing of priests. . . . Can any Christian read of these things and not ask himself what he can do, to end or at least to lessen them?"

"It is our mission in life," the Papal Delegate continued, "our one supreme mission, to live the life of Jesus Christ and show it forth to others. . . . First and above all things, to pray. . . . Prayer is the offensive weapon against the evils of the world, especially in times of stress and crisis. . . . Prayer is active work and more fruitful than the visible work of the hands or the brain. . . . The salvation of nations, our mission as apostles of Christ, will be fulfilled, not by the measure of our own abilities, but by the measure of our prayers."

The *Commonweal*, commenting editorially on these words, said in part: "If they are not true, then it follows that communism, the supreme evil of our age, must be right, and that religion is the opium of the people, doping them with vain illusions, and is not the power of the union of God with man, as established by Jesus Christ in His Church, for the revealing and the employment of truth, and, thereby the dispelling of all illusions. . . .

"To deal effectively with that plague [communism] requires more than expressions of indignation, no matter how eloquent, or of horror, no matter how forcible—or of opposition, unless that opposition be directed by the spirit of prayer, by the will of the Church."

This excellent example of the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward communism, now everywhere evident, from Papal pronouncements to the luncheon conversation of Catholic laymen, has caused some to ask if the Catholic Church is pro-fascist. They want to know, "Has the Church while opposing communism, swung to the other extreme?"

The Church Times (Anglican) finds "reason to fear a world alliance between fascism and the Roman Church."

"That alliance," it goes on to say, "exists in Italy. It now exists in Spain. It is possibly only prevented in Germany by obstinate Nazi folly."

The Bull *Non Abbiamo Bisagno* (June 29, 1931) is very much to the point on this question. Published by "C. T. S." and described as *Concerning Catholic Action*, it is a long and vehement protest by the Pope against outrages preceded by calumny and accompanied by violence committed by a Catholic state run on fascist lines. With great outspokenness, it denounced the monstrous usurpation of "the sacred and inviolable rights of souls and of the Church" involved in forcible dissolution, by the fascist government, of all Catholic religious organizations of youth on the plea of "defense of the State."

This Bull exposed the whole endeavor of the criticized government "to monopolize completely the young . . . for the exclusive advantage of a party," as "based on an ideology which clearly resolves itself into a real pagan worship of the state."

While refraining from condemnation of fascism as a whole, The Holy Father points out clearly "what is contrary to Catholic doctrine and practice in the programme and activities of the party."

Mohammed's Missions

According to reliable reports, the Mohammedan missionaries in Africa are much more effective in making converts than are their

Christian rivals. In Nigeria, for example, it is reported (in the current issue of *The Moslem World*) that ten natives become followers of the Prophet for every one who professes faith in Christ. In other words, a Moslem mission is ten times more effective than the combined forces of all Christian bodies working in Nigeria. One naturally asks, "Why?"

In the first place, Mohammedanism presents a united front. There is no competition between rival groups. A Moslem is one who professes the simple belief that "Allah is One God, and Mohammed is His Prophet." But, if a native becomes a Christian, he may be aligned with any one of a number of "denominations," each striving to *outdo* (and all managing to practically *undo*) the achievements of the others. Islam is the same in Nigeria, China, Arabia, Persia, New York, or anywhere else.

In the second place, the majority of Moslem missionaries in Nigeria, and for that matter in every country, are natives. An African has naturally a better entrée into Nigeria than a foreigner, who is looked upon with suspicion (at least at first). It is only reasonable to expect a native, with the deeper understanding of the background, habits, and mental predispositions of Nigerians, to be the most effective of missionaries.

Another primary reason for the progress of Islam in Nigeria is that every Moslem is an active proselytist. He is imbued with the urgency of making converts of all with whom he comes in contact, whereas the Christian convert leaves the further spread of the Gospel to the work of the Priest or other missionary.

United Christian Effort

The Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia is to provide an example of united Christian activity. The Church Missionary Society, The Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee, the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the London Missionary Society of South Africa, the Baptist Missionary Society of South Africa, and the United Society for Christian Literature are joining in an effort to establish four centers, staff them with missionaries who will work as a team, and form a united Christian organization for the Christianization of the many thousands of native people in the area. Christians throughout the world will watch with interest this effort, which, if successful, may stimulate movements towards unity in other mission fields.

Of interest to those who work for co-operation among the Christian Churches in America, is the *Statement on Proselytizing* adopted by the House of Bishops (Episcopal) in its annual meeting held in Chicago. Presented by Bishop Wilson of Eau Claire, from the Joint Commission for Conference with the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Lutheran Churches, it clarified the Church's attitude on the subject at the request of the Lutherans. The text of the statement follows:

"The policy of the Episcopal Church is fraternal consideration for people of other Christian bodies. Deploring as we do the divisions which separate the followers of Christ into various denominations, we nevertheless discountenance schemes of proselytizing in order to break down any other religious group. We look for the day when Christian disciples may be joined together in a common faith, a common worship, a common ministry, and a common service. Meanwhile we respect the convictions of those whose allegiance is lodged elsewhere than in the membership of the Episcopal Church. We recognize the right and the responsibility to seek out the unchurched or those who may have drifted from their former connection, but we disapprove of attempts to invade the congregation of an already established Christian work."

The question of the status of the Presiding Bishop was discussed from many points of view at this same meeting of the House of Bishops. No action was taken on this matter, bishops expressing opinions which varied from advocating a system with a strong primatial see and a metropolitan for each province to recommending that the Presiding Bishop be merely a presiding officer. Episcopalians and others will watch with interest the progress of these discussions, which may result in some definitive change next year when the triennial meeting of General Convention takes place.

A similar move towards the possibly increasing centralization may be indicated by the proposal to give the Synod Presidents of the United Lutheran Church of America the title of Bishop. This proposal was discussed at the Texas Synod meeting at San Antonio. In certain European countries, this is already the custom. The convention of Lutheran pastors, however, referred the question to the national convention.

Religion in Russia

The Russian Orthodox Seminary in Paris is an interesting remnant of the Church which formerly claimed "all the Russias." The Dean of this *Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe à Paris*, the Reverend Professor Serge Boulgakoff, recently completed a visit to this country. In an interview with this writer, he said: "Real religion in Russia is more vital today than most people realize. Innumerable priests and a few bishops remain in Russia and minister to the people. During the last three years, they have been given more freedom in the exercise of their ministry. An example of this was seen last Easter, when huge throngs turned out for the first Festival Celebrations in the large city churches since the Revolution."

This confirmed the reports of two delegates (Russian priests) at the Paris meeting of the International Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. While not reporting officially to the council, these two expressed a thought which many have had regarding religious conditions in Russia. They said in effect that Russian Christians feel that the Revolution was "the Hand of God, reaching into Russia to purify a corrupt Church, a Church which, under the Czars since Peter the Great, had been merely an instrument for furthering the designs of the Government." Linked hand in hand with the Government, the Pre-Revolutionary Church in Russia showed no interest in the social, economic, or political welfare of the common people. Since the rise of communism to power, Russian Christians, cleric and lay, have been driven closer together. Out of this association has grown a new attitude on the part of the clergy. Religion in Russia now strives to live the Life of Christ. Laymen are responding to the appeal, and the Church is gradually awakening to its opportunity and its responsibility.

✦ ✦ ✦

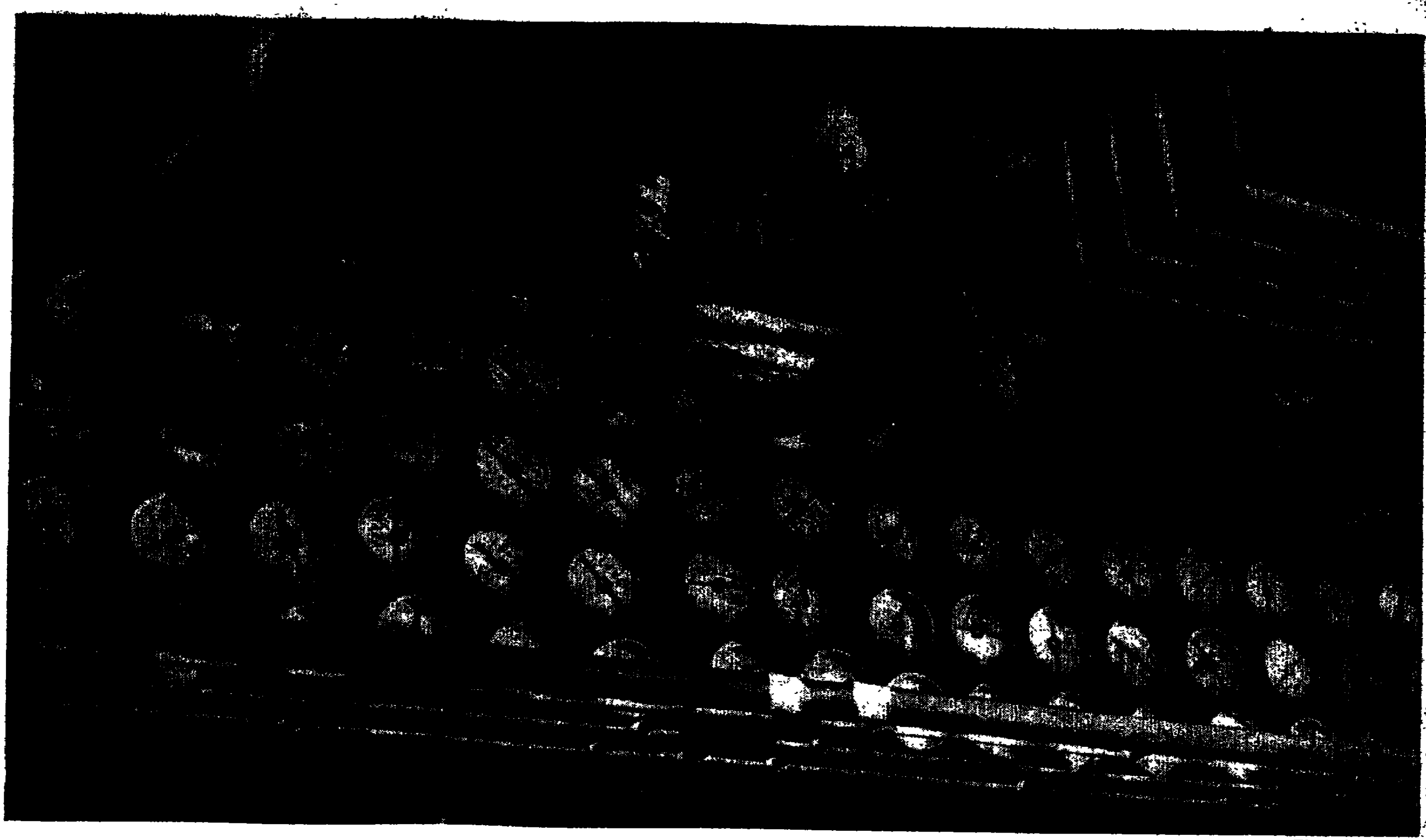
The 1926 religious survey showed 212 denominations in the United States. Officials expect ten or fifteen more to be reported in the 1936 census. A total of 54,580,000 Church adherents were reported in 1926. That census also revealed 167,000 rural churches and 64,000 urban churches. The city church population, however, was 35,000,000 as compared with 19,000,000 for the country church population. Two years will be required for the 1936 census—one to collect, and one to tabulate, the findings.

REV. WILLIAM BRUCE SHARP

Moslems versus the West

THE Balfour declaration in Palestine and the division of Syria between France and England gives the Arab the impression that these two countries are exploiting their land for European ends. For these and other causes the Moslem world has decided that Europe is inimical to its best interests. The youth of Islam today is thinking in terms of politics more than religion. He is often far more interested in his nation's welfare than in the spread of Islam. The solidarity of Islam is not a question of caliphate, or the *sheriah* (religious law), but almost entirely a matter of political unity in the face of the West.

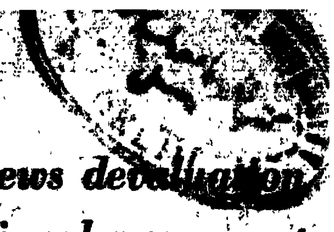
—*The Moslem World*



Times Wide World

***GOLD TO FRANCE:** Uncle Sam sends five million dollars in gold across the seas. The valuable cargo, securely packed in kegs, is being loaded into the ship's hold.*

ACCORD on MONEY



An economist views devaluation and the international agreement

By H. PARKER WILLIS

AFTER a long period of postponement or negotiation, France, Great Britain, and the United States, have entered into a monetary agreement. The facts relating to this agreement have been made public in two communiqués—one dated September 26 and the other October 13. Of these two announcements, the first describes what is called "devaluation", as undertaken by France and assented to by England and the United States, while the second essays to put into effect the process of "stabilization", in which the three countries participate. Several other countries, including Switzerland, Holland, and Italy, have concurred, and have agreed to participate in varying degrees in the new project, while several others have announced programs of devaluation growing out of it and intended to harmonize with it. In a few cases, supplementary processes of stabilization have been added to the devaluation announcements, but all are evidently transitory. They constitute what Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr., has called: "A new type of gold standard," organized "on a twenty-four hour basis."

This description of what has been done, coupled with the fact that so large a group of countries are in one way or another associated with the new program, apparently has been the basis for rather extreme interpretations and for highly optimistic expectations. Some political writers have gone so far as to describe the program as the ending of monetary warfare and the opening of a new era of undisturbed international trade. Others take a different view. One does well therefore to inquire as to what has actually been accomplished.

First of all, let us look at the announcement of September 26, which makes effective the devaluation policy of France and necessitates or entails the devaluation which has been adopted by several other countries. The expectation of results to be obtained through French devaluation are the same that were so generally expressed when devaluation was announced in the United States in January 1934. Relief of debtors from their intolerable burdens to creditors was then the most freely alleged benefit to be expected from devaluation. A close second to it was the raising of prices all around and the closing of the gap between agricultural values and those of manufactured goods. It was further held that a decided advantage in foreign trade would be gained over those countries which had not devalued their currency.

Looking back, it will be seen that devaluation here brought none of these expected results, and this provides a criterion for charting the probable effects of devaluation in other countries. In attempting to apply this criterion, however, Americans must remember that foreign nations which have tried devaluation frequently have had another motive which has not figured very greatly in this country—that of rendering it easier to balance their budgets for the time being, and of affording an auxiliary means for stopping the export of gold which threatened to deplete the stock of the metal which was regarded as a war reserve, or as otherwise essential to national well-being. Certain it is, that these latter motives have figured in an important degree in recent efforts at devaluation. In most countries there is a uniform set of condi-

tions and an identical chain of causation which can be traced. The final result in every case is an act of repudiation whereby debt burdens presumably are lightened and a better start is made toward undercutting other countries in trade competition. This sequence or "technique of devaluation" is well recognized. In several of the European states no less than three formal devaluations have taken place since the close of the World War. It has been customary, first of all, to decide upon a change in the weight of the standard unit—a lighter coin being substituted for a heavier one as a rule—then to seize upon the stock of gold or other standard currency, replacing it on the new and cheaper basis, while the "profit" from the operation was transferred to the public treasury or to the central bank. Finally it has been usual to permit debtors by legislation to settle their obligations in the new and cheaper currency. That in some cases the "profit" thus obtained has been very large, there can be no doubt. In the case of the United States, the indicated "profit" so realized was $2,800,000,000. France's gain will be smaller because her stock of gold was itself smaller, but it will still be very large. A secondary element in the accounting must also be borne in mind. Since a nation usually has, along with its citizens, a certain amount of indebtedness due to foreigners, while the latter are themselves indebted to the home country or to its citizens on current account, there will remain a net balance, either for or against the country, after each act of devaluation. The aggregate of such profits or of such losses, or the net result of them, represents the final sacrifice or gain of the devaluing country. It is the difference between the repudiation of its own debts which it has arranged, as compared with the repudiation of the debts to it which it finds necessary in practice to allow as an incident to devaluation.

So far as this process of readjusting obligations upon a lower basis is concerned, its consequences have no effect upon the underlying situation. If devaluation were nothing more than a means of clearing off indebtedness, the same result might be obtained in some other and probably less troublesome manner, but practical experience with devaluation has shown that its real significance lies in a rather different field. By an act of devaluation, arrangement is made for shifting the basis of all commodity prices. Goods continue to be marked as worth so many dollars, francs, or fractions thereof per unit, but the unit now represents a quantity of gold or other material which is different from its original amount.

These changes in price are dependent upon the varying conditions of competition and of the distribution of goods; they possess no absolute uniformity. One of the most striking results of devaluation where it occurs, therefore, is the difference in degree of effect produced by it upon the price levels of various groups and classes. It is not usually—practically never—successful in bringing about a price advance corresponding to the change in the weight of the unit. The price advance which it causes is ordinarily much greater for one group in the community than for another. Accordingly, the first effect of devaluation is to help some groups by giving them a relatively greater power to command other commodities, while it may impair the position of others by reducing their control over goods in a similar fashion. But it has proven impossible to foretell exactly which group will gain and which will lose in consequence.

Those who call for devaluation, however, are at least nominally more intent upon another kind of readjustment. What happens in real life as a result of devaluation is no such equality of price change as is ordinarily foreshadowed. In practice, "A" may find his load materially lightened through devaluation, while "B" may experience no change in it or, in some circumstances, may find it relatively more burdensome than was originally so. It is only in connection with the settlement of international obligations or, indeed, of any obligations in which adjustments habitually are brought about by settlement in terms of

gold, that devaluation effectively changes anything.

As devaluation is studied in the abstract, it becomes clearer and clearer that its principal result is merely to provide for a redivision of wealth between classes in a community. It is merely a polite contemporary form in which the phenomenon of expropriation makes its appearance. Successive devaluations correspondingly reduce claims of ownership resulting from the efforts of savings of past years upon the current level of production. It is the outcome of a certain subtle plan of class warfare, and it is helpful to those who are economically able to enforce their favorite plan upon those who are less capable of protecting themselves from exploitation. The devaluation movement, which has so widely attracted attention and has so impressed itself upon large aggregates of people in different countries, is simply the expropriation movement —the movement to take accumulations from those who have them and to transfer them to others. As a reasoned method of improving the condition of this class or that class, or of strengthening the position of the producer or laborer, it has been a disappointment in every country where it has been tried. For the time being it may, through irregular price changes, give a temporary advantage to one group and deprive another of a similar advantageous position, but that is all. The outcome in the case of France and of other devaluing countries will be the same as it has been in the United States—a disappointment everywhere.

Stabilization

The fact that other countries have undertaken to make the same experiment that we have, has only the same interest to the American public that was felt by the fox who had lost his tail in a trap but who persuaded other foxes to cut off their tails in a like manner. What does concern the American citizen, however, is the possibility of keeping the dollar parallel in value to the currency units of the other countries with which it has joined. It is the announcement of October 13 and not that of September 26 which is of significance. Is it feasible to maintain the existing scale of American values at its present level, yet at the same time to enable foreign countries to maintain their prices at a level, and their trade and international gold payments at a volume, which will establish the much-desired "equilibrium" between countries? If this be possible, what will be the price to the participating countries, or to any one of them, of attaining such a result?

The maintenance of such an outcome properly may be called "stabilization"—the keeping of ratios between national currencies (which we call "foreign exchange") at a comparatively fixed or uniform level, so as to enable business men and producers to calculate with certainty conditions of international competition and the maintenance of the market for their output. Can this be done without additional great movements of gold from one country to another? These questions lay at the basis of the anxiety which prevailed for three weeks after September 26, to know exactly what the Government intended to do in practice for these purposes.

The announcement issued by the Treasury Department and by the stabilization funds of France and England on October 13 was nominally intended to furnish the practical details for the working out of the new agreement and to show exactly how business will be done by it in the several countries. It had been supposed that this result would be obtained by granting permission on the part of the several countries for the free exportation of gold in settlement of specified kinds of international transactions, the several governments retaining the right to refuse applications for the export of gold when the transaction to which each might relate did not conform to standard specifications.

The actual text of the announcement, however, follows a totally different line and now provides that as a result of each day's operations, the stabilization funds of the several countries shall agree upon a rate of equivalence among francs, sterling, and dol-

lars, at which each such fund shall reimburse the others for the purchases of its own currency which the others have made. Gold will then be shipped by the central banks of the several countries to the others in accordance with the terms and rate of exchange which are agreed upon from day to day. How would this actually work in practical operation? Presumably, there is no gold in the possession of private traders in France and in the United States. In England what gold is derived from the so-called free-gold market is customarily in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons, or more likely still, may be purchased as it comes to hand by the equalization fund or the Treasury of Great Britain itself. What is now done is to end all private trading and private shipment of gold so far as France and the United States are concerned, and in England to continue the present system of buying gold in the open market while still permitting it to be hoarded by private citizens or shipped by them as the case may be.

There is no agreement on the part of the British that they will fix the weight of the pound sterling or, what is the same thing, keep its value within specified limits; while as for the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury expressly states in the October 13 announcement that there is nothing to prevent him from paying more than the present $35 an ounce for gold if he chooses or, on the other hand, charging more than $35 when he releases gold. Substantially then, what the new agreement amounts to is practically to suspend the operations of the exchange market, as we have known it in the past; to say to those who wish to settle their debts abroad in gold that they will be able to buy such portions of the metal as they need from their own local stabilization funds, while in the same way, such gold as is shipped to them they can presumably transfer to their local stabilization funds at an officially established price. In effect, this amounts to taking over international traffic in gold, which is henceforth to be conducted under the auspices of the central banks of the several countries. The stabilization funds, through, or in company with, the central banks, are the ultimate judges of the rate of exchange, determining whether sterling shall be $4.86—less, or more—in the American market; whether francs shall be 100 to the pound sterling—less, or more—in the British market. Mr. Morgenthau, in company with the officials of Britain and France, invites other countries to enter the agreement and to embark upon the same régime of control of the ownership and shipment of gold supply as circumstances may require. The assumption, of course, is that the officials in every country will have all knowledge and be able to exercise the best available judgment with regard to the current changes in the price of the local currency as expressed in gold and with respect to the currency and banking conditions, which should give rise to movements of gold. The agreement further presupposes that each of the countries will act in perfect good faith with respect to the others, and will make no effort to furnish exceptional advantages for its exporters or to avoid unusual hardships for its importers.

It is probably true in this case, as in so many others, that if the economic concerns of the world could be dealt with and decided by persons of absolute sincerity, honesty, and the best of sound judgment from time to time, it would be possible, not only to eliminate a great deal of economic friction with a corresponding saving of expense, but it would be likewise feasible to avoid unexpected fluctuations in values. The trouble is that we have never been able to devise a mechanism which would produce these results, and that there is no reason to suppose we can do so now. There have been strong reasons for the movement of gold from country to country. There have been reasons which have led the citizens of one country to decide to invest their property abroad. There have been reasons which have made it desirable for bankers to go to considerable expense and trouble in order to bring about a redistribution of those portions of gold which have figured as "reserves" in bank vaults. The present international agreement furnishes no

ground for thinking that these necessities and influences will now be abrogated or displaced by others. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that they will continue substantially as heretofore, and that the new mechanism of settlement will have to contend with exactly the same difficulties and will have to adjust and settle exactly the same technical problems which in the past have had to be disposed of by the older mode of adjustment. There will be nothing in the new arrangement, for example, to prevent the citizens of France from feeling doubt concerning the wisdom and justice of their own Government, which has sometimes led them to invest their funds in another country. There will be nothing to prevent citizens of Canada from believing that they would make a better use of their funds by depositing them in American banks, as they often have in the past. And so, when these conditions develop, the stabilization funds of the several countries will find it necessary to adopt one of two courses: (1) Either to refuse to satisfy the demands which are thus brought to bear upon them, or (2) to comply, with the incidental expense and possibility of loss thereby involved. The several stabilization funds, in short, will find themselves practically obliged to absorb losses resulting from changes of valuation in the several countries, shifts in public confidence, and other alterations which in times past have resulted in a shifting of exchange rates leading to expense that was covered and "carried" by the much criticized "speculator." These are prominent facts which cannot be smoothed away and which give rise to sources of expense and loss which must inevitably be provided for or "carried" by someone. That "someone" is now to be the governments of the various countries.

The difficulties and obstacles to the maintenance of any such "gentlemen's agreement" as is now proposed, especially when valid only on a "twenty-four hour basis", are well known, and, in the past, have been so great as to be insuperable. They are likely to continue insuperable, as long as there are differences of price levels, profitableness in business, and confidence in governmental institutions in the various countries. Perhaps the greatest field of success which may be found by the new undertaking will be that of suppressing the withdrawal of capital in the several countries and preventing it from taking effect in exportations of specie. As long as the international agreement can be enforced it may be operative in thus requiring citizens of one country to maintain their goods and specie within the territories of their own nation, thus fulfilling in an economic sense exactly the same services that an armed blockade would perform in preventing the smuggling of goods out of, or of other goods into, a territory which was under martial law.

✦ ✦ ✦

A careful review of the terms of the new devaluation plan shows that no change whatever has been made by any country except the United States in its previously existing system of trading in gold. The United States now allows the stabilization funds of foreign countries (which amounts to saying, their central banks) to buy gold in the United States and to export it. Great Britain continues to operate upon the same basis as heretofore. It remains to be seen whether France will at any early date fix the theoretical gold weight of the new franc or permit capital to leave France for the United States or elsewhere without hindrance. One of the principal alleged reasons for her devaluation was the desire to stop the leakage of gold to the United States, because of the continuous investment of French capital in this market.

We may well wonder, therefore, whether the new agreement has any definite significance other than the agreement on the part of the United States to permit a part of the great gold hoard at Washington to be shipped abroad. The praise which lavishly has been bestowed upon the new undertaking in various quarters, has been based upon the ability of the three great nations to "get together" in a binding undertaking which shall control the transfers of

capital and money from one to the other in future years. Analysis of the agreement shows that they have entered into no such pact, with the exception of the United States, which expressly asserts that she has done so upon a "twenty-four hour basis", and feels at liberty to rescind the action at any moment desired. It is easy to foreshadow conditions in which this country may find itself impelled to withdraw its participation. One set of motives may easily be furnished by Germany when the time comes for a reorganization of her currency system, or for that matter, by any other nation or group of nations which feels dissatisfied with existing industrial conditions. The far-sighted judges of international monetary operations accordingly will be inclined to view the "tri-partite agreement" not as the beginning of a stabilization period, but rather as the opening of a period of currency warfare which may bring about a condition less satisfactory than that by which it had been preceded. Not least important will be the question whether the people of the United States are inclined to grant to the Secretary of the Treasury the power to devalue the dollar still further in foreign trade, or to revalue it upward as he claims the right to do, independent of the President, in his stabilization statement of October 13.

Europe's Reichstag Fire

THERE are only very few people here in Vienna * * * who have observed how neatly the Austro-German Agreement preceded the outbreak of the military and Fascist revolt in Spain by one week. It is clear that the German generals were eager to make sure of Austria from a military point of view at almost any price, but this in itself would not account for Hitler's last-minute surrender to all Schuschnigg's demands. It is known, however, that Germany had a share in provoking the conflict in Spain, and it is only too evident that the Spanish Civil War is Hitler's Reichstag Fire for the benefit of Europe. It has worked out splendidly in Austria. Just after the five newspapers from the Reich began to cross the frontier, they arrived big with the iniquities of Russia's henchmen in Spain. A Germany which denounced the enemies of the Spanish Church was utterly reassuring to the powerful group of pro-German Catholics whose mouthpiece is the *Reichspost.* * * * The struggle between Clericals and anti-Clericals in Austria was successfully glossed over, for the pro-German anti-clerical professional and business people were of course delighted that on the Eleventh of July Austria had backed the anti-Communist—indeed the Right—horse in the nick of time.

—*New Statesman and Nation*, October 3, 1936.

THE SCORE IN SPAIN

Civil war rushes on to a climax, with everybody losing

By LUDWIG LORE

"ONE week before the present Cabinet was formed," Senor del Vayo, Foreign Minister of the Spanish Government told a British newspaperman early in October, "I visited the Madrid aerodromes. We had four planes for each insurgent plane. Today, according to figures supplied by the Air Ministry, the proportion is probably twenty insurgent planes for each Government machine. More insurgent planes have been brought down than Government machines and had they not received foreign aircraft in such quantity, the enemy air force would not exist now."

Premier Largo Caballero's right-hand man put the situation in a nutshell. It may be exaggerating to attribute such a growth in seven weeks to the rebel air force but all accounts agree that planes from Berlin and Rome have enabled Franco's forces to smash their way to the very gates of Madrid. The plane is the fundamental military factor in Spain's civil war—a potent weapon against a people's militia, poorly supplied with anti-aircraft guns and untrained in the technique of defense against aviation. When the loyalists had superior force in the air they were able to drive back the fascist troops in almost every theater of war. Without planes the rebels found it impossible to move powerfully against Government positions.

How do things stand in Spain? As I write (October 25), both sides are preparing for the crucial hour. The direct attack on Madrid seems to be merely a matter of days. General Mola's army in the Guadarrama mountains to the north is still deadlocked with the loyalist militia in that area, a position basically unchanged from that which existed after the first week of the war. To the west and south, the troops of General Franco have been closing in steadily and seem to have established themselves along a line running through Escorial, Brunete, Navalcarnero, and Illescas. Efforts are being made to push this front further eastward to cut the lifeline of the beleaguered capital—the railroad which runs to Valencia on the Mediterranean—at Aranjuez. The rebels seem to have a maximum strength on all Madrid fronts of about 50,000 men, some 25,000 of whom are regular soldiers, Foreign Legionnaires, and Moors.

Within the capital, it is reported that 200,000 citizens have been armed to form the main defense of the city. Breastworks and trenches are being dug in case the attack should smash through all outlying defenses and make its way into the city itself. A supreme effort is under way by the Labor-Republican regime to bring order and discipline into the ranks of the militia. With the advance columns of the enemy penetrating at some points to within 20 miles, recruits are being given their first drills in the front lines of defense.

It is universally recognized that Madrid will be hard to defend. Unlike Irun and Toledo, there are no natural defenses of any importance or strong fortifications to hinder the motorized columns of the insurgents. The main thrust is expected to come across the wide, open plains lying west of the capital. The rebel strategists have further succeeded in cleaning out most of the loyal guerrilla bands around their positions and have thus established a continuous front. This allows men and guns to



LOYALIST ENTHUSIASM: Madrid uniformed troops receive ovation from civilian soldiers as they march to the front.

be concentrated in any one sector for maximum effect.

In the national arena, the territory occupied by both sides remains remarkably similar to that held after the first week of the war when the northern army was already sixty miles from Madrid. Then the fascists held the entire western and northern parts of the country with the exception of central Estremadura, around Badajoz, near Portugal, and the Basque cities of Irun, San Sebastian, Gija, and Bilbao on the northern coast, dominating the Bay of Biscay. To a great extent the rebel gains have been strategic rather than territorial. Irun and San Sebastian have been taken, providing an insurgent water outlet to western Europe. Isolated Badajoz was crushed beneath great aerial bombs. Toledo and the adjoining territory was invaded to open another channel into Madrid as well as for the psychological values which lay in lifting the famous siege of the Alcazar. Through Estremadura the rebels hold power only by virtue of the small garrisons they left behind.

Loyalists Hold On

Loyalists still hold almost a third of the entire country. Their territory lies in the east and central sections, also including a sliver of land along the northern coast. These are the richest and the most highly industrialized areas, having a total population of some 13,000,000 out of a total national figure of 24,000,000.

Catalonian troops in the northeast have been on the offensive in the rebel-held provinces of Saragossa and Huesca ever since the first days of the revolt. The important naval base of Malaga on the Mediterranean successfully has resisted fierce attacks, while the great fleet station at Cartagena also remains under Madrid's control. This is true of the entire eastern coast, although the rebels, thanks, perhaps, to their Italian friends, hold the whiphand in the Balearic Islands with the single exception of well-fortified Minorca. On the north coast, Gijon, and Bilbao with its important munitions factories, have repulsed all onslaughts, while the Asturian miners continue their dynamite siege of Oviedo with unabated vigor.

Rebel Successes

Still there is no blinking the fact that the rebel military drive has been able in large measure to gain its ends. Should Madrid be captured, a terrible blow will be dealt to the Government forces. In civil wars greatest symbolic value is always attached to possession of the capital city, and with Germany, Italy, and Portugal waiting to recognize the rebel *junta* as the official government of Spain as soon as Madrid is taken, its defense takes on greatly added significance.

How does it happen that a movement definitely repudiated at the polls last September, could have waged war so effectively upon a legally established state? Fundamentally the success of the outbreak must be attributed to the policies of the Left Republican Government which sat helplessly over the firecracker though it heard the fuse sputtering beneath. If 65% of the Army followed 80% of the insurgent generals it was primarily because no move was made to remove disloyal militarists from their posts and no effort made to win the adherence of the soldier masses for the Government cause. Even after the rebels had taken over Spanish Morocco—which they still control completely—and simultaneous uprisings had occurred throughout Spain with varying degrees of success, the Madrid regime still tried to patch matters up and pulled its punches badly.

Nor was that all. Workers and peasants who supported the Cabinet were no soldiers. They knew nothing of military discipline or organization, and even less about tactical maneuvering. The ensuing confusion was aggravated by the traditional federalism of the Spanish people and by the fact that important centers were in rebel hands. The loyal Basques, for example, were isolated, except by water, from their comrades. The railroad between the two main Government centers of Madrid and Barcelona passed through rebel-controlled Saragossa.

The insurgents had three main military objectives. Catalonia was to be bottled up and its men and supplies cut off from the rest of Spain. The northern army of General Mola and the southern forces under Franco were to be united, making a completely unified campaign possible. The Strait of Gibraltar had to be kept open and under fascist control so that Moors and Foreign Legionnaires might be ferried over from Africa in large numbers. Upon the accomplishment of these three aims depended the fate of the insurrection.

Obviously the chief concern of the Government was exactly opposed. Loyalist troops marched on Saragossa from Barcelona. Columns were sent toward Seville, Cadiz, and Algeciras in the south where Franco had been landing his Moroccan troops, while the Navy—the bulk of which had remained faithful—patrolled the Strait of Gibraltar.

For a time the fascist plans seemed to have been spiked. After the first wave of rebellion, fascism found itself on the defensive all along the line. The advancing columns made inroads into rebel territory. The loyal air force bombed enemy positions almost at will. Burgos, Algeciras, the Guadarramas, and Seville felt the force of the loyalist air force in the first two weeks of war. The fleet, meanwhile, bombed ports in Spanish Morocco and along the Strait, while submarines lay in wait for rebel transports. Forty thousand regulars, Legionnaires, and Moors were in Africa and the rebel problem was to get them across. One of America's keenest foreign correspondents prophesied early in the war that the issue would be decided by the number of troops General Franco would be able to bring over from Africa. The Burgos *junta* realized this full well but was checkmated. Germany and Italy lifted the barrier.

Foreign Aid

Water transport was too risky, except under unusual conditions. And from Rome and Berlin came large, fast transport planes able to carry twenty soldiers at each trip. Thousands were thus carried over the narrow waters between Ceuta, Morocco, and Spanish coastal cities. Then der Fuehrer and il Duce supplied heavy bombers to sink the submarines and the warships on patrol. They occupied the attention of Government cruisers while troopships slipped through the net. They laid their dynamite-laden eggs on the *Jaime I*, main prop of the fleet, and forced it out of business for many weeks. They bombarded Malaga and destroyed the great oil stores which the war vessels needed for fuel. It was the same story when Franco, having gathered about 20,000 men in southern Spain, began to move north. Airplanes scattered and demolished militia groups. They buried Badajoz under a hail of bombs. This is not to deny that superior training, artillery, and motorization have played a vitally important part. Unquestionably, however, it is through the air that the fascists so far have conquered.

There has been tragic disorganization in the ranks of the Government defenders. Would Franco's troops have taken Toledo so quickly if the loyalists there had not been too busy with the Alcazar to supplement strong natural defenses with an organized trench system? The Government fleet is reported now in the north, again in the south, thus making consistent naval action at any one place impossible. It has been reported that 14,000 Moors landed in Spain within a four-day period early in October, after the ships had sailed to aid the defense of Bilbao. At a time when the Government was desperately in need of men and supplies for the Irun and San Sebastian campaign, it is alleged that a Catalonian captain, without even notifying the Central Militia Committee to which he was responsible, took several columns on troopships, fully equipped with planes and artillery, on an unsuccessful expedition into the Balearics which, while important, were a decidedly minor objective under the circumstances.

The rebels had a single aim to which they adhered rigidly—on to Madrid. The Government defenders, in spite of their de-

termination, have too often worked at cross purposes and frittered away energy and opportunity.

Dangers Confronting Rebels

Where to from here? Several Ministers have accompanied President Azana to Barcelona in order to set up a government from which the fight can be continued if Madrid falls. But the capital is not yet lost and it is certain that Premier Caballero is determined to defend the city until the last.

All is not rosy for the insurgent leaders. Their lines, especially through the south from Seville to Toledo, are spread out so long and so thinly that the small garrisons which they have left to control the bitterly hostile population may not suffice. Partisan peasant bands, similar to those which finally brought the generals of the Russian White armies to their knees, are reported forming through the southland. Peasant strikes have broken out. Through the greater part of Estremadura, Franco's men fought their way in a veritable storm of bullets from sniping loyalists. The mass slaughter of republican leaders in this territory in which great feudal landlords and absentee owners control the land, crushed opposition temporarily. There is every likelihood however, that Franco will soon find himself embarrassed by a serious peasant movement in his backyard. In the north, Saragossa is equally antagonistic to its military lords. The Basques, that conservative Catholic element of which the majority supports Madrid, have remained firm in their anti-fascist sentiments. Senor Trujo, their representative in the Popular Front Government, recently pledged support to the Government's struggle in the following words:

"The necessity for a new social and economic order in Spain, is for us Basques a religious postulate emanating from the principles of universal fraternity, social justice and human equality, incarnated by Catholicism, which religion we proudly proclaim."

The rebels, however, are not without a measure of popular support. In the northern regions of Old Castille, Galicia, Leon, part of Aragon and particularly in Navarre, the rebellion found ready response among the people. The 200,000 Carlist "Roquettes" of Navarre, militant religious fanatics, have furnished thousands of men to the fascist militia and probably will be able to send many more to the fighting line. As before indicated, the Madrid Government has lost all control of the Strait of Gibraltar, facilitating the entry of more Moorish thousands. Poor crops among the Moroccan peasants played into Franco's hands and thus far, in spite of many reports, Madrid has been unable to organize a native rebellion against the insurgents.

It was expected that Government control of important munitions manufacturing establishments would weigh heavily against the rebels. They now hold, however, a number of centers at which guns and powder can be turned out, notably at Oviedo, where the largest rifle factory in Spain manufactures 500 small arms a day, at Saragossa, where major war plants are located, and at Toledo. What they could not manufacture, apparently was furnished to them. Consistently it has been the loyal Army, Navy, and air force which has run out of supplies and has been forced either to use substitutes or to give up the fight altogether.

Franco is already busy on his plans for the invasion of Catalonia, to be undertaken immediately after the fall of Madrid. Will the Catalonians stand against the foe with greater success than the defenders of Irun and Madrid? Certainly they will be better prepared and organized. A new Cabinet established late in September immediately drafted all men between the ages of 18 and 40. Intensive training is on. Barcelona's industries have been building scores of powerful tanks. Further, Barcelona has become the headquarters of hundreds of foreign military specialists who are busily teaching the 250,000 men in the militia the art of scientific warfare. So far the troops from this province have pushed back the rebels at Huesca and Saragossa steadily. Certainly, until Barcelona falls, Franco and Mola may not consider their victory won.

HOW MANY SLAIN?

A summary of reported anti-clerical atrocities in Spain

By MICHAEL WILLIAMS

EDITORIAL NOTE—Anti-clerical atrocities have played an important part in the news from Spain ever since the present civil war began. While more than matched by the slaying of other non-combatants and civilians, they reveal an aspect of the struggle which is gravely significant. Outside of proceeding with the confiscation of revenue-producing church property, the Spanish Government has adopted no program and made no pronouncement by which it can be held responsible for the widespread slaughter of priests, nuns, seminarians, and other religious devotees. Whether the Spanish Government has done what it could to prevent such crimes, or punish their perpetrators is, of course, another and more debatable question. Rebel authorities have taken no distinctly pro-Church stand. On the contrary, they have declared that the Church must be subordinate to state authority.

Since most of the anti-clerical atrocities have apparently been committed by mobs, or irresponsible persons, it follows that no official record is available. We are forced to depend on news-gathering agencies, travelers, refugees, and institutions or organizations directly concerned for reliable information. Such information, however, is a part of current history, and those trying to follow the major trends of thought, or emotionalism, are entitled to it. For this reason, we requested Michael Williams, editor of the *Commonweal*, a distinguished Catholic publication, to summarize such reports as Catholic authorities consider authentic.

THE impossibility of assembling at the present time a finally authentic compilation of the slaying of bishops, priests, nuns, and seminarians—men and women studying for the priesthood or for entrance into some religious order—in Spain will be recognized by those who are even lightly informed about conditions prevailing in that unhappy country. Estimates vary widely, with a lack of official figures, but for the purposes of this article, we shall accept the comparatively conservative totals of the Associated Press, as given in an October dispatch.

This dispatch stated that a Vatican City unofficial but authoritative recapitulation showed that more than 500 priests and nuns had been killed during the Spanish civil war. About 400 were priests; the remainder, nuns. At least 500 were missing. The Bishops of the dioceses of Barbastro, Siguenza, Segovia, Jaca, and Lerida were killed. During the same period, the report stated that about 29 churches and chapels had been completely destroyed, while between 300 and 400 had been either sacked or converted into barracks and hospitals. The latter figures do not take into account the wholesale destruction which was taking place for months before the rebellion actually began.

It should be noted that the information contained in this article deals only with those ecclesiastics who were innocent of any participation in the current strife. It has been alleged that a certain number of the clergy have been killed while engaged in warfare, but no verification of this charge has yet been produced.

It should also be noted that the original source of the reports used here, where not otherwise explicitly stated, is the News Service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, which maintains a world-wide correspondent service, and headquarters of which are in Washington. Again, a number of foreign papers have been quoted through material supplied by this news service. Mass

executions of hostages—among whom must have been many ecclesiastics,—as reported by the secular, as well as the religious, press, have been largely excluded because of their lack of detailed information.

That the Church was being actively persecuted was evident prior to the assassination of Calvo Sotelo, whose death provided the rebellion's spark. The Catholic deputies from Valencia, for instance, presented a document to the Cortes declaring that in this one province alone during the three months preceding, 40 churches and 14 rectories had been destroyed. In addition, 28 churches had been closed arbitrarily by local officials and 41 towns, with more than 100,000 souls, were without any spiritual guidance.

Reliable sources in early August reported that only two churches had been left unburned in Barcelona, known to be one of the most anti-clerical cities. Churches, convents, monasteries, religious schools, and private chapels went up in flames, and the Cathedral and the Church of the Capuchins near the Paseo de Gracia were spared only for Government purposes.

Very explicit dispatches on the murder of ecclesiastics can be cited. On August 8, the Paris *Figaro* published from its correspondent at the Franco-Spanish frontier a brief report of the finding of the body of the Most Rev. Eustachio Nieto y Martin, Bishop of Siguenza. Corroboration was had from refugees arriving at Port-Vendres, France, two weeks later. These further testified to the execution of the Most Rev. Manuel Basulto y Jiminez, Bishop of Jaen, his aged mother and sister, together with several hundred prisoners at Villaverde. The correspondent of *Echo de Paris* also described the killing of Bishop Martin and the scene which preceded, at which time daughters of aristocrats and insurgents were butchered on the altar of the Church of Santa Maria at Baeza in Andalusia.

According to the Paris weekly, *Gringoire*, on August 25 the number of priests executed at Barcelona was estimated at 400, the majority of whom were decapitated. In the Province of Avila a rural pastor, the Rev. Basilo Sanchez, was seized and burned alive. At Villafranca del Panades, all priests were executed, and although the pastor at Figueras was first spared, he was executed several days later (on August 20). The *Echo de Paris* correspondent also described the crucifixion of priests at Badajoz, while the same dispatches contained information of the killing of the Most Rev. Salvio Huix Miralpeix, Bishop of Lerida. Mr. Harry Harris of Barcelona, an American industrialist, informed a reporter for the Paris *Herald Tribune* that he had witnessed the execution of 150 seminarians.

Information was issued from the Motherhouse of the Salesian Order in Turin, whose mission is the education of youth, to verify the killing of six Salesians. The known dead on August 24 were Don Antonio Torrero, director of the school at Ronda in Andalusia; the venerable priest, Don Enrique Canut; Don Jose Limo, director of the school at Moron, Andalusia; the Rev. Don Antonio Fernandez and the coadjutor, Jose Blanco; and Don Sergio Cid of the Casa de Sarria of Barcelona. Wholesale arrests of Salesians, whose executions are now being reliably reported, followed and very few of their 53 institutions for boys and 21 for girls escaped sacking. Schools at Alcoy, Alicante, Gerona, Mataro, Villena, and Valencia (there the Rev. Don Jose Calasanz and 36 Salesians were arrested, their fate remaining unknown) were confiscated and the chapels burned.

An eye-witness to the burning of the Cathedral and ten other famous churches in Valencia, Rev. Baldomero Marcilla, head of the Spanish department at Seton Hill College in South Orange, N. J., also described the shooting of any who were known to be, or suspected of being, Catholics in that city.

"More than 200 civilians were killed during my ten days there," he said. "In the diocese 30 priests were shot down in cold blood. Most of the others were herded in the city jail, while a few are hiding in disguise, as I myself did while living there."

This statement was made on August 24, after Father Marcilla had escaped and re-

turned to America. He continued: "No effort was made by the police or any of the authorities to restrain the crazed mob or to protect the property. Civil guards were standing about in the crowd that watched the edifices go up in flame."

In Vatican City, Friar Adolso Munne, a Religious of St. John of God, whose Argentine citizenship saved him, told how he saw 18 of his brother religious slaughtered before his eyes. The religious conducted an asylum for poor children at Calaselles near Barcelona. The known dead are: Father Prior Julian Sarrasquer, the Definitor Provincial and Master of Novices, Father Braulio; Brothers Benedict, Eusebius, and Vincent de Paul; Novices Manuel Gimenez, Anthony Sanchez, Anthony Llaurado, Emanuel Lopez, Thomas Urdanoz, Ignatius, Toribius, Henry, Dominic, Marian, Eusebius, Nicholas, "and another whose name I do not remember." The group was suddenly butchered on the Calaselles-Barcelona road July 30 by captors who had promised them safe convoy to a port. This story was further corroborated in a dispatch to the Paris *La Croix* on August 10 after an interview with refugees who had reached Marseilles. Capuchins from Catalonia, who had reached Narbonne, reported that, although the majority of their members had escaped, many had been killed. The *Osservatore Romano*, the Catholic paper of Rome, also reported that the Capuchin order had suffered badly. The Madrid convent was taken over by mobs, six priests were shot, and the fate of 11 others remained unknown. The scholasticate of the same order in Madrid was pillaged; and although the monks escaped, they have not been heard from since. The same situation occurred at the scholasticate in Bilbao, and the convent in Sarria-Barcelona was completely burned. The Igualada scholasticate, the Manresa novitiate, the Olot house of studies, the convents of Pompei, Barcelona, Tarragona, and Arenya de Mar were converted to communistic uses. About 20 of the religious attached to these places have been killed, 14 have escaped, some are in prison, but of the majority there has been no news. Among those killed was Rev. Joseph Oriol.

In an interview with the *London Universe* correspondent, F. G. Stirrup, an Englishman who has lived for more than twenty years in Spain, told of his escape after he and three companions had been imprisoned by mobs in Burgos. He described the scene in a public square at Badajoz where he saw two mutilated priests crucified, while nearby another was cut to death with knives. At first, he said, the mobs imprisoned priests and nuns, and sometimes shot them.

"Now [he was testifying on August 25] they take none of them as prisoners; they shoot them at sight or hack them to pieces."

Mr. Richard T. J. Hegarty of the Barcelona British Consulate, arriving in England from Barcelona, described a scene when some monks were captured as they emerged from a building in that city: "As they walked out, Red militiamen with huge road hammers smashed their heads, and when they fell, they were trampled upon and beaten to death with hammers." Mr. Hegarty said one woman of the mob shot six nuns, killing five of them.

An August 10, dispatches reported that more than a hundred Augustinian priests had been captured at the Monastery of El Escorial and their final fate remained unknown. A later dispatch received at Vatican City on September 8 reported that these friars—114 in number—were shot without trial, notwithstanding a promise of safety given them by President Manuel Azana, once their pupil.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools in Rome received word on August 28 that 22 of their brethren in Spain had been slain, its colleges at Barcelona and Figueras confiscated, and its thousand pupils dispersed, while other religious' fates were unknown.

Writing from Paris, M. Massiani, special N.C.W.C. correspondent, repeated the testimony of witnesses that a dozen or more bodies were found daily on the road to Rabassada going out of Barcelona. At dawn on the morning of July 27 a car containing three men and six women was seen going in that direction. Later the bodies of four Dominican nuns were found by the road-

side. The fifth was too seriously wounded to be moved. The sixth, conscious, was taken to a hospital where she said that she and her companions had been promised escort to safety.

The Rev. Florindo Rubini, Prefect General of the Camillians, who was at Barcelona on a visitation to his congregation in Spain when the uprising began, was saved only by the intervention of the Italian consul. He told of the massacre of 13 Carmelite priests, 5 other priests, and 6 laymen at the Carmelite monastery there. He gave absolution privately to 400 dead, most of them ecclesiastics. An American Carmelite reported to M. Massiani that at San Felipe where he was stationed 20 priests were executed and their bodies burned in the square, but he did not know whether or not these were Carmelites. A woman from Majorca reported that she witnessed from her ship, the *Ciudad de Barcelona*, the shooting of nine priests who were about to board another vessel in that port.

On September 8 in Rome, a refugee from Barcelona, Rev. Barot Deufoleu, died from a blow he had received in escaping from a loyalist mob. He had been hiding with an indeterminate number of coreligionists in a parish house garden when they were discovered and he was left for dead between two corpses. This dispatch from Vatican City also narrates that seven Augustinian Recollect monks were slain when the Monastery of Motril was burned; five Trinitarian religious are known to have been martyred in Madrid, and another at the Alcazar of San Juan.

On September 6 Paris reported receipt of a telegram from Corunna affirming the shooting of the Most Rev. Croce Laplana y Laguna, Bishop of Cuenca, and many seminarians.

The Community of the Discalced Carmelite Fathers in Milwaukee received advice on September 12 of the assassination by loyalists of Father Luke, former Definitor General of the Order and, at the time of his death, Superior of the Carmelite monastery in Barcelona. This word came from a Dominican, Rev. Domingo Van Hont, O. P., a Hollander who escaped. He disclosed also that in Tiguelmo, mobs besieged a convent. When the nuns tried to escape over a wall, a number of them were captured by uniformed women guards, heavily armed. Stripped of their clothing the nuns were later killed by the women with awls and long needles. Father Van Hont knew two of the nuns; the next day he saw their bodies.

Mgr. Enrico Pucci in a dispatch from Vatican City on September 12 stated that the Congregation of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart had received word that two of its religious had been shot at Barcelona and a group of religious at a college in Canet de Mar had been arrested; their ultimate fate remained unknown. On August 22, the Toledo correspondent of the Havas News Agency, stated that 64 priests and religious of Toledo Cathedral were shot together at 8 p.m. Only one priest escaped death.

La Croix du Midi of Toulouse printed a refugee's story of witnessing the execution of a priest at Los Abellenes. A dispatch from Vatican City stated that among five Dominicans who were executed at the Convent of San Gervasio, Barcelona, on August 31, two were professors from the Angelical College of Rome. Of the 800 other Dominicans established in Spain, no authentic reports could then be obtained.

In Washington the Rev. Eugene Sugranes, C.M.F., Superior of the Claretian College, received word of the massacre of 45 Claretian missionaries in the order's college at Barbastro. The victims included priests, clerical students, and lay brothers. Seized, chained, and thrown into prison, they were kept waiting their day of execution. On August 2, five, including the Superior, Rev. Philip Munarriz, and the Prefect of Studies, Rev. John Diaz, were executed. On August 15, 20 more met a similar fate, and finally, on August 16, the last 20 faced the firing squad.

Also to the death list must be added the names of Rev. Frederick Codina, Superior of the community at Lerida; Rev. Gumersindo Valtierra, Superior at Barcelona; and

Frater Adolph de Esteban of Barcelona. At the same time, word came of the destruction of all convents and colleges of the order in Catalonia. Rev. James Payas was murdered in Sallent, where he taught at the Claretian College, and well-grounded fears exist for the safety of all other members of the order in Spain.

Some of these fears have been confirmed. *Osservatore Romano* in late September published a report of the scattering of a Claretian community of 100 members at Cervera. Fourteen of them, led by Rev. Emmanuel Jove, reached Vallbona, but were seized by a Red mob and immediately shot. Thirty others, professors of theology, were captured and imprisoned; later 14 were provided with passports signed by leaders of the seven different political parties in power there and allowed to entrain, but at Fernan-Caballero, their guards led them outside the station and shot them. Reports from the others have not been received since. Among the victims were Father Hyacinth Blanc, Father Lorenzo, editor of *Iris de Paz;* the Madrid Superior, Father Marin; Father Rosenda Ramonet, age 70, arrested while taking the Viaticum to nuns hidden in a cellar; and Father Puigdessela, Tarragona University professor, at Vich.

Two French Marists, forced to flee from Spain, told on their arrival at Lyons, France, of the shooting on August 5 of the Rev. Anastasia Garcia, S.M., who had abandoned his shelter with a Catholic family in order to avoid incriminating and bringing down on it the drastic reprisals—frequently death—allegedly meted out by Reds to all who shelter priests. From Paris on October 5 came the report of the execution at Madrid of Father Poveda, founder of the Teresian Institute, who had been engaged in the field of feminine education for twenty-five years.

The colleges and houses of the Society of Jesus were suppressed and their members dispersed before the present outbreak. Many of the older priests and brothers, however, remained in Spain and it has been difficult to obtain accurate and comprehensive information in regard to those in loyalist territory.

Within the past month, however, very few new reports of specific atrocities have come from Spain. One might argue from this that loyalist mobs are becoming more restrained, but the shutting off of news from their sectors actually has a more ominous significance. In view of the ghastly barbarities already known to have been practiced, it is hard to believe that any religious in loyalist Spain, who had not escaped within the first several weeks of the uprising, or who has not been securely hidden, has been left alive.

REFORMING THE LEAGUE

A review of proposals to rejuvenate the old young man of Geneva

By CURT L. HEYMANN

THE year 1936 has been the most crucial in the history of the League of Nations. At the seventeenth regular annual session of the Assembly a complete breakdown seemed nearer than ever. Nevertheless, European members, facing the alternative of a better League or no League, seem at least to realize that they cannot drop out without adding to the dangers they already face. The trend is therefore toward a better League, and the issue is: Can the structure of the League of Nations be reformed?

The Assembly's Commission for League of Nations Reform answered the question optimistically when it decided, on October 9, to establish a commission of 28 members to study ways and means of reforming the covenant and to submit a report as soon as possible. The decision indicates that the committee is in for an earnest debate on every point, including such questions as harmonizing the Covenant with the Kellogg-Briand, Saavedra Lamas, and other pacts, as well as the question of arms embargoes under the covenant against both belligerents. The committee includes the fifteen members of the Council and Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Iran, Mexico, The Netherlands, Portugal, Switzerland, and Uruguay.

Two Schemes—Two Camps

Generally speaking, the question of League reform is the outcome of two conflicting tendencies, nationalism and internationalism. The Anglo-French bloc is opposed by Nazi-Fascist policies, and the manifold proposals for revision of the Covenant are flirting with either group or trying to find a middle course.

Consequently, League members are divided into two groups, those favoring a stronger, smaller, and tighter organization, and those who would have the League reformed into a more universal body. The former group holds that a small League can deal firmly with the problem of security in a limited and restricted area, while the latter sees the activities of a universal League confined to humanitarian work and the provision of a consultative center for statesmen. All actual prevention of aggression would be abandoned by this second group in favor of regional pacts framed under League auspices but without League responsibility. The first of these solutions appeals to the French for obvious reasons, and it can well be assumed that Russia would stand with France; the second is favored by a larger group, including the South American and Asiatic contingents. It would entail dropping Article XVI of the Covenant or its modification out of all resemblance to its present provisions for sanctions against an aggressor state. In China, in South America, as in the case of Ethiopia, Article XVI has been clearly proven ineffectual for protection, and there seems to be full recognition of this fact in League circles.

What of the Covenant?

Shall the Covenant of the League be changed by amendment or by new interpretation? No change in the Covenant! is the drastic demand of Salvador de Madariaga who, as chairman of the League's Committee of Thirteen, sought to prevent the war in Ethiopia. Since the essence of the Covenant is world cooperation by all na-



Times Wide World

SUNSET: A League debate on the Italo-Ethiopian dispute. After that, the League slipped rapidly. Still, "there is faint hope . . ."

tions, the trend is toward trying to change the League through interpreting anew certain articles of the Covenant and implementing others, rather than through amendments which legal experts feel are too difficult to achieve. The articles involved are X, XI, XVI, XIX, and XXI. In accordance with such a suggestion, the question appeared on the agenda of the September Council meeting, not as one of reform or revision of the Covenant, but as one of improving the "application of the principles of the Covenant"—a phrase taken from the Assembly's resolution of July 4.

Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, Anthony Eden, and Sir Samuel Hoare have proclaimed for the last few years that British foreign policy is founded solely on the League of Nations. Last May, Mr. Eden told the House of Commons that the League of Nations "must go on" despite its failure in Africa, and a few weeks later Mr. Baldwin told Conservative women Britain wanted to reform the League so that it should embrace all the world, including the United States, Germany, and Japan. At that time he still championed the sanctions principle. Just because Article XVI had failed to restrain Italy, he said, it does not follow that the Covenant must be scrapped. Mr. Eden, pressed to give his Government's views on League reform, promised that Britain would avoid the two extremes of eliminating the Covenant's coercive power or applying that power automatically and universally. He pledged that Britain would maintain what he deemed the League's four main elements—"machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes, machinery for the adjustment of grievances (i.e., for treaty revision), the creation of a deterrent to war, and the establishment for the reduction and limitation of armaments."

Mr. Eden's Ideas

No definite program for handling the problem had been prepared when Parliament adjourned in August, but Mr. Eden had sent a tentative outline of his ideas to Geneva as all member nations had been asked to do by September 1. There were plain intimations that the British would consider favorably the proposal to reinterpret Article XI in such way as to free it from its nullifying requirement of unanimity. This is the article which declares that war or the threat of war is the concern of the whole League and that the Council shall take action to safeguard peace. Mr. Eden practically admitted that it was impossible to do anything with Article XIX, which theoretically provides for revision of war-time treaties and the boundaries fixed thereby, but which in reality is a dead letter because none of the beneficiaries of those treaties will consent to revision. As to the vital Articles X and XVI, which Mr. Eden calls the "security articles", he has declined to commit the Government or himself. Mr. Neville Chamberlain was more suggestive with regard to Article XVI. In place of the all-'round sanctions scheme he would have regional arrangements approved by the League. In general, there was reason to believe that the British Government did not propose any drastic amendment of the Covenant and that its course for reform would be a middle ground between the extremists of the two schools of thought.

The more surprised was Geneva when, on September 25, Britain's Foreign Secretary proposed drastic reform plans, calculated to please Nazi Germany and regain her adherence to the League. These proposals, advocated by Mr. Eden to check what he called "drift of humanity to war", were criticized for their vagueness and ambiguity and branded by the press as Mr. Eden's "half-baked ideas." They were:

1. Giving effect to Article XIX (the Covenant's revision clause) by allowing the League's Assembly to "embark on matters arising under that article" in order to eliminate, in Eden's words, "the principal failing of the League: namely, that it has come to be regarded, rightly or wrongly, as an attempt to stereotype a state of things that could hardly be expected to endure for all time."

2. Separation of the Covenant from the Versailles peace treaty so that the League

instrument "would take the form of a self-contained convention."

3. Regional pacts to be submitted to the Council or the Assembly to see whether they are consistent with the Covenant, such approval to be "dependent on compliance with certain conditions to be defined."

Nations Propose . . .

As to the bulk of reform proposals there are almost as many as there are League members, and the committee appointed for this purpose will have a hard time studying and debating them when it meets at Geneva on December 7. Although every nation appears to agree on the necessity of reforming the League, it is apparent that no definite understanding is near on how this reform shall be brought about. The proposals so far made may be roughly divided according to the countries where they seem strongest. For Britain the League's main weakness is the lack of members, and she would strengthen it by making the membership universal. British statesmen are constantly repeating that the League cannot be 100 percent effective without 100 percent membership. But this is by no means certain. With Chancellor Adolf Hitler for instance in the Council, who could be certain that Germany would not vote against sanctions?

For France the League's weakness lies in its machinery. She would increase the obligations of members to act swiftly, even at the cost of practically decreasing their number, beginning with Germany. The French plan would reduce the League's field of activity practically to Europe, but would give it more power. Obviously, if the states of Europe could be united as the United States of America, they would be far more effective than a universal league. But France does not propose to unite them on the American basis. Her aim is to preserve nations as units and—last but not least—preserve the hegemony of France. Yet, Paris moves carefully and tries to avoid radical methods. M. Delbos has delayed elaboration of the ideas which he expressed before the July Assembly until other nations come forward with their own proposals, a tactic obviously aimed at the British.

Under the Soviet plan (the most detailed reform plan has been submitted by Moscow) the Council of the League, by a three-fourths majority of the members present, the disputants excluded, could make a decision on aggression within six days after outbreak of a war. Military measures would be taken against the aggressor by parties to mutual assistance agreements operative in the particular case and by other states which conform to the Council's decision; economic and financial sanctions would be enacted immediately. Denmark proposed that the Assembly should open negotiations with all non-League members "with a view to bringing them into it." She also seeks the adoption of measures that may make it easier for non-members to join. Sweden and Lithuania also stress the need for efforts toward League universality. President Giuseppe Motta of Switzerland says in his note on reform that universal membership is more important than coercive principles. He wants to retain Article XVI in its present form and is in favor of speeding war prevention under Articles XI, XII, and XV. Greece's suggestion was submitted by Nicolas Politis, recognized as one of the greatest European juridical authorities.

Latvia and Norway accept the French proposal to speed League action by dropping the unanimity rule in Article XI. Norway, however, refuses to increase her own obligations to enforce the Covenant and leans toward dropping Article XVI, while Latvia would strengthen this article. New Zealand proposes that all League members and "as many non-members of the League as may be persuaded to adopt this course, hold immediately national plebiscites" to determine first whether their people will "join automatically and immediately" in Article XVI's sanctions against an aggressor whom the Council finds guilty, and, secondly, if yes, whether all or part of their armed forces should be "immediately and automatically placed at the disposal of the League to enforce the covenant against this aggressor." New Zealand

opposes regional pacts as undesirable, unless backed by national plebiscites, and would make the economic boycott of an aggressor complete and automatic.

Of the South American republics, Argentina proposed that the League be made universal by weakening its membership obligations. Her views run counter to Russia's in every essential, except that both agree that the method of change should not be amendment of the Covenant but interpretative Assembly resolutions. Argentina would maintain the equality of all states in the League and "democratize" the Council. Chile advocates regional leagues. Colombia proposes decentralization of the League through the establishment of regional or continental agreements, such as the proposed European Union and some "association of American nations." Uruguay favors the maintenance of the unanimity rule which France would drop, insofar as the parties to the dispute are themselves concerned, and is also hostile toward resurrection of the Geneva protocol which France favors. Uruguay leans toward regional arrangements, apparently on continental lines, whereby powers in a neighboring dispute would decide for the others how far the Covenant should be applied. The trend of her note is to confine Geneva to preventive and conciliatory action.

Individuals Suggest . . .

"Regional leagues established on the basis of equality" is also a proposal of Renzo Sawada, Japanese Consul General in New York, which he presented to the Association of Foreign Press Correspondents in New York. Herbert Morrison, the rising British Labor Party leader, went so far as to advocate before the Geneva Institute the forming of an inner ring of European democratic and socialist states with a consulting parliament. All the radical changes in the League which he proposed would be accomplished through regional agreements without amending the Covenant. The British delegation to the World Youth Congress proposed last September that all League of Nations members "place their forces at the League's disposal" to maintain peace. The League of Nations Association of the United States published in May a formal statement, in which it was declared that a universal league could operate effectively on the basis of the Kellogg pact, arranging for peaceful modification of the status quo and separating the Covenant of the League from the Treaty of Versailles. Members of the European committee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace agreed last summer that there should be no changes in the Covenant. They held that the difficulty was not the League or its constitution but the ineffective use of the League by the chief powers concerned.

What then, in the end, has prevented the League of Nations from achieving more completely its noble aim? Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler answered the question simply, directly, and clearly: human incompetence! It will be hard to correct the errors of Geneva while history takes a fateful course. The optimism of the Stresemann-Briand-Chamberlain period belongs to the past, and it is doubtful whether that spirit will ever revive. But there is a faint hope that, for the sake of humanity, the unshaken belief of a minority may carry on an ideal.

Nazis and American Arms

READERS of Robert Dell's *Germany Unmasked* may remember the documented account he gave of Nazi propaganda in South America. A very interesting proof that this continues unabated came to me the other day direct from a very high authority in Washington. Why, a friend of mine asked, is Roosevelt building such a colossal navy? Is an early war contemplated with Japan? The reply was surprising. No, war was not expected with Japan and the chief reason was the necessity of looking after the defenses of the whole American Continent. Isolation from Europe carries with it the implication of a strict interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, and I gather that the United States authorities are considerably disturbed by the long-distance effects of German propaganda in Brazil, still a largely unexplored and uncolonized country which is bigger in area than the United States. I gather that Hitler has in effect been given to understand that France and Great Britain will never agree to a German colony in Africa (unless it was a Portuguese colony perhaps?) while they would not be concerned with Hitler's colonizing ambitions in South America. Meanwhile the United States has washed its hands of Africa, but would defend South America at all costs against any German expansion there!

—"Critic" in *New Statesman and Nation*,
London, September 19, 1936.

PEACE and the Americas

THE AIMS AND PROBLEMS OF THE PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE

By Ronald Stuart Kain

IT IS now nearly half a century since the first Pan American Conference at Washington approved the arbitration of disputes between nations as a principle of American international law. The intervening decades have witnessed a slow but steady and organic growth of the movement for the restriction of war among the peoples of this hemisphere. Another milestone in this New World march toward peace undoubtedly will be erected at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, proposed by President Roosevelt on January 30, this year, and called by the Argentine Government to meet in Buenos Aires on December 1.

The program, as approved by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union on July 22, shows a realistic appraisal of the complexity of the peace problem. Preferential consideration is to be given proposals for the strengthening of peace machinery, but in addition the conference will attempt to remove some of the fundamental causes of war. All six general subjects proposed for consideration at Buenos Aires contribute to this double objective. They may be summarized as follows:

1. Organization of peace, including the improvement and coordination of existing anti-war pacts; adoption of additional peace machinery and especially of an Inter-American Court of Justice; closer association of the American republics and measures of cooperation between them and other international agencies, such as the League of Nations, World Court, and International Labor Organization.
2. Neutrality, including rules governing the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents.
3. Limitation of armaments.
4. Juridical problems, including proposals for the elimination of force and of diplomatic intervention in cases of pecuniary and other private actions.
5. Economic problems, including tariff truces and customs agreements, sanitary regulations affecting the interchange of animal and vegetable products, equality of trade opportunity, financial cooperation, the international aspects of immigration, communications, etc.
6. Intellectual cooperation, including measures to promote closer cultural relations and to develop a spirit of moral disarmament.

Dividing Forces

The key to an understanding of this program must be sought first of all in the desperate three-year struggle between Bolivia and Paraguay over the Chaco Boreal, which ended indecisively on June 14, 1935. The graves of nearly 100,000 soldiers in the Chaco and the economic prostration of both countries bear tragic witness to the failure of both Pan-American and League-of-Nations peace machinery to prevent the conflict.

There have been other recent and alarming evidences of the fragility of the peace structure in this hemisphere. A war between Colombia and Peru over the Leticia corridor on the upper Amazon was averted in 1933 only because an assassin's bullet cut short the career of President Luis M.

Sánchez Cerro, bellicose dictator of Peru. The boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru led to repeated border clashes and hostile demonstrations before it was submitted to President Roosevelt for arbitration early in July 1936. The Beagle Channel dispute between Argentina and Chile and the boundary controversy between Panama and Costa Rica cause periodical friction. So also do the recurrent tariff controversies and the competitive armament programs of the most powerful South American states. Then, too, there is growing uneasiness in Pan American circles over the tendency of Bolivia, Chile, and Peru, on the one hand, and of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, on the other, to coalesce into opposing economic and political blocs.

The progressive collapse since 1931 of the peace edifices erected in Europe and the Far East immediately after the World War and the ominous drift of Europe toward a new cataclysm are other factors which have contributed profoundly to the scope and content of the conference program.

Prompted by the deepening war clouds in Europe and by the experiences of neutrals in recent conflicts, the State Department at Washington is drafting a Pan American neutrality convention for consideration at Buenos Aires. Press reports indicate that in its tentative form the pact would bind signatories to settle their disputes by peaceful methods. If these methods failed, they could not commence hostilities without a previous formal declaration of war or an ultimatum with a conditional declaration. In case hostilities began in violation of this pledge, neutrals might legally declare that a state of war existed, prohibit loans and credits to the belligerents, and embargo shipments of arms, munitions, and war supplies. They might also restrict other commercial transactions, if this were considered desirable in the interests of peace, unless such measures contravened existing trade agreements. The treaty would not apply in case of war between an American and a non-American power or in cases where it conflicted with commitments of American states under the League Covenant.

These proposals are designed to end the anomalous position in which neutrals recently have been placed by belligerents waging undeclared war. Apparently, they would permit a greater degree of cooperation between non-League American states and the League of Nations in curbing an aggressor than proved possible during the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.

A New Monroe Doctrine

There are indications that the proposed common neutrality policy may be reinforced by an agreement for continental solidarity against aggression from overseas upon any one of the American republics. Transformation of the Monroe Doctrine from the unilateral fiat of the United States into a multilateral expression of continental policy would have a number of advantages from the viewpoint of this country as well as from that of the other republics. It would terminate a situation which long has wounded the pride of our southern neighbors and hindered the development of closer economic ties with them. At the same time it would serve our national interest by strengthening the barriers which prevent the great armed powers from gaining a further foothold in this hemisphere.

What changes in existing inter-American treaties for the maintenance of peace are contemplated at Buenos Aires? For an answer to this question, we must turn once more to the discouraging experience of the neutral American governments in their efforts to prevent and then to end the Chaco War.

A week after the Bolivian-Paraguayan peace treaty was signed on Jan. 21, 1936, President Roosevelt launched his proposal for "an extraordinary inter-American conference . . . to determine how the maintenance of peace among the American republics may best be safeguarded. . . ."

"If the tragedy of the Chaco can be considered as having served any useful end," his note to the chief executives of the other republics declared, "I believe such end will lie in our joint willingness to profit

from the experience learned and to exert our common endeavors in guarding against the repetition of such American disasters."

Chaco Peace

The President's appeal was enthusiastically applauded by all governments concerned, although the question of further improvements in peace machinery had already been referred to the Eighth Pan American Conference, scheduled to meet in Lima, Peru, in 1937 or 1938. There were various reasons for this response. The signing of the Chaco peace treaty and the widely beneficial results of Mr. Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy, on the one hand, and menacing developments in Europe and along the Ecuadorean-Peruvian frontier, on the other, made the time propitious for such a conference. Moreover, foresighted Latin American statesmen wished to incorporate Secretary Hull's non-intervention pledge of Dec. 19, 1933, in a formal convention while the "good neighbor" spirit still reigned at Washington. But even had these circumstances been lacking, the call for an inter-American conference would have been justified by the precarious nature of the peace which reigns temporarily in the Chaco Boreal. So far, the Chaco peace conference at Buenos Aires has failed in its effort to settle the fundamental territorial or boundary dispute. Nor has it been able to secure an agreement as to terms under which the dispute can be submitted to arbitration.

Failure to settle the basic question by direct agreement or arbitration must lead inevitably to a renewal of the armed struggle. For Bolivia cannot accept the existing *status quo*—with Paraguay in possession of practically the entire region in dispute—any longer than is necessary to recover from the ravages of the recent war.

Thus the impasse which has developed in the Chaco negotiations at Buenos Aires has an ominous significance that places the mediating governments in an extremely delicate position. The Foreign Ministers of Argentina and Brazil have pledged their word of honor to Bolivia that the Chaco conference will not adjourn until a direct settlement has been reached or a definitive arbitration agreement concluded. Moreover, the joint declaration made by all neutral American nations on Aug. 3, 1932, pledged them not to recognize any territorial arrangement effected in the Chaco by force of arms.

To cut this Gordian knot, and at the same time to eliminate the sinister influence of the Chaco controversy upon inter-American relations, is thus one of the supreme tasks of Pan American statesmanship. At best the dispute is a running sore on the Pan American organism. At worst, it may embroil the powerful neighbors of the two disputants—a catastrophe which seemed possible more than once during the course of the Chaco War.

The mandate given the Inter-American Conference to consolidate the peace of the New World will enable it to bring pressure upon Bolivia and Paraguay from a new point of leverage and thus to reinforce the efforts of the Chaco mediators. There are several ways in which this influence may be exerted. First, the Inter-American Peace Conference by force of its example, or by a direct moral appeal, may induce the disputants to accept arbitration or an immediate peaceful settlement of their controversy. A similar appeal by the Montevideo Conference brought about a temporary cessation of fighting in the Chaco at the moment when final victory seemed within Paraguay's grasp.

Second, improvements in existing peace machinery can be made which, without seeming to have direct relation to the Chaco dispute, will promote a settlement of that controversy. Experience has proved that in direct negotiations neither the Bolivian nor Paraguayan government can make the concessions necessary for a definitive solution without alienating home support and endangering its stability.

Third, the conference can adopt measures for more effective neutral opposition to a renewal of warfare in the Chaco or to a similar outbreak between other American republics.

Argentine Proposals

The proposals submitted by Argentina for consideration by the conference go to the heart of the war problem, as posed by the Chaco conflict, and forecast in a general way the measures which are likely to receive the most careful thought at Buenos Aires. The Argentine project calls for a peace structure based upon (1) the obligatory arbitration of all inter-American disputes incapable of settlement through diplomatic channels; (2) the non-recognition of territorial agreements obtained by non-pacific methods or of the occupation or conquest of territory by armed force; and (3) the application of sanctions against governments which violate the Kellogg-Briand Pact or the Argentine Anti-War Treaty.

It is planned, first of all, to strengthen the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration signed at Washington on Jan. 5, 1929. Argentina proposes that there be included within the purview of the treaty all disputes, juridical and non-juridical, which are not capable of solution through diplomatic channels. In addition, an effort will be made to obtain withdrawal of the various reservations which lessen the efficacy of the present treaty, and to obtain its ratification by the seven American states, including Bolivia and Paraguay, which have not yet formally approved.

An attempt will be made also to secure prompt ratification of other existing peace pacts and conventions. This is in line with a resolution adopted at Montevideo in December 1933. However, the legislative bodies of many of the republics have been extremely dilatory in ratifying such treaties. It remains to be seen whether the effort to eliminate this obvious weakness in Pan American peace machinery will be any more successful at Buenos Aires than it was at Montevideo.

The non-recognition of the fruits of armed conquest is another principle firmly embodied in Pan American doctrine. It was set forth in the joint declaration of Aug. 3, 1932, issued by the nineteen neutral republics to the Chaco belligerents, and was subsequently incorporated in the Argentine Anti-War Pact.

Argentina's third proposal—the application of sanctions against violators of the Kellogg-Briand and Argentine Anti-War Pacts—is full of political dynamite. If adopted, it will represent a somewhat revolutionary innovation in Pan American peace machinery. Yet the suggestion is a logical outgrowth of conditions which frustrated repeated neutral efforts to prevent or to end the Chaco conflict. During that struggle the mediatory agencies took preliminary steps toward sanctions under the pressure of seemingly inescapable realities and thus laid the groundwork for the present Argentine proposal.

The Chaco conflict demonstrated that some form of collective coercion of a government which violates its treaty obligations to maintain peace is probably indispensable to an effective system of mutual security in the Americas. Both the Chaco War and the Italo-Ethiopian sanctions experiment showed that the Latin American republics are not likely to cooperate effectively in the application of sanctions unless they have a direct interest in doing so. As for the United States, Secretary Hull said in his speech before the Good Neighbor League in New York City, on September 15, 1936, that the Roosevelt Administration "would not join with other governments in collective arrangements carrying the obligation of employing force, if necessary, in case disputes between other countries brought them into war." Whether this prohibition applies to measures short of armed force, such as diplomatic or economic sanctions, is not yet clear. But the difficulty of reaching a workable solution of the sanctions problem is obvious.

Closely connected with the sanctions principle is the Argentine proposal to extend the powers of the permanent commissions of investigation and conciliation established under the Gondra Treaty of 1923, the Conciliation Convention of 1929, and the Additional Protocol of 1933 to the latter convention. The object is to make them effective instruments for the prevention,

as well as for the settlement, of critical international controversies. The commissions would be authorized to intervene in a dispute without awaiting consent of the parties, to order the evacuation of invaded territory, and to organize an international police force, if necessary, to prevent such invasions or to establish demilitarized zones between rival forces. The proposal seeks to remedy one of the most obvious weaknesses of existing peace machinery—its powerlessness to prevent sporadic clashes between unfriendly frontier patrols, such as those which precipitated the Chaco conflict. But without a formal guarantee of effective support from the neutral Pan American countries in the form of either diplomatic, economic, or military sanctions, the rulings of the commissions are likely to be disregarded.

Lowering Economic Barriers

So much for the changes contemplated in Pan American peace machinery. How is this machinery to be supplemented in the economic and moral sphere? It was at the instigation of Secretary of State Hull that the Montevideo Conference formally approved the lowering of barriers to international trade and the establishment of equality of trade opportunity among the nations. Proposals for giving these principles more concrete application through a tariff truce and a pledge to create no new discriminations are to be studied at Buenos Aires, again at the suggestion of our State Department, which has also submitted proposals for the exchange of teachers and students between the American republics with government support, and for the improvement of communications.

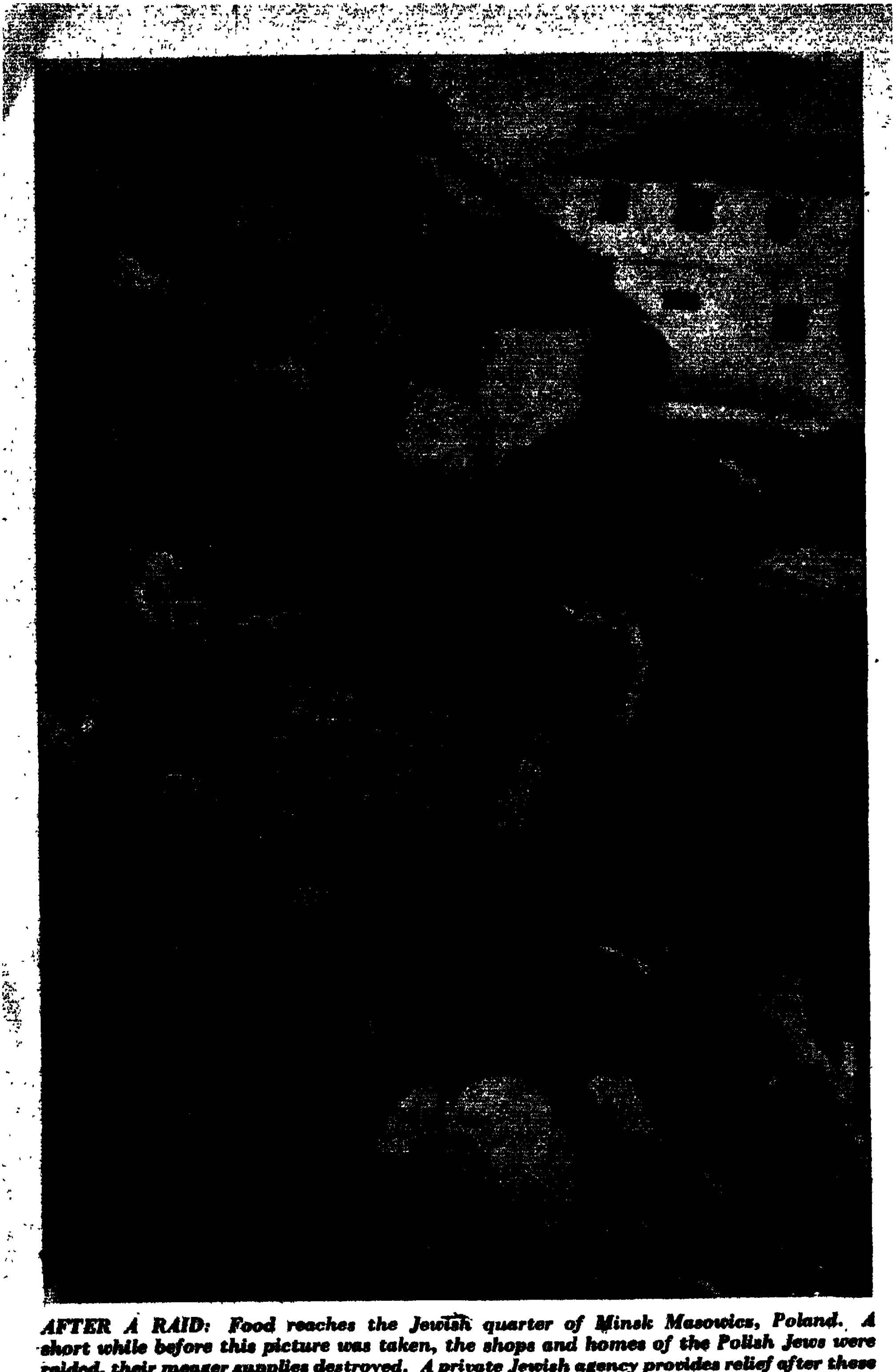
Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico likewise have advocated economic measures which would open larger foreign markets for their products, especially in the United States, and lessen the irritation produced by tariff discriminations. These proposals imply a willingness to take more imports in payment for increased exports and are therefore all to the good. But it is obvious that only gradual progress can be expected in this field.

Attitude Toward League

A common neutrality policy, an improved system of collective security, and closer economic cooperation are thus the main objectives of the forthcoming conference. The steps to be taken to attain each of these objectives will be influenced vitally by the decision of the conference on a broader and possibly more fundamental issue—that of the future relationship between the Pan American movement and the League of Nations.

Several courses of action have been proposed. Certain American governments, such as those of the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Honduras, urge the severance of all relations with Geneva and the establishment of an exclusive American league. A more influential group of states, including Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Peru, desires a stronger regional organization in the Americas, but one that will function within the framework of the League of Nations. Others, particularly the United States and Brazil, favor limited cooperation between the Pan American organization and the world League in furtherance of peace and economic progress, provided the inter-American union preserves complete independence and equality of status.

On motion of Secretary Hull, the Seventh Pan American Conference formally resolved that if cooperation with the League of Nations were decided upon, it must be done "without complicating or involving the integrity" of the Pan American organization. It is from this basic postulate that the issue doubtless will be approached at Buenos Aires.



AFTER A RAID: Food reaches the Jewish quarter of Minsk Masowicz, Poland. A short while before this picture was taken, the shops and homes of the Polish Jews were raided, their meager supplies destroyed. A private Jewish agency provides relief after these frequent outbursts.

JEWS IN POLAND

To get out seems the only answer. But where can they go?

BY ABRAHAM G. DUKER

DURING the last few months the pro-Government press in Poland has been occupied in debate with the more reactionary newspapers on the "problem" of the three million Jewish citizens of that country. The conflict is over the proper method of getting them out of Poland. The reactionary Endeks believe that the continuance of the present anti-Jewish boycott, aided by an intensification of physical attacks on Jews, will compel them to migrate. The pro-Government press, on the other hand, pleads for realism; "pogroms" will not drive the Jews out unless they have a place to which they can go. The Jews, crushed physically, their morale slowly crumbling, helplessly await the outcome.

What manner of land is it which can speak calmly of almost 10 percent of its population, regardless of its economic function, as superfluous? Poland is an incredibly poor country. Three quarters of its population are peasants, perhaps the poorest in Europe. Fully one third of the peasant households are on farms of less than five acres. On the other hand, some 6,000 landholders, constituting 2 percent of the farming class, hold one fourth of all the land cultivated. In the cities, unemployment stalks at the heels of poverty. Of a million registered workers, 500,000 are unemployed.

The position of the merchant and artisan middle class is little better. There is a continuous decrease in consumption, even of necessities. The average annual per capita consumption of sugar for the years 1930-33 in Denmark was 58.5 kilograms, in Germany 23.2, and in Poland 9.8. Yet Poland is an exporter of sugar. For the same period, the per capita consumption of cotton in Denmark was 11.9 kilograms, in Germany 4.7, in Poland 1.7. The competition for the little trade that exists is largely a desperate scramble for subsistence. Yet there is a constant influx of peasantry into the city and into the trades, for when the tax collector takes away the last pig from the peasant, the city is his sole refuge. The tragedy of Polish Jewry is that it is artisan in a land where Government cartels and co-operatives have taken away the best markets and where the boycott takes away the dregs; that it is the people of petty traders where populace and Government unite in the cry of "Boycott the Jews!"

The elimination of the Jew from productive life proceeds along two fronts. On the one hand, there is the savage boycott of Jewish tradesmen and artisans; on the other hand, the elimination of Jews from public service and from Government-controlled industry, which is the largest in Poland. The boycott of Jews is older and as ruthless as that in Germany, and yet it has no formal legal standing. It is not imposed from above against the will of a considerable portion of the population. The Polish boycott is founded on a tradition of Jew-hatred as old as Polish nationalism. It has the support of all parties except the socialist and communist. Powerful churchmen like cardinals Klond and Kakowski and Bishop Sapiena approve of it. The rising Polish city population attempts to eliminate the Jews from their city occupations. All ranks of society are united on

the demagogy of solving the problem of landlessness and poverty by removing the Jews from the economic scene.

The reactionary press has passed the point of general patriotic appeal for the boycott; it takes up specific points toward making the boycott complete. Through its highly developed intelligence service, it furnishes lists of Jewish enterprises in various localities:

"Thirty-six Jews are making a living here —they are depriving thirty-six patriotic * * * Poles of a livelihood." Such a matter of fact approach has the desired result.

To ensure response to these appeals to patriotism the Poles have drawn on Germany for instruction. Unemployed are engaged to picket Jewish stores. Poles buying from Jews are photographed, identified, and their names published in the roll of dishonor in the local press. Peasants who sell their produce to Jews are beaten. The Polish artisan is urged to mark his goods with a special brand so that no patriot may innocently buy Jewish-made goods. The Government, with "national interests" in mind, sets up licensing and educational tests for artisans and merchants; and the examiners, of course, are Polish competitors in the same fields of activity.

If the petty trader among the Jews seeks to escape from the vicious circle of savage competition and boycott in petty trade, and tries to enter the field of larger trade where competition is less acute, he has to cope, in addition to the boycott, with Government-subsidized cooperatives. But if an established tradesman can sell more cheaply than the Government-subsidized cooperative and thus in part avoid the boycott, he still faces the problem of credit. More than sixty-five percent of credit facilities in the country are in the hands of the Government and it is an almost axiomatic policy to grant no loans to Jews who might compete with Gentiles.

Yet some Jewish traders manage to survive. The boycott cannot be completely effective and the Jewish trader can lower his standard of living to that of the peasant who has turned trader. However, the reactionaries realize that, and they have provided for it by an adaptation of the pogrom —"retail pogroms." No one pays any attention to the explosion of a bomb in a Jewish shop; to the demolition and looting of a few Jewish stores in the market street; to acid thrown at some huckster's face. A merchant whose entire capital is a stock in trade worth some ten dollars cannot recover from its destruction; no one but Polish Jewry knows of it, and Polish Jewry is past noticing such petty troubles. The total effect is terrifying, for all this is a matter of everyday occurrence.

Poland is developing along the lines of State-owned or State-controlled industry. Industry and business under Government control amounted to 22.5 percent of the value of all business in 1931 and the percentage has risen since. The Government employs very few Jews; and those fortunate enough to have obtained positions, are rapidly losing them. Before coming under Government control, the tobacco industry employed 3,000 Jews; today it employs 102 Jews.

Even in Jewish-owned industry the Jewish worker has difficulties in gaining employment. Polish workers have gone out on strike when an employer in need of help engaged Jews. Jewish employment prospects in Polish-owned enterprises need hardly be stated.

The number of Jews employed on public projects is unknown. None are employed in the postal service and in the mining industries; few have found work on the railroads. The situation in the municipalities is illuminating: one third of Warsaw's population is Jewish; the city employs 20,000 people of whom 50 are Jews. In Lodz 46 percent of the population is Jewish—and 4 percent of the municipal employees are Jews.

Jewish Children

The physical consequences of this economic constriction are visible in the statistics on the health of Jewish school children. In the city of Czestochowa, for instance,

sixty-five percent have no shoes; fifty percent come to school without having eaten breakfast; thirty percent do not eat meat at home even once a week; 12 percent sleep on the floor, for they have no beds. Other towns and cities report in a similar vein. TOZ, the Jewish Medical Society, reports that 60,000 Jewish children suffer from undernourishment.

Przytyk Incident

While Pilsudski was alive and in power, large-scale physical assaults on Jews were repressed by the Government since they were the favorite rallying point of the opposition. Today this protection is gone. The recent events at Przytyk, really an attempt to drive out the Jews *en masse* from a town, show that legal protection against

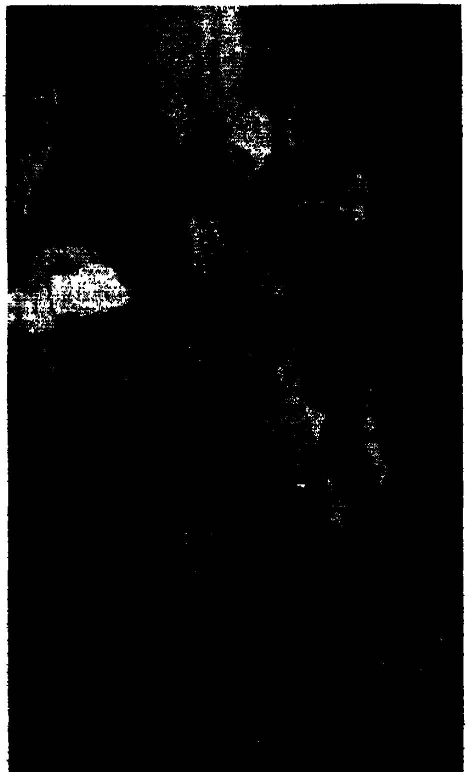


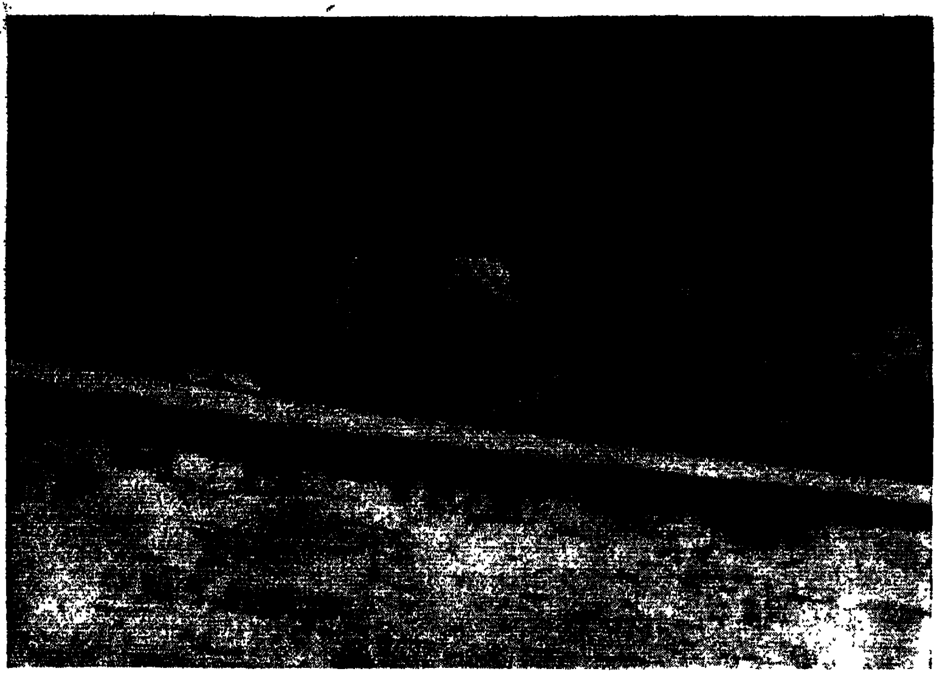
Photo by Joint Distribution Committee

***BUSINESS WOMAN:** A pail of pickles is the "shop" of this emaciated Polish Jewess —it is her sole means of livelihood. Helpless, hopeless, she carries on, a pathetic picture in poor Poland.*

"pogroms" is no longer available to the Jewish population. The Jews, sensing that the anti-Semitic excitement of the peasantry was abnormal, appealed to the police chief for protection. He told them to wait until there was a "pogrom" before they sought his help. In the ensuing attack three Jews were killed and a larger number injured; one Pole also was killed in the melee. But in the arrests which followed, more Jews than Poles were seized by the police. The major charges against both factions, something unknown even in Czarist justice, was the same, forgetting of course that the Jews were victims of a mob attack. Next, the prosecution made the trial a continuous tirade against Jews and the Jewish faith. Finally, the Poles were let off with much lesser sentences than the Jews.

The reaction was obvious: the Jewish people suddenly realized that they were without even nominal legal redress, and all Jewry united in a one-day strike of amazing effectiveness. But the moral solidarity at the moment was but a confession of physical helplessness. The floodgates are open.

The Government today has put itself in such a position that if it should protect the Jews it would lay itself open to attack as Jew-run. At the same time, it sees an advantage in diverting discontent with the economic situation in action against the Jews. Beginning with a deficit of 63 million zloty in 1931, the deficit every year has surpassed treasury estimates and in 1935 it totaled 1,150,000,000 zloty, a staggering burden for so poor a land. Exports of agricultural products have dropped drastically, in some lines to one seventh of the 1928 value. The Government is acutely aware of the fact that world conditions alone cannot explain the increasing misery of Polish economic life. Thus the red herrings of anti-Semitism and communism are highly useful. Again, by yielding on the Jewish question the Government hopes to be able to buy peace from the powerful Endek Party, center of virulent anti-Semitism and fascism. Until pressure from abroad and an easing of the present situation combine



***HORROR BELOW:** These Polish Jews are gathered on the roof of a dwelling in Minsk Masowicz, near Warsaw, shortly after anti-Semitic despoilers have run riot through the streets. But they have learned to bear things like that: it is all so common in Poland.*

to make the Government enforce the law against rioters, no change in its tolerance of organized violence may be expected.

Prospects for the Jews

While there is a possibility of preventing "pogroms" by external pressure on the Government, there seems little chance of improving the economic position of the Jews through cessation of the boycott. All the parties but the Socialist and Communist are anti-Semitic. The Communists are too weak to have any effect on national policy, and while the Socialist Party, which has experienced a revival within the last year, has openly and repeatedly come out in opposition to anti-Semitism, the Socialists can be no more than a weak minority in Poland for a long time to come. Again, even within the ranks of the working classes Socialist doctrines on the Jewish question lack complete acceptance; witness, the occasional strikes against the employment of Jewish labor.

Naturally the Jewish community does not depend on agitation for rights as equal citizens to protect itself. Its working class is assuming leadership in the struggle for Jewish rights and has grown increasingly militant. The idea of the necessity of social change has spread in some form or other to other portions of the community. Thus the labor Zionist ideal of recasting the economic status of the Jew to that of a worker has reached even the ultra-orthodox Jews. At the same time, though the Jewish situation has become more desperate, there is general discouragement as to the possibility of social revolution.

Many forces are engaged in an effort to normalize the Jewish economic structure so that the Jewish community can be more self-sustaining. New avenues of employment are being constantly sought and developed. The effort to settle Jews on land, to teach new trades, to preserve the cultural integrity of the community, is carried on by the Jews through their own efforts and

with some outside aid. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee has helped in both philanthropic and reconstructive capacities, being of particular aid in occupational retraining in medical work and in the care of children.

Of equal importance in preventing the complete collapse of Polish Jewry has been emigration. Since the war, half a million Jews have left Poland for the Americas, South Africa, and Palestine. With the stoppage of immigration to the United States, the stream has been diverted largely to South America and Palestine.

A Czarist statesman, whose ideas seem not unknown to the Polish leaders, once gave an epigrammatic solution to the Jewish problem in Russia. "One third will become converted, one third will starve, one third will emigrate." To the first, Polish Jewry has answered with dignity; the second is being well handled by the Polish people and Government; the third is in the lap of the gods.

Jewish Agriculturists in Poland

PEOPLE who always think of the Polish Jews in terms of commerce and small trading will no doubt be surprised to learn that there are actually 120,000 Jewish peasants in Greater Poland. It is true that the Jews have no special colonization area of their own in Poland and that their farmers are scattered throughout the country. The Jewish peasants, however, now possess a Federation of their own with 74 branches, mostly situated in Eastern Galicia, called the Jewish Agricultural Federation. This Federation embraces a number of milk co-operatives, the activities of which are growing rapidly. But the Jewish agricultural and milk co-operatives are not permitted to join the Federation of Jewish Co-operatives, and are forced to belong to the General Federation of Co-operatives. This severely restricts the organization of new Jewish agricultural and milk co-operatives among the Jews.

The Jewish Agricultural Federation carries on its work with the aid of the Ica and through a number of agricultural instructors. The Federation also supports Jewish agricultural students and promotes cattle-rearing and fruit-growing. It publishes a monthly organ in Yiddish and in Polish, and labors to educate the Jewish peasants to adopt the latest agricultural methods. With this object in view it also arranges agricultural courses, exhibitions and competitions. The Federation has also made a number of successful representations on behalf of the Jewish farmers in Government circles.

The last Conference of the Federation, held in Lemberg, was attended by about 100 delegates. The spokesmen at the Conference displayed a determined spirit to continue to increase the number of Jewish agriculturists. They all claimed that if the Jewish peasants were well organized, they could command the respect of their non-Jewish neighbors and resist all anti-Semitic terror campaigns.

Unfortunately, there is no aggressive movement in the country for colonization of Jews on a large scale, particularly because the government has not set aside tracts of land for that specific purpose. The present progress in settling Jews on farms in Poland is, and will naturally continue, slow until the government itself gets energetically behind the movement.

—*The American Hebrew*, October 23, 1936.



Times Wide World

NUREMBERG: Here, at the Nazi conclave in September, Hitler announced his four-year plan of German self-sufficiency, of which the perfectly ordered troops, marching past Der Fuehrer's hotel, are symbolic. The plan calls for considerable deprivation among the Germans. "Honor and freedom come before butter and bread," and "a fat belly counts less from a historic viewpoint than a cannon," are among the Nazi epigrams now current as Germans prepare to tighten their belts.

GERMANY Tightens Her Belt

THE MEANING OF GERMANY'S NEW FOUR-YEAR PLAN FOR SELF-SUFFICIENCY

By Cortez Enloe

"IN FOUR years Germany must be completely independent of the outside world of all those materials which can possibly be produced by German ability, by our chemistry and industry as well as through our mines and minerals."—*Chancellor Hitler in proclaiming the new four-year plan.*

"A fat belly counts less from a historic viewpoint than a cannon."—*Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Nazi Propaganda Minister.*

The train of thought revealed by these two utterances perfectly describes the program of the Reich for the next four years. Even better, perhaps, than statistics, it proclaims the total mobilization of the country's resources in peacetime and calls upon the German people to join it. If the plan is realized, European powers will have to reckon with a solid force in their midst—a nation boasting a "crack" Army and a nation in which every ounce of flesh, every pound of machinery, every bit of thought is prepared to make its contribution to "the Great Day."

This system of placing Germany behind a line of economic barbed-wire found its counterpart in the days of the World War when the Fatherland was shut off by the British blockade. As one spokesman of the Foreign Office put it: "We held out for four years then and [with the new plan] we will hold out for forty years the next time." The textbooks of present-day Germany, after extolling the "repeated victories of our glorious Army", go on to state that it was not the Army which lost the war, but the plight of starving people at home which forced the surrender. This is a matter of conjecture, but it is certain that when the next war starts, Hitler and his Nazis will not let Germany be caught without food and raw materials.

Germany's Barter System

The war, revolution, inflation, reparations, rehabilitation, and the depression all took a bite out of the Reichsbank's gold supply. They left the country nearly flat broke and Germany lost her character of a creditor nation. Her foreign exchange reserve was depleted to a negligible sum. When the National Socialists took over the government, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, famous wizard of German moneybags, found himself with the power to stop the exodus of gold by repudiating Germany's foreign debts and clamping down on imports. A system of barter was established whereby Germany could pay only with the products of her own industry: "You buy from us and we will buy from you, and only so much."

Now, however, the foundation has been knocked from under this trade system through currency devaluation by Germany's competitors. Obviously, a final refusal by Germany to fall in line with the devaluators might cause another great cut in German foreign trade. But whatever the outcome, one thing is apparent: the experience gained by the present peacetime dilemma in which Germany finds herself will prove invaluable if her ports are closed by foreign vessels in the next war. The Nazis realize this feature and their guns of propaganda are booming to keep the people appeased during the privations which they must endure if Hitler's new

four-year plan of self-sufficiency is to be a success.

According to Dr. Walther Croll, writing in the *Deutsche Zukunft*, there are acute deficiencies in rubber, textiles, petroleum and motor fuels, and the finer metals, all of which must be rectified before the problem of industrial raw materials can be solved. Answering the call, German scientists are finding substitutes for imported raw materials.

Synthetic Rubber

A process for the production of synthetic rubber has been devised, and the new product—*Buna*, it is called—is reported to surpass natural rubber in durability by from 10 to 30 percent. It has been tested by the Army and is now being placed on the market at a slightly higher price than the natural product.

Clothing From Trees

German forests are being cut down to provide clothing. By an intricate chemical process, says Dr. Hans Sachtleben, scientific director of Munich's *Deutsches Museum*, the wood is subjected to the action of strong hydrochloric acid and is then distilled. This extracts the cellulose from the wood. Next, the cellulose is forced through a nozzle which shoots it out in fine hair-like strands. The strands are then cut, washed and bleached, and mixed with pure wool. Finally, the resulting mixture is spun into thread. Speaking at the recent party congress at Nuremberg, Inspector Todt, chief of the party's technical bureau, revealed that 30% of Germany's woollen needs were being covered by this material.

New Motor Fuels

The most striking statement since the new plan was announced at Nuremberg in September was made by Herr Hitler at the recent opening of the 1000th kilometer of the vast new road system which the National Socialists are building. He prophesied that within eighteen months Germany would be absolutely relieved of the importation of motor fuel. Although at present Germany is able to supply over 40% of her motor fuel from domestic sources, she is still forced to import nearly 1,000,000 tons of fuel annually, according to statistics recently issued by the Ministry of the Interior. The idea of making gasoline and motor oil from peat, of which Germany possesses a plethora, was conceived by Friedrich Bergius, a chemist of the I. G. Dye Trust laboratories during the war. The plan, however, did not begin to bear fruit until suitable cash was found to build a large and costly plant on the edge of the peat fields near Leipzig in 1928. Since then its production has advanced by leaps and bounds and this *Leuna* gasoline can be expected to produce the greater part of the Reich's supply of motor fuel in the near future. The remainder necessary to meet the country's consumption demands is to be met by the new gas *Propane* which is manufactured by blowing steam over hot coals. The gas is supplied to the consumer in large cylinders which fit into the rear of the car. Under pressure, reports the journal *Wissenschaft und Technik*, this generator gas is just as efficient and quick-firing as the ordinary liquid gasoline.

Honor Before Bread

But just as German scientists have not been able to make any provision for their shortage of the finer minerals such as zinc, tin, lead, and nickel, so have they been at a loss to arrange adequate barriers against a food shortage. As Dr. Goebbels pointed out, first the raw materials for industry must be imported; then, if there is any gold or foreign exchange left, it can be used for the import of foodstuffs made necessary by the surplus of home consumption over home production in Germany.

"Honor and freedom come before butter and bread," the Propaganda Minister declared—which is to say that sacrifices must be made, that the belt of the new Germany must be tightened in order to build up an Army and to reëstablish the German sovereignty.

"National economies are not peace economies but armament economies for prep-



Gendreau

HARVEST TIME: In Germany, it witnessed a shortage of wheat—and just as Hitler announced the new four-year plan for German self-sufficiency. Germany is obliged to import a large percentage of her foodstuffs, and the problem of feeding 66,000,000 people solely on the products of German soil remains an unsolved difficulty.

aration for war," states the Berlin *Boersen Zeitung*. "The demand raised during the last war, and even before, to create a general staff for national economy which would give to peace, armament, and war economy that organizational form which would give the highest measure of economic and spiritual assurance of national defensive might is today more than ever a question of life or death for the Reich and for the German people."

Let us take a look at agriculture. It is here that the planned economy is finding its more serious manifestations. The problem of feeding 66,000,000 people solely on the products of German soil is proving a hard nut which the Germans have not yet been able to crack. There are 100 persons to be fed for every 45 hectares (approximately 110 acres) of arable land, with the result that the cool damp climate and the overworked land restrain the farmer from meeting this need, Government subsidies and threats notwithstanding. Thus Germany is forced to import from 15 to 20% of her foodstuffs. The greatest deficit exists in the supply of fats; Germany can produce only 50% of the amount she requires.

The press claims that there is enough exchange on hand at present which is not required for industry to guarantee a supply of Scandinavian eggs and butter for the coming winter. Such a statement should insure peace of mind for many a German were it not for the fact that similar reports were made at this time last year and there followed such a shortage of these products as has not been experienced since the terrible days of the blockade. Around Christmas time, she was indeed a fortunate *Hausfrau* who could buy more than one single egg and an eighth of a pound of butter a day. Even now, on the heels of the revelation concerning this winter's supply, comes the report in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* to the effect that the sale of whipping cream is forbidden except to coffee houses and hotels, while the produc-

tion of ordinary cream is to be reduced by 75%. Also the production of cheese of a higher fatty content than 20% is absolutely forbidden, with the exception of a few of the finer cheeses. The idea here, the paper says, is an attempt on the part of the Government to preclude another serious fat shortage and insure the every-day necessities at the expense of the fancier foods.

Meat Scarcity

The Reich Food Control Board admits that at the present time it is not possible to meet the demands of customers for certain kinds of meat, especially pork and beef. The board considers it possible that this situation will change for the better later in the winter, but it recommends that the people "enjoy meatless days * * * and eat more fish."

The deficiency was explained by the journal *Deutsche Zukunft*, which stated that "the swine count on June 4 this year revealed an increase in the total number, but a decrease in the number ripe for slaughter" owing to the lack of fodder in the fall of 1934 and 1935 and the bad weather this year which delayed the harvest.

"The condition of our foreign exchange precluded the importation of foreign fodder as well as meat," the paper stated, adding, "The reduction in our food supply and in certain other necessities which is thus explained shall be accepted by our people in a quieter and more cold-blooded manner."

The food supply of a country is based, not upon the individual demand for meat, or bread, or vegetables, or poultry products, but upon the demand for all these foods together. When the supply of one staple is decreased, it follows that the demand upon the others will show a corresponding increase. This is one law of economics which the German Government has not been able to repeal, although it has been trying. When the amount of pork and beef avail-



Gendreau

CHEMIST: ***The Nazi future, as envisaged by the new four-year plan, might well be said to lie in the test-tube. World-renowned German chemists work feverishly to extract from their laboratories substitutes for imported raw materials, sadly lacking in Germany—materials to drive engines, clothe millions, make a nation self-sufficient.***

able for consumption recently became scarce, the food control board advised the people that their fat could be obtained indirectly from eating bread, sugar, and vegetables.

Grain Shortage

The German harvest this year was a great disappointment. Owing to bad weather during the harvest, the actual yield of wheat fell to 12,400,000 tons—several hundred tons short of predictions. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* believes, however, that this deficit easily can be made up by the increased use in bread production of rye and potato meal, which two products appear to have come up to the estimates 100%. Early in October, the mills of Germany were not receiving enough grain to even approximate the demands of the markets. The quotas for wheat and the other bread grains which farmers and millers must meet have been increased. These quotas must be met under all conditions and failure to deliver will subject the delinquents to dire punishment.

The vegetable supply is considered secure for the coming winter due to recent contracts with Germany's neighbors and her own good yield this year. As for sugar, that problem has been solved once and for all by the scientists. German savants have now devised a process whereby the carbohydrate is burned from any sort of wood—the tree itself, or its bark, or sawdust, or from just plain scraps—by subjecting it to the burning power of strong acid. It is a complicated procedure, but the product is real sugar, which would fool any coffee drinker in any country.

One question remains unanswered: How does all this affect the German people? What are the social consequences of this plan to withdraw behind a wall and live in a "splendid isolation"? The answer would seem, at least at present, to be that the average German has been forced to forego many of the demands of his huge appetite and live on less. He has had to tighten his belt and be satisfied.

The war cry of the "Battle Against Waste" has been sounded by the Reich Women's Leader, Frau Schlotz-Klinik, by demanding that "every *Hausfrau* must become a food minister" and conserve upon the food she purchases and discards. Now the German housekeeper no longer makes out her day's menu before going to market; she first visits the butcher shop and finds what meat she can buy—that is, of course, if she is fortunate enough to have the price for any at all—and then she purchases the vegetables to go with it. In a recent radio speech Secretary of State Backe warned that from 5% to 8% of the total German foodstuffs end up in the garbage pail and that such waste must stop! It is not a request, but a command, that the housekeeper must "realize her duty to the people" and buy no more at the grocery store than is absolutely necessary for her family—regardless of how much money she may have.

It might be well to add here that in spite of the shortage of the aforementioned foodstuffs, prices have not skyrocketed due to rigid Government regulation. In some instances prices are only held down with difficulty and by threats of imprisonment for traitors who forget their responsibility to the nation as a whole.

The propaganda tells the people that they must find moral compensation for the deprivations in doing their part in the plan for economic freedom for the Fatherland. They must take refuge in the spectacular successes Hitler has won in "shattering the chains of Versailles and reëstablishing German sovereignty with the new Army, which was born of the people's efforts and willingness to get along on less." Hitler told them at the harvest festival on October 4 this year that when the plan is complete "it will be all the same to us what the remainder of the world does." "Then," he said, "they can devaluate; they can raise their prices and wages one day and lower them the next—we will remain safe inside our boundaries. . . ." And so far as the average German is concerned, he can either take it or leave it, for "one can hate it, or one can love it—but no one can change it and no one can remove it." [The Fuehrer at Nuremberg.]



MODERN STATE: Great industrial development in Czechoslovakia is balanced by sound agricultural projects.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S CHOICE

A DEMOCRACY BATTLES EUROPE'S FASCIST WAVES

By Charles Hodges

FLANKED to the northwest by fascist enemies and uncertain friends, Czechoslovakia stands on guard but unafraid in the midst of Europe's turmoil.

"You don't find us frightened?" President Eduard Benes asked me, not so long ago, when I interviewed him in his quarters in the historic Hradcany Castle overlooking the capital. "I know people stress our difficult geographic position. Here we are, a democratic state surrounded by anti-democratic regimes." He gave me that quizzical smile of his, famous in League of Nations meetings for seventeen years. "We Czechs have been in a dangerous position for twelve centuries!"

This "dangerous position" of Czechoslovakia is a pretty picture of geographic forces beneath European politics.

The republic represents an east-west diagonal. It stretches across eastern and central Europe from the girding Carpathian Mountains, where Poland and Rumania pinch the easternmost end, to the Austro-German encircled point. The blunt head of this wedge-shaped state, a six-hundred mile territory in length, is the equivalent of an air-line from Pittsburgh to St. Louis —across four of our big Eastern States. Both in area (54,207 square miles) and in density of population (265 to the square mile), it compares roughly with the State of New York.

Czechoslovakia's width, in dangerous strategic contrast, goes to the other extreme. This varies from fifty to somewhat over a hundred miles. Put on the list of European nations, Czechoslovakia's domain is tenth in size, or a little more than half the area of Great Britain. Though eighth in number of people, it is sixth in actual density of human occupation—suggesting the high degree of industrial development which characterizes the nation.

As an inland nation, Czechoslovakia finds itself surrounded by five countries at one time or another hostile to this revived Bohemia of European history. Nearly one third of the total length of its frontiers faces Nazi Germany, followed by Poland, Hungary, Austria, and the all-important shortest mileage touching Czechoslovakia's ally, Rumania. Obviously, both trade and defense are complicated by such frontiers. The sea, northward, is roughly three hundred miles away at Hamburg—a German port to which Czechoslovakia is guaranteed free access under the Versailles Treaty. Southward, the inland country is the same distance from the Italian-held port of Trieste on the Adriatic. Thus oceanic outlets on the world's highway—and Czech industry ranks among that of the leading twelve nations—are borrowed from neighbors and depend upon none too secure treaty arrangements.

In short, Czechoslovakia is in the very center of European life. Be it trade, peace, war, this becomes the central fact of its national existence. Its location on the fiftieth parallel of latitude places it in the zone of most vigorous European peoples; it is exactly equidistant from the North Sea, the Baltic Sea, and the Black Sea. It is midway between those two contrasting parts of European civilization—the Latin-Germanic west, and the Slavic east.



Eduard Benes

Land—And Peoples

This land is the product of the Czech will to nationhood and Slovak hopes for independence under the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Politically, the state represents frontiers drawn beyond the strict ethnic boundaries of the two closely entwined Slavic races. This overlapping of the political frontier is a compromise between democratic idealism involving the difficult principle of racial "self-determination" and the strategic realities so much to the fore at Versailles in 1919. From a military standpoint, adequate natural frontiers were imperative for the security of the reborn nation.

Toward the west, therefore, Czechoslovakia was rounded out to re-establish the historic boundaries of Bohemia. This meant the inclusion of a German-speaking minority from the collapsed Austro-Hungarian Empire, not from the beaten German Reich, which now forms 23% of the total population. These Germans of the upper Danubian Valley, however, have shared the rich Bohemian uplands with the Czechs for centuries; and this Teutonic element has been scattered through the country for generations as city-dwellers whom the rulers encouraged to check the turbulent nobility of the country. As a matter of fact, German clots of settlement extend far beyond this greater Bohemia now called Czechoslovakia — a considerable minority being found in Hungary, the Transylvanian part of Rumania, and even farther east on the Volga River in the Soviet Union.

In this eastward direction, Czechoslovakia was pulled southward to touch the Danube in order to give it an outlet on this vital international river. Then the new state was turned east again beyond the Slovak homeland to include more Slavic cousins—the Ruthenians, south of the protecting arm of the Carpathian Mountains. This extension had the double strategic object of completing the encirclement of postwar Hungary and giving Czechoslovakia direct contact with its key ally, the enlarged Kingdom of Rumania.

Inevitably, Czechoslovakia's domestic politics are tremendously colored by these geographic and racial considerations so typical of Europe.

If the length of the country makes for administrative problems, due to the distance from the capital, Prague, located in the northwest, the ethnic areas impose another task on the machinery of government. There has been an increasingly successful effort on the part of Czech leadership to play fair toward their fellow citizens who differ in race, language, or cultural background. Thus the state itself has been subdivided into the natural zones of the population—Bohemia proper, including the mass of Germans and Czechs in the westernmost part of the country; Moravia and Silesia, with a mixture of Czechs, Germans, Slovaks, and a handful of Poles; Slovakia itself in the east-central area, with its Magyar or Hungarian minority toward the Danubian plain; and, to the extreme east, sub-Carpathian Russia, with

its Ruthenian peasant mass overlaid by an ex-ruling Magyar landlord class.

Democratic Island

Politically, Czechoslovakia can be described as a democratic island against which beat the stormy seas of Central Europe's fascism. President Benes frankly commented upon the difficulties of governing this Slavic state with its multi-national fringe.

"Czechoslovakia is a democratic state," he pointed out. "We have not lost faith here in the fundamental value of democratic institutions. We believe that democracy means much more than political equality. It is an attitude of mind toward the social state—a willingness to serve the community according to one's capacity."

Then he spoke of Czechoslovakia's race problems: "I believe firmly in going to the people and explaining to them in straightforward, simple terms the nature of the problem and what I propose to do about it."

So this man of the people—he told me about brothers and sisters still on the land, so typical of the Czechoslovakian set-up—went to the people, the German-speaking fellow citizens of Bohemia. He told them in Reichenberg, or Liberec, and elsewhere what he could do to alleviate their just grievances—and what he would not do to abet seditious activity. He drew a firm line between their complaints as citizens of Czechoslovakia and the Nazi propaganda directed from across the border against the state itself.

He no more asks for the denationalization of the German population than of the Czech: "Our two peoples today are mature enough not to allow themselves to be denationalized." But he stands categorically opposed to the meddling from the outside which today threatens Europe's international system of intercourse between supposedly civilized nations: "According to universally recognized international law, nationality questions are an internal concern for all countries without exception."

Benes, however, does admit one qualification on national sovereignty—the League of Nations. He explained that he favored the idea of general international supervision from Geneva because he foresaw a time when the sentiment of nationalism would again challenge the post-war sentiment of internationalism:

"I believe that international machinery was our best safeguard. We had no reason to fear any such supervision because our standards of treatment would be ahead of the generally prevailing international one. Therefore we would never have to accept conditions which were not already in practice in our own country. But even more important, I preferred, in a dispute with other countries over the treatment of minorities, to trust to international action instead of our own strength.

"In the second place, I foresaw a time when nationalism would be once more ascendant. I knew that the strong international feeling of the 1920s would give way to a reaction. When that time came—and it has come—I wished to be in a position where I could appeal to our people to respect our international obligations in order to curb these more ardent nationalists.

"Therefore I can say to them: If you go too far, I must warn you of international complications."

Emphatically, he added: "Just as I demand respect for the law from minorities within the state, so I can demand of our nationalists that they heed our international obligations themselves in agitating against these other citizens of Czechoslovakia."

It is not the writer's intention to give the impression that there are no grounds for complaints from minorities in Czechoslovakia. What I do want to stress is the honest effort of the Czechoslovak leadership to keep a civilized standard of relations with their neighbors within the state—to work toward a full and free interchange of cultural values based on mutual respect for one another. In this process, the maintenance of a democratic framework for politics within which these minorities find a place, not only to live and to work, but to play their part in the civic life of the

community, becomes crucial. Round the rim of Czechoslovakia today, this rôle grows increasingly difficult for German, Magyar, and Pole; the outside forces of disruption, the democracy-hating Nazi and Magyar, would nullify all efforts to live together as European peoples must eventually learn to do in order to escape self-destruction.

Economic Fortress

One cannot cross this land, as I have done in great sweeps from the tip of Ruthenia to the teeming Bohemian valley country, without seeing a well-organized, busy people.

The population falls into almost two equal parts. The commercial and industrial half lives predominantly in the west; the agricultural half, in the east. There is an enviable balance between those in the workshops of Czechoslovakia, which make anything from toy soldiers to telephone installations, railway locomotives, and siege guns, and the land-owning peasant millions.

Exceedingly well-run railroads bind the country together through its length. Duplicating lines cross the land at significant points—doubled strategic north-south lines which mark the successive zones of defense against possible invasion from the west. Though all part of a transport plan drawn up in the 1920s, everywhere last summer I saw railways being double-tracked, sidings lengthened, bridges rebuilt. And especially true was this of the eastern half of Czechoslovakia, where the decisive stand will have to be made against the Nazi military machine if it breaks loose in the one of two possible thrusts to the east now talked about in Berlin.

Czechoslovakian leaders realize that the preponderant location of key industries in the west and north constitutes a military weakness. As economic realists, they know this has been determined by the distribution of coal, iron, glass sand, and other resources which rim the country. The disadvantage to national defense can be offset only by new industrialization, where modern technology permits, in more central and easterly spots.

This economic framework, as it were, establishes the character of the Czechoslovakian social order.

We have, above all else, a middle-class nation of very solid qualities. There is, practically speaking, no aristocracy to give a decadent touch to the usual Old World society. Even great fortunes are few and far between in the amazing activity of Czechoslovakian commerce, industry, and finance. Everyone is close to the land—land now accessible to the peasant masses, thanks to the extensive agrarian reforms; the age of feudal estates has passed in this Central European republic. A multiplicity of parties, based on varied interests of nationalities, economic interests, institutional allegiances, and political ideals, determines the nature of parliamentary politics—coalition governments of widely representative blocs. It is a liberal régime, based upon the use, not the abuse, of the principles of self-government under the law of the constitution. Not for nothing is there a replica of the Liberty Bell of American Independence in the Hradcany Castle above Prague.

Diplomatic Moves

No picture of Czechoslovakia would be complete, no matter how sketchy, without reference to the foreign policy of this Central European republic.

The main actuating principle of a nation put back on the political map by the Paris Peace Conference is inescapable: to maintain as much as possible of the *status quo*, from which it derives its charter of freedom. While this does not prevent adjustments to changing circumstances, these are to be looked upon as adaptations rather than as fundamental alterations in the post-war situation. The implementing of such a policy, essentially one of defense of hard-won liberty, is an equally obvious corollary: ally oneself with those who backed the struggle of Czech and Slovak for independence.

From this open page of diplomacy comes

the outstanding fact in Czechoslovakian foreign policy. This is the French alliance and the related triangular cooperation among Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia appearing in news dispatches as the "Little Entente." This is for southeastern Europe what the similar Franco-Polish understanding is for the northeast: an essential part of the statesmanship from western Europe aimed at preventing the German Reich's wrecking of the whole Versailles settlement.

The situation looming on the international horizon of 1934 was diagnosed by Dr. Benes, then still veteran foreign minister, as symptomatic of a critical regrouping of European forces. Events have confirmed this view. Accordingly, Czechoslovakia, keeping before it the prime interest of the state itself, has moved to maintain its basic alliances with France and the Little Entente neighbors while never losing the larger concept of a Europe governed by the ordered processes of law-abiding nations. Summed up, Benes held that actually the situation was such "that the political track in the next two or three years will decide if Europe goes toward tranquillity and peace, or toward conflict, and perhaps a war—if it goes toward peaceful collaboration or toward a crash."

For Czechoslovakia, the intervening years have been those of readjustment seeking to reinforce its position. Under the threat of a post-war version of Pan-Germanism, Czechoslovakia sought to bolster up its support in the east. Soviet Russia's pacific policy in the hands of Litvinov facilitated a defensive arrangement between Moscow and Prague. Bitterly, almost hysterically, assailed by Nazi Germany, viewed with half-concealed distrust by the other Little Entente countries not able to go so far along this road with Czechoslovakia, and regarded in Poland with uneasiness, this move constitutes a major development in Eastern Europe; it parries much of the German thrust in this direction.

This marks, to me, the formation of the real battle-line, possibly preliminary to more dangerous conflict than either diplomatic skirmish or economic attack. For Czechoslovakia, it is being tested on the pragmatic basis of whether it solidifies or loosens the Little Entente bonds; whether it parallels Polish developments on the other side of the Carpathians, where France, perilously late, has recovered much lost ground; whether it generally stiffens resistance to the sharply increased pressure of the Third Reich from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

Men at this time become particularly important. Certainly, outside the spokesmen of the Great Powers, who are important because they are the mouthpieces of the major states, no man has been more influential on his merits than Benes. Today, those in the Czernin Palace, where Czechoslovakian diplomacy is worked out, maintain the essential continuity of the Benes statesmanship—European stabilization through international cooperation. In a word, when Benes succeeded the patriot-statesman and first President, the venerable T. G. Masaryk, he left behind him in the Foreign Office collaborators who are determined to maintain the general direction of Czechoslovakian statesmanship.

This combination of national realism and international ideals seems reassuringly well represented in Foreign Minister Kamil Krofta today. During a long analysis of Central European politics, he constantly urged the need for international collaboration in getting 'round the sharp corners now so apparent. The future of Austria, the ultimate prospect of a Danubian union, the solidarity of the Little Entente all were viewed from the broad-gage conception of how countries, perforce striving to exist in the same crowded neighborhood, best could adjust their differences.

Dr. Krofta showed very concretely however, that this could not be allowed to jeopardize national interests to a dangerous degree. "Now that the Germans have revealed their aims," he observed, in taking up the Nazi expansion along the Danube, "there is developing much dissatisfaction over their tactics in actual

practice. There has been found to be a great difference between the apparent German relations in these countries and the actual results. This has proved a great advantage to Czechoslovakia." In this way, the German drive has been countered by employing some of its own methods. For example, Czechs themselves are now investing a great deal of money in Rumania and Yugoslavia. This generally serves to strengthen the Little Entente relations.

Knowing the role of Czechoslovakia first-hand at Geneva, I queried the successor of Benes on the future of the League of Nations.

"The League is a necessity for the smaller countries," Dr. Krofta replied. "Its successes are ignored because we are blinded by the mistakes that have been made. There is a solid achievement by the League of Nations that cannot be dismissed. For Europe, it is necessary if we are to avoid the catastrophes of the past."

One final observation: Those responsible for the future of Czechoslovakia refuse to be stampeded into rash moves. Dr. Krofta clearly evidenced this confidence which I found the usual frame of mind from Prague to Bratislava. It permeates these very solid citizens of Central Europe's surviving democracy—they are calm and conscious of their strength. They have dug in to hold the lines of republican institutions under a constitutional régime which governs according to the law. They constitute one of the few sane spots left on the European Continent in these days of ruthless drive for domination inside and outside of nations at any cost.

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN INDUSTRY—DISTRIBUTION OF PLANTS

1930 Census

INDUSTRY	Bohemia	Moravia and Silesia	Slovakia	Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia	Total in Country
Mines	279	88	60	4	431
Quarries	1,800	787	291	23	2,901
Glass	954	41	14	1	1,010
Metals	1,351	477	104	6	1,938
Chemicals	501	143	54	9	707
Textiles	1,303	351	32	..	1,686
Paper	402	100	38	4	544
Printing	1,768	693	459	73	2,993
Leather	107	54	18	..	179
Rubber	27	8	2	..	37
Lumber	2,087	1,064	432	79	3,662
Machine-lathe	158	55	1	..	214
Brushes	63	36	18	2	119
Musical	159	14	2	..	175
Toys	115	7	1	..	123
Food	4,964	2,461	1,624	192	9,241
Clothing	595	228	33	1	857
Gas Plants	51	25	7	..	83
Independent Electric Plants	200	97	64	8	369
Electric Plants of Systems	215	114	73	9	411
TOTALS	17,099	6,843	3,327	411	27,680

STURDY FINLAND

POISE IS ITS MOTTO IN A FEVER-RIDDEN WORLD

By Rodger L. Simons

PEOPLE who like to sprinkle their after-dinner conversation with strange and startling facts seemingly plucked from the air will find their fill in Finland:

"I understand that Finland has 80,000 islands and 60,000 lakes, all with names of their own."

"Did you know that Finland is the greatest per capita book-buying country in Europe?"

"I hear that Finland has a modern motor highway clear to the Arctic Ocean."

More than three and a half million people make up the Republic of Finland, whose area of 148,000 square miles is closely akin to that of Montana and whose north-to-south stretch covers the same parallels of latitude as Alaska. The country is officially bilingual, about 89% of the people speaking Finnish and 10% talking Swedish (sometimes to their embarrassment).

For seven centuries, prior to 1809, Finland had been a Swedish province, heavily impregnated by Swedish culture. Then as a concomitant of a very humiliating military defeat to Sweden, Finland went to Czar Alexander and became a Grand Duchy of Russia. For more than a century Finland was a part of the Russian Empire, but it was as an autonomous state having practically nothing in common with the empire except a ruler and a foreign policy.

In 1917, largely through the nerve and agility of Baron Gustav Mannerheim, Finland wrested herself from her Russian affiliations and set up shop as an independent republic. The resultant spread of national consciousness divided the population into two groups: Swedish Finns and Finnish Finns. The former were the scions of Swedes who had stayed in the land when it was taken over by Russia and who had contributed most of its social and economic leaders; the latter, comprising a majority, were the descendants of a former subordinate class.

It is this last element, of course, which has been active in the "Finland-for-the-Finns" drive and the consequent annoyance to any one manifesting a mild Swedish inclination. (Thus the common caution to visitors that if they give a taxi driver his directions in Swedish they must at once repeat them in Finnish or the man will be insulted. Fancy the *passenger* insulting the *driver*.)

The question may be raised as to whether or not the Finns have been entirely wise in fostering this spread of the Finnish language and its attendant submergence of Swedish, for they have thereby cut themselves off from an extensive Swedish cultural heritage without achieving any objective of consequence. Finnish is reputedly a very difficult language to learn (for example, fifteen case-forms in the noun, with lush possibilities of declension) and few outsiders have any incentive to master it.

Forest Land

With three quarters of her land blanketed by trees—largely pine, spruce and birch—Finland has a greater forest area, proportionate to population, than any country in Europe, including Sweden and Russia. And her forests have been the cause of both good and ill, have set the two main problems which confronted Finland as a free nation. One such problem was for Finland to improve the position of her rural element, whose predicament was closely bound up

with the forest situation, and the other was to develop her woodworking industries and thus the general industrial fabric of the land.

To the Finnish farmer, the forests have been both boon and bane. Many a farmer has been dependent on the forests for his livelihood, either in sale of his timber or by working through the winter in logging camps. Many another has found the wooded stretch merely something that had to be rooted out to obtain sufficient ground for tillage.

In few far northerly countries are there such agricultural possibilities as in Finland. Spring materializes out of the warming influence of the Gulf Stream and summer is short but intense. The sun beats down both day and night on grass and grain, on vegetables, berries, and fruit. Timothy and clover hay are the chief crops, followed by oats, rye, barley, and, to lesser degrees, wheat, potatoes, and roots. Through lack of protective duties the self-sufficiency of the country as regards cereals had been greatly weakened during the Russian occupation and much attention of agricultural experts is now being devoted to improvement along these lines.

Finland's livestock interests are represented in her increasing exports of butter, cheese, and bacon. The raising of sheep and goats is declining from an already insignificant level, but pig-raising is on the upswing and so is poultry-keeping. With the passage of a new game law in 1933, the keeping of fur-bearing animals has been encouraged, much breeding stock being brought from America, while in north Finland the raising of reindeer has been practiced from ancient times.

Industry

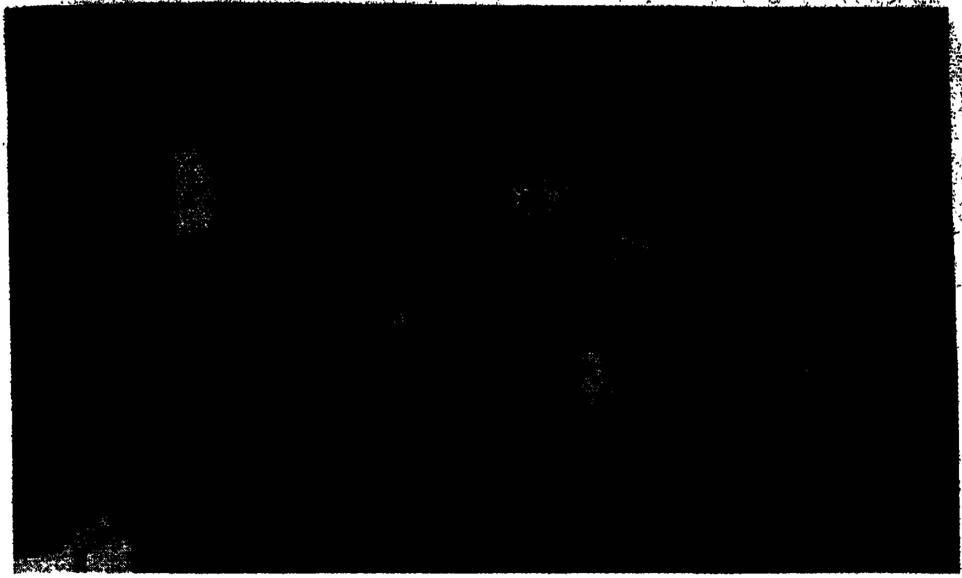
Timber and its products form the backbone of Finland's industrial structure and her manufactures and exports in this field include not only building lumber, but an amazing variety of plywood, furniture, wood specialties, and, of course, tremendous amounts of wood pulp, paper, and cellulose. For four hundred years timber has been a Finnish export, but not until the seventies of the last century did the rapidly expanding sawmill industry really give impetus to the broad-scale development of tree products and thus to a general strengthening of the country's entire economic structure.

During the expansion and export of Finland's forest derivatives, a comparable growth has been going on in her home-market industries, which, in total, absorb 60% of her industrial population and account for the same percentage of the country's total production. A number of these have been active in the export field for years, but with the coming of Finland's independence many have been compelled partly to change over to meet increasing competition on the foreign market.

Metals have been foremost in the development of Finland's home-market industry, for she has deposits of iron, nickel, copper, zinc, limited amounts of lead, silver and gold, and such non-metallic minerals as limestone, graphite, asbestos, talc, feldspar, quartz, and others. Her supplies of iron ore are only of such grade—45% and under—as to make them of real importance in the event of international conflict, or other stoppage of import, but her copper production has reached the status of an important factor in the country's economic program.

Next to metals in importance is the weaving industry, cotton, woollen, and linen. Mass production of woven goods began in Finland as long ago as the sixteenth century and has reached such a level that its focal point, the town of Tampere, has become known as the Manchester of Finland. In this as in other divisions of her domestic manufacture, Finland does not attempt to produce all grades and types of goods, and imports of foreign industrial products are considerable. The Finnish tariff policy is not extortionate and a reasonable import is regarded as a healthy way to keep the quality of domestic products at a decent level.

The vast and variable food, clothing, and luxury trades in Finland are represented by factories turning out chocolate and sweets, canned fish, tobaccos, leather and rubber



NO SKYSCRAPERS: An engaging picture of Helsinki at night. Note the absence of skyscrapers. Some builders would like to create a Finnish Manhattan, but conservatism usually wins in Finland; most of the larger buildings, residential and commercial, are from five to seven stories high.

footwear and other articles, glass and porcelain, furniture, dolls, toys and sports articles. Improvement of the quality of home-market products is sought by the holding of Finnish fairs at which local goods are judged by an international standard and gold medals are awarded.

Yet the Finns have not embarked on a headlong policy of industrialization, such as their neighbor to the east. Under the guidance of such able men as Mr. Ristó H. Ryti, governor of the Bank of Finland, they proceed very cautiously, allowing the productive facilities of the country to expand with the gradual increase in purchasing power.

All this development of industry in Finland and her steady movement toward better times finds a parallel in employment. From a total of 90,000 unemployed during the winter of 1932, the figure had dropped to a trivial 3,700 as of recent date, or one unemployed person per thousand citizens. Even in widely heralded Sweden the proportion is six times as great.

In view of such statistics it is not to be wondered that at the general election of representatives to the Finnish Diet, held on the first two days of July, the incumbent administration was returned to power. Thus of the 200 deputies now in the Diet, 83 will be of the Social-Democratic hue, 53 of the Agrarian Party, and the rest divided among Unionists, Progressives, the Swedish Party, and others. Balloting in July was rather lively with 1,174,000 votes cast—an impressive total in a population of only three and a half million.

Attitude Toward War

This limited population total is one of the factors in Finland's espousal of peace programs. With only 28 people to the square mile and much cultivable land still untenanted, she has no urge toward land conquest. Nor is it in the nature of the Finnish people to be disposed toward war, despite occasional over-zealous expressions on the part of hyper-nationalistic young Finns. The population is too small, too occupied with other things, and Finland's recollection of past sufferings is too great to foster thoughts of war.

The proximity of communism is an

omnipresent threat to Finland, of course, but the Finns do not let themselves get panicky over it. Protagonists of that philosophy are allowed to ply their principles up to the point of working off excess zeal. When the Government feels that any such local movement is becoming too noticeable, it quietly steps in and stops it.

Though Finland's commerce with Great Britain still is several times that with America, the latter figure is growing. It is to be hoped that the trade treaty signed between Finland and the States last May will accelerate this traffic. There is a general disposition on the part of the Finnish people to be friendly toward the United States, and an increasing amount of American goods is seen in store windows throughout the new Baltic republic. Similarly the exhibitions of Finnish manufactured goods which have been held during the past year in about a dozen American cities have been a striking indication of the range of Finland's export products.

Aside from the achievements of Mr. Paavo Nurmi, about the only fact on Finland which has attained any circulation in America of recent years is her record as the one and only country in the world which is settling her war debts, even including those to the United States. Due to the accumulation of gold and foreign currency in the Bank of Finland, the country's general foreign debt has been very considerably reduced. Thus during 1935 alone the total of her long- and short-term indebtedness was sliced to about $60,000,000, a cut of $20,000,000 from the previous year's figure.

The punctuality of Finland's war debt payments has so endeared this country to the Americans as to have achieved the status of amiable radio and vaudeville jests. Questioned about this policy, the Finns always quietly explain that the bills were contracted in the purchase of food supplies during the last year of the war and hence are construed as a debt of honor.

Inexpensive Living

Happily Finland has not carried out her debt-payment policy by the impoverish-



***FESTIVAL:** Helka festivals are held each Spring in Finland. Participants wear the national costumes of tradition. A new country, Finland is intensely proud of her past; folklore research is one of its outstanding intellectual endeavors.*

ment of her people. The general level of living and of income is not so high as in Sweden but you see comparatively few paupers and no one palpably ill-clad and undernourished. In fact it is an agreeably inexpensive country to live in, with the Finnish mark worth about two cents at current exchange rates. Thus a double room with bath in one of the leading hotels of Helsinki [Helsingfors] will set you back about eighty finmarks or a dollar-sixty a day. Those wishing to cut the corners a little can be very comfortably accommodated, sans private bath but with daily change of linen, for about thirty finmarks daily per person. And meals—a good three-course dinner for fourteen finmarks. Convert that into cents and it looks attractive.

Though Helsinki, the capital, is a heavily taxi-cabbed town—a ratio of one cab to every 225 of the people—a good deal of passenger transport in winter is by sleigh. Of the northern capitals, Helsinki resembles Copenhagen in its feeling of life and gaiety and has much more sparkle than is permitted by the sense of somber dignity with which the Stockholmers preside over their city.

There is a handsome old Russian monastery on the island of Valamo, in Lake Ladoga, the largest in Europe. But aside from this and an occasional monument or church, Finland bears few mementos of the Russian occupation. In the majority of her towns, buildings, customs, and institutions—and in her motor cars, tailored clothes, and chewing gum—Finland is much more American than Russian. The modernity of her cities will impress you. Thus in Helsinki, as in Stockholm, a few hours away across the Gulf of Bothnia, the old-time single-family home has been almost entirely displaced by blocks of barrack-like modern apartments, complete with central-heating, radio, and chromium window trim.

Most of the larger buildings, residential or commercial, are from five to seven stories high. This is a source of much woe to the building contractors of Helsinki, who think it would be just too, too ducky to make their nice city into a modern Manhattan. But the municipal authorities, apprehensive of traffic complications, rarely will approve anything above eight flights. Their one "skyscraper" is a slim tower of fourteen floors.

But Helsinki with 234,000 people is not the only city of size in Finland. There are at least three others with populations of 55,000 and up. Turku, the former capital, very strongly Swedish, has for years been a university city and center of Finland's ship-building industry. Tampere, an inland point, has for more than a century hummed with myriads of textile spindles. And Vipurii, near the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland and not far from the Russian frontier, is a shipping point for vast amounts of timber goods, as well as being scenically one of the most charming small cities in northern Europe.

The zeal for social advancement which focuses attention on the Scandinavian countries is in full flower also in Finland. Thus the Finns gave the vote to women long before America or any of the European countries did—in 1908, to be precise. And they have developed a wide range of coöperatives for both buying and selling. Poultry and dairy products, bakeries and restaurants, grain elevators, and, in at least one instance, a newspaper plant—all run by coöperative associations.

Finnish Culture

And the cultural side: Sibelius you will think of, of course. But there are other names in Finland's intellectual life who are rising to positions of esteem at home and acknowledgement abroad. Perhaps the most talented figure in modern Finnish music is Yrjö Kilpinen, 44 years old, who has steered the Finnish song into new paths and won considerable recognition in Sweden, Germany, and especially London during recent seasons.

In literature the first name to be mentioned is that of the novelist Frans Emil Sillanpää. As yet almost unknown in America, Sillanpää has been a familiar name

in Europe for a number of years. Though his works cover a wide field—love tales, interpretations of nature, studies in child life—they are all touched, but not too deeply permeated by, the sense of the Finnish national sufferings which the author had witnessed at close range during his Finland's War of Independence.

Like the country's other cultural manifestations, Finnish art has a strongly national tone; it is a vivid expression of Finland's mind and life. An outstanding name to be mentioned in this field is Jussi Mäntynen, an animal sculptor whose figures are beginning to appear in private collections in America. Having rather few great men, the Finns take good care of those they do have. Thus Mäntynen has found a ready but well-deserved reception for his works among his countrymen, not only in parks, museums, and kindred repositories, but even by presumably cold-blooded business houses. Two of his finest figures stand before a large Finnish paper mill, the property of its owner.

The language handicap is a factor which dooms the Finnish theater to a comparatively restricted public. Their dramatic companies make an occasional loop through the Scandinavian lands, but that represents about the only audience they can ever hope to enjoy. In addition to the established native-language houses, a new Swedish theater is being opened in Helsinki this Fall, relatively small but splendidly appointed and complete in every detail of professional equipment.

There is at least one branch of intellectual endeavor in which the Finns have become outstanding—folklore research. Intensely proud of their great national epos, the *Kalevala*, they have made it the starting point for a vast program of study and investigation in the field of Finnish and Finno-Russian folklore. Dating from the 1760s to the present and embracing an area of 200,000 square miles, this study now totals more than a million individual items, including songs, proverbs, magical and mythical rites, folk tales, riddles, games, ballads, runes, and legends.

This material has been transcribed with scrupulous accuracy and is of interest, to students of the northern peoples, also providing many fascinating links between the Eastern Slav and Western European cultures. In addition to the Finnish and Swedish texts, the findings in this field are now being published in English, French, and German at the expense of the Finnish Academy of Science. Prime mover in this research is the society known as the Folklore Fellows, founded in Helsinki in 1907 for the promotion of international folklore research. Thus does a new country keep contact with her past.

RUSSIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

What it provides, what it means, and why it was drafted

By SAMUEL S. SHIPMAN

A SPECIAL session of the All-Union Congress of Soviets, the highest legislative body in the U.S.S.R., was about to consider and ratify in late November a new constitution for the country. The draft of this constitution was submitted to the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee on June 11 by a Constitutional Commission of thirty-one persons, headed by Joseph Stalin and including many of the foremost leaders of the country. The draft represented more than a year's labor, the commission having been appointed in February last year by the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets. The group was instructed to draw up a new charter providing for the introduction of universal equal suffrage with direct secret elections, taking into account the changed social-economic relationships and the achievements of the Soviet power since promulgation of the existing constitution in 1924. The presidium approved the new draft and ordered it to be published throughout the country for general public discussion.

The history of Soviet constitutions opens with the "Declaration of Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People," written by Lenin and adopted by the Congress of Soviets in January, 1918, two months after the founding of the new regime. This was incorporated into the first constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Soviet Republic), adopted in July 1918. Several years later it was decided to unite the separate soviet republics, which had been bound together by treaty arrangements, into a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., ratified in January, 1924, contains the treaty of union as well as the basic laws of the federated republics making up the union.

The first constitution affirmed the abolition of private property in means of production and of exploitation of man by man. However, at that time and also when the 1924 constitution was adopted, the abolition of classes could be spoken of only as an aim to be realized in the future. While the foundation had been laid, the economic and technical bases of a fully developed socialist order had not yet been created. In the villages the system of small-scale, individual farming still predominated and provided a soil for the development of capitalist elements. Privately owned agriculture accounted for a considerable part of the national income and private trade preempted the lion's share of retail merchandising.

Since that time the collectivization of agriculture has brought 90% of the peasantry within the fold of the so-called "socialist sector." Private trade has been virtually eliminated. The remnants of internal opposition have all but disappeared. A powerful state industry based on the most modern technique has been built up. Coordinated national plans direct the entire economic and social development. Education has spread by leaps and bounds.

These far-reaching changes could not fail to be reflected in a corresponding change in the psychology of the working class and peasantry. In the villages, in particular, the entire outlook of the peasants has been altered with the shift from the individual to the collective method of working and the widespread introduc-

tion of machinery. The new constitution is designed to reflect these alterations in Soviet society.

Society and the State

The first two of the thirteen sections of the draft constitution, a document of 146 articles totaling about 8,000 words, are concerned with the organization of society and of the state. Article 1 states: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants." This formulation expresses the fact that there are still two main classes differentiated by several important criteria, such as form of property and method of receiving income, although the remaining gap between city and village is being steadily diminished by schools, newspapers, books, etc.

The two basic forms of socialized property—state and collective—are defined. The land, forests, mines, factories, most of the large apartments in cities, banks, means of transport and communication, belong to the socialist state—that is, they are the property of the whole people. The other primary forms of socialist property are the collective farms, occupying land which the state has deeded to them in perpetuity. The basic means of production and working livestock belong to the collective, but each individual member of the collective is entitled to possess his own house with a plot of land around it, domestic livestock (cows, pigs, sheep, poultry) and minor farm implements, as guaranteed by the model constitution for collectives adopted last year. Similarly, the state guarantees and protects by law "the personal property of citizens in their income from work and in their savings, in their dwelling house . . . domestic articles and utensils as well as objects of personal use and comfort."

To take care of the remaining 10% of individual peasants and the small and dwindling group of artisans (tailors, handicraftsmen, etc.) still not connected with cooperative or state enterprises, the law allows "small private farms and other enterprises of individual peasants and home-workers based on their personal labor and precluding the exploitation of the labor of others." This guarantees the right of an individual peasant to work a piece of land obtained from the state by means of his own labor and that of his family, but not to engage outside labor. Full civil and political rights are extended to these groups. Finally, the first section reaffirms the realization in the U.S.S.R. of the basic socialist principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," and repeats that "he who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The new constitution also lays down the principle of complete equality for all nationalities making up the U.S.S.R., which principle has been embodied in the fundamental law since the establishment of the Soviet power. It states that "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federated state, formed on the basis of the voluntary association" of the various constituent republics, "possessing equal rights." Moreover, to each "union republic is reserved the right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R." The number of union or federal republics making up the U.S.S.R. is increased from seven to eleven. This results from elevating the status of Kazakstan and Kirghizia, formerly parts of the R.S.F.S.R., (Russian Republic), to Union republics and the breaking up of the Transcaucasian Federation into the three federal republics of Azerbaidjan, Georgia, and Armenia. These changes are a reflection of the rapid economic and cultural growth of the outlying national republics.

Powers reserved to the central government are enumerated; the sovereignty of the federal republics is restricted only within these limits. Among those functions which lie only within the competence of the U.S.S.R. are foreign relations, defense, the currency system, foreign trade, determination of the national economic plans and budgets, administration of transport and communications and of banks, industrial and commercial enterprises of all-Union importance, and criminal and civil

codes. Local industries, education, municipal affairs, and like matters are entrusted to the federal republics. Their powers have been broadened and a measure of decentralization affected by the creation in each of the republics of people's commissariats, or departments, for the food industry, light industry, the timber industry, and state farms.

Organs of State Power

Radical changes have been introduced in the structure of the higher organs of the Federal Government and the constitutional republics, with which sections three to eight are concerned. Under the present constitution the district, regional, republican, and all-Union congresses of Soviets were not elected directly, but in each case consisted of delegates chosen by the next lower congress. The respective executive committees, all the way up to the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., the highest administrative organ of the state, were selected by the corresponding congress of soviets. The bases of this pyramid were the thousands of local soviets in cities and villages elected by the local population. Under the new system all state organs, from the highest to the lowest, will be elected directly and deputies are subject to recall by decision of a majority of the electors. The highest body of state power will be the Supreme Council, consisting of two chambers, the Council of the Union, and the Council of Nationalities, both having equal power and elected for a term of four years. The former is elected on the basis of one representative per 300,000 population, and will consist of about 600 members. The latter is appointed by the highest organ (Supreme Council) in the various national units, each federal republic being entitled to ten representatives, autonomous republics to five, and autonomous regions to two, making up a body of about 250 deputies. The need for two houses arises from the Soviet policy with respect to nationalities. While the Council of the Union represents all the people combined, the Council of Nationalities takes into account the special problems of each separate nationality.

An important change in the electoral procedure is the removal of inequality in voting between the village and city populations, which gave the city an advantage of approximately 2.7 to 1. With the process of collectivization almost completed, this feature is no longer considered necessary. Its removal is expected to strengthen the bonds between workers and peasants, while the direct election of representatives will result in closer contact of the masses of the population with the directing organs.

The sweeping reforms in the electoral system, dealt with in Section XI, have been completed by extending the franchise to certain groups formerly deprived of this right and by the substitution of secret for open balloting. The existing law has denied voting privileges to former Czarist officials, those exploiting the labor of others, and certain other elements considered hostile to the Soviet regime. The new constitution guarantees the right of suffrage to every citizen of the Soviet Union on reaching the age of 18, excluding only criminals and the mentally deficient. Social origin, property ownership, and former occupation can no longer be used as a basis for depriving a person of the rights of suffrage. Candidates for election may be proposed by Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations, and cultural groups. Soviet authorities expect that the secret ballot will be one of the most powerful weapons in the struggle against bureaucracy and defects in the Government apparatus.

It is apparent that in the reconstruction of the electoral system and the state apparatus, the Soviet Union has taken a leaf from the experience of western democracies. But in using the best elements of the parliamentary system, there has been no hesitation in discarding those features which have a negative appeal from the Soviet viewpoint. Notably, for instance, there is no separation of the legislative from the executive and judicial functions. The Supreme Council, besides being the

highest legislative body, appoints the Council of People's Commissars, "the highest executive and administrative organ of state power." It also appoints, for a term of five years, the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., which is the highest judicial organ and has supervision over all other courts.

A change of considerable moment in the courts (section IX) is the introduction of direct, secret election of the people's court judges. The judges are elected for a term of three years. Formerly they were selected by the soviets or by district executive committees. The key to the reason for this change is given in Article 112 which says: "Judges are independent and subject only to the law."

With the electoral reforms, the provisions of the 1936 draft constitution that have aroused greatest interest abroad are those dealing with the rights and duties of citizens, which is the subject of section X. The right to work, annual vacations with pay, old age pensions, and other forms of social insurance, free education from kindergarten to the university, equal rights for women and for all nationalities and races, freedom of religious worship—these rights now actually existing are reaffirmed by the constitution. Moreover, the constitution adds that the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly and inviolability of person. "No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of court or with the sanction of a state attorney." The rights of citizens are accompanied by the obligation to maintain labor discipline, to safeguard public property as the foundation of the Soviet system, to undertake military service when called upon, and "to defend the fatherland." Section XII Specifies the emblem, flag, and capital, and the final section states that the constitution may be amended only by a two-thirds vote in each chamber of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

Widely Discussed Document

Probably no state document in recent years has been so widely published and discussed. Copies of the draft constitution were transmitted simultaneously to every city, village and collective farm in the country. Many millions of copies were published in the scores of languages spoken by the diverse nationalities of the U.S.S.R., in pamphlet form as well as on large colored placards. Meetings were organized in factories and farms everywhere, in clubs and scientific societies, in schools and colleges. The new features were explained by local leaders and everyone was encouraged to participate in the discussions and make suggestions for improvements. Twelve thousand newspapers threw open their columns to readers and many thousands of wall newspapers, typed or written by hand, in state and co-operative enterprises, invited contributions. Workers, Red Army men, peasants, academicians, students, sailors, actors in all parts of the far-flung territory of the U.S.S.R. took part in this public discussion, in many cases making concrete, interesting suggestions for changes and additions.

Special regional and provincial congresses of soviets, made up as a rule of delegates chosen by the existing city and village soviets, were convoked throughout the country in October and November for the purpose of electing delegates to the extraordinary All-Union Congress of Soviets, which was to adopt the new constitution. Constitutional commissions appointed by the governments of the respective federal republics are drafting republican constitutions taking into account the specific features of the republic but conforming with the constitution of the U.S.S.R. Republican congresses of Soviets, to be convened after the All-Union Congress, will ratify these constitutions.

AMERICA'S RED CROSS

A record of service to mankind—vital, human, neighborly

By ALWYN W. KNIGHT

ANY organized group influencing the American scene as vitally as the Red Cross inevitably stirs the public interest. The volunteer membership of the American Red Cross now totals 4,137,636 men and women. Why?

There are numerous reasons, and the basis of each is factual, but together they do not give the complete story.

The Red Cross idea was born in 1859. Henri Dunant, a young Swiss, organized a group of women to relieve the suffering of the wounded following the battle of Solferino between Austrian and Franco-Sardinian forces. Later, he published a book describing the agony he had sought to assuage and, with a group of friends, urged the universal formation of volunteer societies to aid the wounded in time of war and to give assistance in epidemic and disaster in time of peace.

In 1864, thirteen European nations and the United States—the latter unofficially represented—met to act upon Dunant's proposal and drew up the articles now known as the Treaty of Geneva. France, Switzerland, Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Spain and Baden signed; America did not.

Clara Barton, a former New England school teacher, s e r v e d troops passing through the national capital during the Civil War and dressed their wounds on nearby battlefields. Traveling in Europe later, she visited Geneva and was immediately convinced of the practicality of the Red Cross movement. After considerable difficulty and delay Miss Barton secured President Arthur's signature to the Geneva Treaty in 1882.

Today, Red Cross societies are active in 62 nations.

In May 1881, one year before America became affiliated with the international Red Cross body, Miss Barton had organized the American national society with headquarters at Washington, D. C., and had subsequently established its first three local units in Dansville, Rochester and Syracuse, New York. Less than a month after the Dansville unit was organized, the infant organization was called upon to aid its first disaster victims when forest fires swept through Michigan. Eighty thousand dollars in materials and money were expended to aid the fire sufferers.

Today, the organization has just completed the gigantic task of relief for a half million victims of the tornadoes and floods which struck 20 eastern states last Spring. The 1936 Red Cross expended in this one operation approximately *eight million dollars*, contributed by the people to help victims through the Red Cross.

The march of progress during 55 years of Red Cross service can be no more forcefully illustrated.

On 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., stands the national headquarters of the American Red Cross. The white marble building was erected in memory of the mothers, wives, and sweethearts of the men whom Clara Barton, first Red Cross president, so gallantly helped during the conflict between North and South. A red cross, illuminated at night, guards the entrance, denies no one, and heralds the bee-hive activity within when Red Cross disaster relief forces mobilize to meet new threat.

Two branch offices operate at St. Louis



FOOD FROM THE SKIES: *When flood-stricken towns in Pennsylvania were isolated from all help, the Red Cross loaded supplies on Army planes. These were dropped to the distressed people. Red Cross volunteers are shown above packing supplies at an army field at the Aberdeen Proving Grounds, Maryland.*

and San Francisco, thus splitting the map of the United States into three parts to facilitate administration. These national Red Cross offices have their counterpart in the chapter and branch offices active in more than 12,000 cities, towns, villages, hamlets. There is a Red Cross headquarters, large or small, in every county in the nation and in each of the nation's insular and territorial possessions.

The American Red Cross is not a branch of the Government, though its structure may be said to be quasi-governmental since one third of its governing body of 18 men and women, including its chairman, is appointed by the President of the United States, who is also nominal head of the organization. This governing body is called the Central Committee. Of its remaining 12 members, six are elected by the Red Cross Board of Incorporators and six by chapter delegates. All the members serve in a volunteer capacity.

Chairman of the American Red Cross is Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, who was appointed by President Roosevelt in February 1935 to succeed the late John Barton Payne.

Red Cross activities are not financed in any part by Government money. The organization's work of mercy is conducted entirely with funds contributed by the people at the time of the annual membership roll call, and by utilizing specific bequests and the interest on endowment and invested funds. The War Department audits all Red Cross expenditures and receipts and submits a report on its findings each year to the Congress of the United States.

Red Cross operates under a charter granted by Congress, part of which reads, ". . . to continue and carry on a system of national and international relief in time of peace and to apply the same in mitigating the sufferings caused by pestilence, famine, fire, floods and other national calamities, and to devise and carry on *measures for preventing the same.*"

The last suggests the opportunity for a broad translation, and Red Cross, as witness the diversity of its services, has capitalized upon the opportunity in a practical manner. With quiet efficiency lives are saved, economic individual burdens lightened, the sick healed, the injured given on-the-spot care, the nation's youth organized for community service and international friendship. These things have been and are being done by the people of America through their chosen agent, the Red Cross.

Bear in mind that so brief a summary of accomplishment as the following can not state the whole case: the facts are indicated as well as recorded.

The National Red Cross organizes, supervises, encourages; Red Cross Chapters carry the services which best meet the needs of their separate communities.

Major disasters are a responsibility of the national organization but the Chapter, with efficient committees of local leaders, frequently administers relief following smaller catastrophes and is of great assistance to national disaster relief workers at all times—particularly in the work of evacuation and emergency care.

Since its first unit was organized in Dansville 55 years ago, the American Red Cross has brought relief to the victims of nearly 2,000 disasters—storm, fire, shipwreck, flood, epidemic, and many others. Food, clothing, and shelter were given; homes were rebuilt and repaired; vocational training made widows and permanently injured persons self-supporting again; medical and nursing care aided the sufferers.

The National Red Cross maintains a current roster of 37,000 nurses as a reserve corps, subject to call by Army, Navy, or other government agencies in time of war. When emergency arises, these Red Cross nurses also serve in time of peace. Last year nearly 2,000 of these reservists were active during epidemics and disasters.

More than 1,100,000 men and women have been trained by the Red Cross in first aid. When accidents happen they know what to do and what not to do, so that the victim will not be unduly penalized by the time elapsing between the accident and arrival of a doctor. The first aider splints fractures, stops severe bleeding, treats for

shock, applies artificial respiration, and prevents aggravation of injury through rough handling by the well-meaning but untrained bystander.

Three quarters of a million persons have been trained as life savers, taught water rescue and safety methods. More than one thousand men and women who teach life saving and are responsible for safety at beaches and pools received special advanced training from the Red Cross last year.

Eleven hundred Red Cross first aid stations established beside main highways make equipment and training immediately available when motor accidents occur nearby. The crews of trucks regularly plying the highways are Red Cross trained in first aid; the highway police of eight states have now completed instruction under the Red Cross and will augment these mobile units.

Last year Red Cross public health nurses made 1,000,000 visits on behalf of the sick in remote rural communities and city tenement areas. They cooperated with physicians in examining 671,000 school and pre-school children, arranging for curative treatment in 209,000 cases where physical defects were found. Home care of the sick and hygienic measures have been taught to 838,000 individuals throughout the nation by graduate nurses.

During the past year 133,000 Red Cross volunteers were on active duty, made millions of surgical dressings, hundreds of thousands of garments for the needy, printed 342,000 pages of Braille or raised writing for the blind, helped in government hospitals, and assisted in countless other ways.

Members of the American Junior Red Cross, enrolled to discharge their credo, "I Serve," number 8,351,000 school boys and girls. They aid in community projects, organize welfare programs, make gifts to children, veterans, and the aged in hospitals. Their service funds are self contributed from money each child earns or saves. Internationally, the Red Cross Juniors correspond with the Juniors of other national Red Cross societies, promoting good will and a better understanding between the future men and women of nations.

The crest of the economic depression found hundreds of small communities with no local agencies to administer family relief—save the Red Cross Chapter. The Red Cross was therefore asked to undertake the task and Chapter workers were immediately trained by the national organization. The work has been continued and last year Red Cross Chapters acted upon an average of 22,674 family problems each month.

It is the chartered obligation of the Red Cross to aid service and ex-service men. Last year Red Cross Chapters assisted 256,000 veterans or their families; workers in government hospitals and the Veterans Administration and its regional offices gave sound help to 59,200 ex-service men or their families. The Red Cross during the same period helped 41,000 men now in active service. The type of aid given in each case was essential, human, and neighborly.

SPEED ON THE HIGHWAYS

A STUDY OF THE AUTO AND ITS SAFETY PROBLEMS

By Silas Bent

WITH 6% of the population of the world, the United States has 70% of its automobiles. Our entire nation could be awheel tomorrow if it chose. The day laborer, who has a cheap car to get back and forth from work and for Sunday drives, has no choice but to accept the high-powered machines on the market, and even the cheaper makes have now been stepped up to a maximum of 80 or 90 miles an hour. Those in the higher-price brackets can make from 100 miles an hour up.

At anywhere near these maximums the average driver has virtually a runaway car. In his hands any vehicle moving more than 50 miles an hour is a potential lethal weapon. It is a commonplace of conversation that the automobile is deadlier than warfare. Last year we had 820,000 accidents, we injured and in some cases maimed for life a million persons, and we killed 27,000 of them. Small wonder that Secretary Roper of the Department of Commerce has undertaken an inquiry into highway safety; it will be less wonder if the problem becomes a subject for Federal regulation and legislation.

This problem is mainly a by-product of the American mania for speed. We suffer from the delusion that swift mobility is a form of civilization. The motor car, gratifying and intensifying this singular notion, has worked a greater change in our folkways and our national life than any other single agency. During a five-year depression, many families which had to forego a telephone kept the automobile in service somehow; such is the national devotion to this machine.

Three-fourths of the driving in the United States is for pleasure. A friend of mine describes it as "motion without motive." As a people we abhor even a short walk, and it is a common jest that we may become a legless people, because unused organs perish.

A Nation of Nomads

We are even by way of becoming a nation of nomads, living in automobile trailers. As an institution—which by now they have become—they are less than six years old, but more than 300 firms are building them, and more than 100,000 have been sold. At a conservative estimate, some 300,000 Americans live in them, year in and year out. It is possible to get along thus, so it is asserted, on as little as $60 a month. The additional cost of pulling this movable apartment is about 25 cents per 100 miles. It may contain comfortable sleeping quarters for four, a kitchen sink, range, a stove for heating, a washstand, and a chemical toilet. Its cost runs around a thousand dollars, and it may be purchased, like the car which hauls it, on the installment plan. Many who sell their homes to adopt the gypsy life prefer to buy outright.

Obviously the main advantage of the trailer is that it affords an escape from the American system of taxation. The man who puts another bath into his home must pay additional taxes, but the nomad can take a sponge bath in privacy and pay no taxes either on that or on the home he occupies. Here again a governmental problem arises; for in their sovereign power to levy rates our State and Federal governments must levy taxes on these rolling homes.

Trailer life is the most conspicuous recent development of our national mania for the motor car, but the development of the modern automobile itself is remarkable. Its trimmings are of chromium, its pistons of aluminum, its turret usually of steel, its panels welded instead of being bolted, so that in effect its main structure is an integral unit. In accord with the style trend, it is streamlined. The streamlined car is more dangerous, not only because it is capable of higher speeds, but because it restricts the area of the driver's vision.

Perilous Styles

That is but one point in which style constitutes an element of peril. Why should the driver's seat, which should be specially placed and cushioned for his function, be precisely like the passenger seat beside him? They serve different purposes and should be differently constructed. But the purchaser is finicky about looks and might object to this. The low-swung body is chiefly a matter of style and often causes minor accidents or damage to the machine on ramps. The smart low seats and small windows make it inconvenient or difficult to signal with the hand. Automobile style has sales value but little else to recommend it.

Dean A. Fales of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which is conducting an independent inquiry to learn whether the modern automobile is as safe as it might be, says that "power-plants have been developed to a point far in excess of the road-holding, steering, and braking abilities of the vehicles in which they are installed." These over-muscled cars run so smoothly that the driver is often deceived as to his speed. He seldom looks at the speedometer. One manufacturer who produced a new model, more powerful and smoother than its predecessor, found to his chagrin that accidents in this model trebled those of its predecessor.

Carbon Monoxide

Mr. Fales suggests further that the vacuum ventilating systems generally used in automobiles can and do draw carbon monoxide fumes into the bodies. To the public, carbon monoxide is known chiefly as an occasional means of suicide; it should become better known as a cause of death and accident in driving. F. M. Van Dwenter, an engineer, has made a survey which shows that of all the automobiles tested at random, about one in every twenty contained dangerous quantities of carbon monoxide and that in more than half of them there were measurable traces of the poison. Motorists who acted as though they were drunk have been arrested after accidents on the ground of driving while intoxicated, but examination has shown that their condition was due, not to alcohol, but to monoxide. Others have been found dead at their wheels from the poison.

In two fifths of the cars tested, exhaust leaks were found at some point ahead of the normal tail-pipe discharge point. In two thirds, there was low combustion efficiency. D. H. Palmer, who reports these facts in *The New Republic*, inquires, "Of what sort of technical perfection can car manufacturers boast when low combustion efficiency is the rule and passenger compartments are so leaky and exhaust connections so poor that one runs the risk of being poisoned by the deadly carbon monoxide while driving along a country road?"

Mr. Palmer lists as other causes of poisoning trailing eddy currents from the car itself, exhaust gases from the car ahead, exhaust leaks from loose gaskets and other defective parts, exhaust manifold heaters—one of the worst hazards, and crank-case breather pipes.

The pedestrian in the city encounters a minor hazard from this monoxide gas, but his greatest danger is when he walks along country highways. An investigation has shown that the rate of pedestrian death per accident is about three and one-half times as great there as in towns.

Speed and More Speed

During the last decade, while automobile horse-power was being steadily increased in response to public demand, the pedestrian death rate has increased by 29%, while at

speeds of [illegible] miles one accident in 11 is fatal. The fellow afoot can be bumped off at almost any speed, but during this decade the deaths from collisions have increased 142%. At 30 miles an hour nowadays, only one accident in 42 causes death. At the tortoise speed of 35 miles an hour, it requires 110 feet for the driver to stop his car. A car emerging from a side street, even a chicken or a dog running across the road, often causes serious hurts at higher speeds.

Yet higher speeds are the demand of the American mass. Even Henry Ford began using speed as a selling point several years ago. "Feather-touch" steering wheels and brakes, which increase the hazards of nervous drivers, have been adopted generally to attract women buyers. Yet it must be admitted that the manufacturer has made his machine structurally almost fool-proof. If his product is not quite as safe as it should be, it is because he has given way to public demand under the pressure of bitter competition.

Yielding to the coercion of the market, it must be said at once, has proved profitable. Some of the factories in Detroit are running day and night now on a five-day week. General Motors increased its sales last year 34% over the year before. In December of 1935 the output for the whole industry exceeded the output of any December in its history—more than 400,000 cars. To finance purchases of new cars three quarters of a billion dollars was lent during the year, and to finance purchase of used cars nearly half a billion. This year, so far as the records are available, promises to outdo that bonanza to bankers and manufacturers. No sooner had the clouds of depression and panic begun to lift than the automobile market began to expand. Six sevenths of the cars sold were of cheaper makes.

Cheap, light cars have difficulty in holding the road and tend to weave slightly. They are so unstable that an inequality in the concrete or a gust of cross-wind may throw them out of control at high speed. Their weight distribution, adopted because the motorist demands easy riding, makes their traction poor. (We have only one make of automobile with a front-wheel drive—that is, with the driving wheels beneath the principal burden of weight—whereas Europe has three such models.)

But even the cheap cars have been vastly improved. They have balloon tires, multi-cylinder engines, reduced piston displacement, and forced oiling systems. Among the more expensive makes there is one streamlined machine which is safer than others, but does not seem over-popular. Its construction eliminates the usual chassis, and follows the plan of an airplane fuselage. This gives strength without undue weight. Soundly scientific principles were observed in constructing it, and the day may come when it will be imitated in cheaper makes, if the public will permit it.

What is being done to decrease the destructiveness of this homicidal instrument? Should legal restrictions be placed on manufacturers in regard to design and equipment? Are State and municipal speed limits effective? If we come to Federal regulation, under the welfare clause of the Constitution, could it be so framed as to apply to a neglectful and wilful minority without imposing on the majority?

Such questions immediately pose themselves to public and private agencies which face one of our major national problems. In regard to speed limitations they are dubious in nearly every case; yet we have varying speed laws nearly everywhere. For years Connecticut seemed to point the way to a new and more rational practice by stipulating that any speed was permissible provided it did not constitute a danger to the driver and to others; but Connecticut now has a statute making the maximum speed on the highway 40 miles. It is recognized generally that such restrictions do not prevent the reckless from driving at much higher speeds, but at any rate they afford a method of discipline for offenders.

Governors as a Solution

Most frequently, in these discussions, one hears the suggestion that governors, to regu-

late the speed to a predetermined rate, shall be put on all cars. There are many arguments for and against this. After Secretary Roper began his inquiry, a committee representing automobile manufacturers submitted a report to him dealing at some length with the question. The argument was advanced that the use of such a device on all cars might well increase accidents. There would be greater danger in passing, and it is part of the American mania to want to pass the car ahead. And, among other objections, it was suggested that "the dangerous driver would 'jimmy' the governor, while only those willing to be governed would be controlled."

Now, aside from that casual commentary on the people of this country as predisposed at least in part to lawlessness, I think the arguments of the manufacturers were a bit disingenuous. The fact is that they know they couldn't sell cars to the speed-mad American public if governors were employed reducing their rate of movement to reasonable terms. Any Congress which passed a law requiring such devices in interstate traffic, (this would meet but a tiny fraction of the problem) would be retired from public service almost automatically by enraged constituents. Any State Legislature enacting such a law would meet the same fate. This people would no more tolerate an enforced leisureliness in moving about than it would tolerate another attempt to prohibit the use of alcoholic liquors.

Dean Fales thinks it would be better to apply governors to drivers than to vehicles; and this has a bottom of good sense, because the speeding road-hog is the most frequent cause of motor manslaughter. If it were possible to establish on our streets and highways manners as good as we practice at the dinner table, the automobile death rate would drop astonishingly. Mr. Fales suggests that if the speedometer were built to set off a buzzer at high speeds, and so warn the driver that his car might be getting out of control, it would prove useful.

Dr. Miller McClintock of Harvard and some of his associates in the Erskine Bureau of Traffic Research argue that to require governors on motors would be no more sensible than to prohibit razors because they are sharp and people can cut themselves. This point of view, as I see it, accords with Voltaire's statement that the consequence of protecting fools from the results of their folly is only to create more fools. Or, to take the other view, it simmers down to an assumption that if the people of this country want to commit a combined mass suicide and manslaughter annually, it is their affair. Is not this the land of the free? The truth is that many trucks and buses are equipped even now with governors which perform their function efficiently, and that there is no wailing nor gnashing of teeth among the owners and drivers about the loss of their precious liberty. They do not construe liberty as a license to speed.

Educational Campaigns

A campaign of education, now virtually nation-wide, has been undertaken in the hope that the American people can be taught good sense. Milwaukee and other cities have schools for drivers. In Huntington, Ind., violators of minor traffic rules get a warning instead of a "ticket." The warning is a sticker bearing notice of the offense, which must be left in place for thirty days. If there is another offense during that time the driver goes to a police cell. In Los Angeles, in similar circumstances, a sticker is placed on the windshield, "Traffic Violator." These scarlet letters are a punishment in themselves, because they subject the driver to suspicion, ridicule, and avoidance. Oklahoma City times its parked cars with an automatic meter in crowded areas. In New York State the automobile association proposes to give a reward to the safest driver it can find, but he must have driven 50,000 miles during ten years without an accident or conviction of a traffic violation. Hundreds of candidates have applied for the honor, which is heartening. The daily press and some magazines have put in valiant strokes in awakening the public to

its foolhardiness and its danger. It is a mass problem, and requires mass educational methods.

Driving in the Dark

Mostly we are daylight drivers. More than half our accidents occur after dark. The death rate doubles during the evening rush hour in Winter, when we go home in the dusk or the dark. Studies made by the State of Michigan and the University of Maryland show that about one tenth of the cars moving at night were doing 60 miles or more an hour.

Automobile headlights have two faults: By their glare they dazzle or blind approaching drivers or their own driver; and they tend to deteriorate rapidly, especially at high speeds. Frequent inspections and tests of cars, not only as to headlights but as to brakes and engines, are indicated as an avenue to greater safety. Some States require this semi-annually, which is regarded by the motorist as a hardship, but which is not often enough. If quarterly inspections could be required by Federal enactment it would help.

More rigid examinations of applicants for drivers' licenses, and periodical examination thereafter, would eliminate many who are well-meaning but a danger because of faulty eyesight, imperfect reflexes or jittery nervous reaction. Much is being done by public and private agencies in the search for remedies, but much more remains to be done if our streets and highways are to be made moderately safe for those on foot and those on wheels.

Jung on Dictators

I HAVE just come from America, where I saw Roosevelt. Make no mistake, he is a force—a man of superior but impenetrable mind, but perfectly ruthless, a highly versatile mind which you cannot foresee. He has the most amazing power complex, the Mussolini substance, the stuff of a dictator absolutely.

There are two kinds of dictators—the chieftain type and the medicine man type. Hitler is the latter. He is a medium. German policy is not made; it is revealed through Hitler. He is the mouthpiece of the Gods as of old. He says the word which expresses everybody's resentment.

I remember a medicine man in Africa who said to me, almost with tears in his eyes: "We have no dreams any more since the British are in the country." When I asked him why, he answered: "The District Commissioner knows everything."

Mussolini, Stalin, and Roosevelt rule like that, but in Germany they still have "dreams." You remember the story of how, when Hitler was being pressed by other Powers not to withdraw Germany from the League of Nations, he shut himself away for three days, and then simply said, without explanation: "Germany must withdraw!" That is rule by revelation.

Hence the sensitiveness of Germans to criticism or abuse of their leader. It is blasphemy to them, for Hitler is the Sybilla, the Delphic oracle.

—Professor C. G. Jung, Swiss psychologist, quoted in *The Observer*, London, October 18, 1936.

AUTHORS *in this ISSUE:*

H. Parker Willis (*Accord on Money*) is professor of banking at Columbia University. An economist of wide academic, journalistic, and public experience, he drafted the Federal Reserve Act, 1913, the Federal Farm Loan Act, 1914, and, as technical adviser to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 1930–32, the Banking Act of 1933. Professor Willis is author of *The Federal Reserve System*, among other works, and co-author of *Contemporary Banking*, *The Banking Situation*, and *Economics of Inflation*.

✦ ✦ ✦

Ludwig Lore (*The Score in Spain*). See CURRENT HISTORY for November.

✦ ✦ ✦

Michael Williams (*How Many Slain?*) is editor of *The Commonweal*, the Catholic weekly review of literature, the arts, and public affairs, and is a well-known figure in American literary circles.

✦ ✦ ✦

Curt L. Heymann (*Reforming the League*) is on the editorial staff of the *New York Times*. He was formerly foreign correspondent in London, Berlin, Geneva, and Paris for American newspapers and European news agencies. He has contributed frequently on foreign affairs to leading American periodicals.

✦ ✦ ✦

Ronald Stuart Kain (*Peace and the Americas*) is associate editor in charge of international relations for the New International Year Book. A former newspaper man and a keen student of Pan American subjects, he has contributed to CURRENT HISTORY in the past, and to the Political Science Quarterly.

✦ ✦ ✦

Abraham G. Duker (*Jews in Poland*) is Book Review Editor of *The Jewish Social Service Quarterly* and Research Librarian of the Graduate School for Jewish Social Work. On two recent trips to Poland, he made exhaustive studies of the Jewish situation in that country, and has lectured frequently on the subject. He is author of *The Situation of the Jews in Poland*, New York, 1936, and has contributed to many American publications on Eastern European history.

✦ ✦ ✦

Cortez Enloe (*Germany Tightens Her Belt*) writes from Berlin, where he has been living for the past four years as correspondent for the *Kansas City Star*.

✦ ✦ ✦

Charles Hodges (*Czechoslovakia's Choice*). See CURRENT HISTORY for November.

✦ ✦ ✦

Rodger L. Simons (*Sturdy Finland*) is an American newspaperman who writes on the northern countries for several London publications.

✦ ✦ ✦

Samuel S. Shipman (*Russia's New Constitution*) spent three years in the Soviet Union in an engineering capacity. For the past several years he has been engaged in research work and writing on developments in that country.

✦ ✦ ✦

Alwyn W. Knight (*America's Red Cross*) has been doing public relations work in the Red Cross for the past two years. His free-lance articles have appeared in the *Washington Post* and the *Baltimore Sun*, among other publications.

✦ ✦ ✦

Silas Bent (*Speed on the Highways*) is author of *Machine-Made Man*, 1929; *Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, a Biography*, 1932; and *Buchanan of the Press*, a novel, 1932. A former editorial writer for the *New York Times* and once an associate editor of *The Nation's Business*, he has been free-lancing since 1922. He is a contributor to the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.

THEY SAY

SOMETIMES IMPORTANT ★ OFTEN AMUSING ★ ALWAYS AUTHENTIC

IN THE name of the Government of the Spanish Republic, the workers, and the democratic organizations that are defending constitutional legality against armed fascism, I heartily greet the Central Executive of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the toilers of your land.

—Telegram from Largo Caballero, President of the Spanish Republic, to M. Kalinin, President of the Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R., as published in *Izvestia*, Moscow, October 14, 1936.

In the name of the Government and toilers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics I thank you for your warm greetings and am utilizing this occasion to transmit to the revolutionary government and heroic people of the friendly Spanish Republic our most hearty wishes for success in their struggle for freedom and the right of the people.

—Reply from M. Kalinin to Largo Caballero, also published in *Izvestia*, October 14, 1936.

Dear Comrades! We women workers in the garment factories of the great capital of the Free Country send our flaming greetings to the heroic people of Spain who struggle courageously against the murderous bands of the fascist generals in defense of the freedom and independence of their country. We are confident, dear sisters, that your victory is near. It is a righteous war that you are waging and, whatever the sacrifices may be, victory belongs to you.

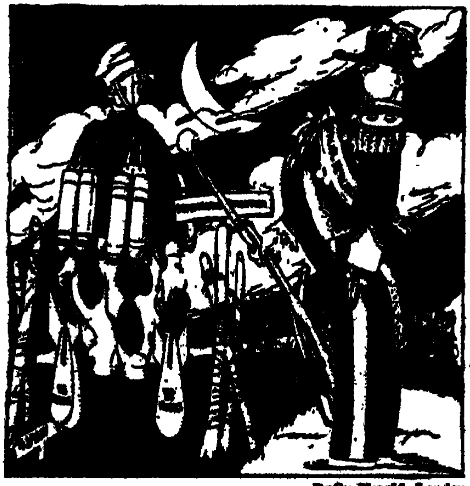
In these days of severe struggle and great ordeal, we are wholeheartedly yours. * * * In common with all the toilers of our great land, we have contributed towards the purchase of provisions for your children, and now we are also honored to sew garments for your little ones.

Tell your near ones, those who are engaged in combat with the insolent fascists, that your children will not be left without clothes. And know that the whole people of the Soviet Union are with you!

—Resolution adopted and dispatched to Spain by women workers in the needle trades of Moscow, as published in *Pravda* (Moscow), Sept. 15, 1936.

Gen. Han's Bluff?

The fact that the Japanese are again exerting pressure on Gen. Han Fu-chu to force him to join the puppet Hopei-Chahar Political Council at Peiping has brought into prominence the key position now occupied by the Shantung governor, who, with the exception of Gen. Yen Hsi-shan in Shansi, is the only head of a province still able to maintain a semi-independent position with respect to the Central Government at Nanking. The recent settlement of the Canton-Kwangsi complications and the reorganization of the military and financial establishments in the southern provinces by the National Government has caused attention to be turned on Shantung where the Japanese are trying to fish in troubled waters with the object of strengthening their military position in North China. The chief-of-staff of the Japanese



Daily Herald, London

"Halt, who goes there?"
"Enemy!"
"Pass enemy—for the moment I thought you were a friend!"



Il Travaso, Rome

BOLSHEVIST ART

Dynamite Worker "What do you think of it? My fame is made."

Kwantung army recently declared the intention of the Japanese warlords to "protect" Gen. Han Fu-chu in the event the National Government should try to interfere in Shantung which the Japanese regard as their "sphere," despite the action of the Washington Conference in 1922 which compelled the Japanese to restore the province to Chinese control.

This brings us to the story about Gen. Han and Japan's master of military intrigue, Gen. Doihara, who recently visited the Shantung Governor and exerted all possible influence to induce Gen. Han to break with Nanking and join the "Five-Province-Coalition" which the Japanese have marked out on the map as their new puppet state. According to the report whispered about in Peiping and Tientsin, Doihara arranged for a private interview with Gen. Han and specified that the conversations were to be secret with no interpreters, bodyguards, or attendants of any character present; not even the ubiquitous Chinese boy who brings in hot tea and towels at all official interviews. When Gen. Han arrived at the appointed place and hour he was ushered into a room, all very mysteriously, where he found Doihara waiting for him. The Japanese general then launched upon an explanation of his schemes in North China and made Gen. Han an attractive proposition if he would join in with the Japanese military machine and help consolidate the so-called Japan-Manchukuo-China "bloc." But Gen. Han, while expressing deep appreciation for the Japanese offer, explained that he was only a simple-minded military man, unfamiliar with politics, and suggested that Gen. Doihara "take the matter up with the Nanking Government." Gen. Doihara then went over it again, increasing the inducement, whatever it was, but each time Gen. Han raised objection. Finally Doihara lost patience and pointed out to Gen. Han that the house was surrounded by Japanese gunmen and unless Gen. Han agreed to the Japanese warlord's proposal he would never leave the room alive. At this point Gen. Han took out his watch and pointing to it explained that before he left his headquarters he had given instructions that in the event he did not return by 10:30 o'clock he had issued orders to his troops to massacre every Japanese in Tsinan. What happened after that has not been recorded but at daylight the next morning a Japanese military plane alighted on the Tsinan airfield and scarcely had it stopped before Doihara climbed aboard and the plane roared away to the North. A few days later the General Staff ordered Japan's "master of intrigue" back to Tokyo.

—*China Weekly Review*, October 3, 1936.

✦ ✦ ✦

A New Race Theory

Unexpected competition has sprung up against Gobineau's race theory which in Germany has been elevated to the rank of a dogma, placing * * * the Aryans above all other culturally creative peoples. The Turkish philosophers believe to have sufficient evidence on hand proving that the Turkish language is the mother-tongue of all other languages, whence it follows logically that all existing cultures are likewise the offspring of Turkish culture. The Aryans, consequently, are losing their claim to primacy.

Naturally enough, Turkish scholars are exercising themselves to spread this theory of theirs abroad. With that in view, they invite numerous sages from abroad each year to their "Feast of the Languages" founded by Kemal Pasha.

—*Prager Presse*, Prague, Czechoslovakia, October 9.

✦ ✦ ✦

Sudeta Germans

The Party Assembly of the Sudeta Germans, convened to meet at Falkenau on August 29 and 30, was prohibited by the Czechoslovak authorities on the plea that the Assembly would have met in such enormous numbers that it would have been bound to endanger public order. In answer to the prohibition almost all the inhabitants of Falkenau marched out on the day on which the Assembly was to have met to an outlying forest, the result being that on the Sunday in question the town was practically depopulated. At the party meetings held since then at Römerstadt and Karlsbad Conrad Henlein once more most energetically demanded autonomy for the Sudeta Germans. In his speech at the latter place during the meeting held there on September 6, Henlein made the following statements:

"Our native land, which has been saturated with the blood and the sweat of our fathers, belongs for ever to us Sudeta Germans. Our native land is Germany and we must use our utmost strength to ensure that our native land shall always remain German. It is impossible to extermi-

nate three and a half million Sudeten Germans. . . . We must never cease proclaiming that for us there can be no solution of the Sudeten German question until our demand to be granted the right of self-government in our own affairs has been definitively complied with."

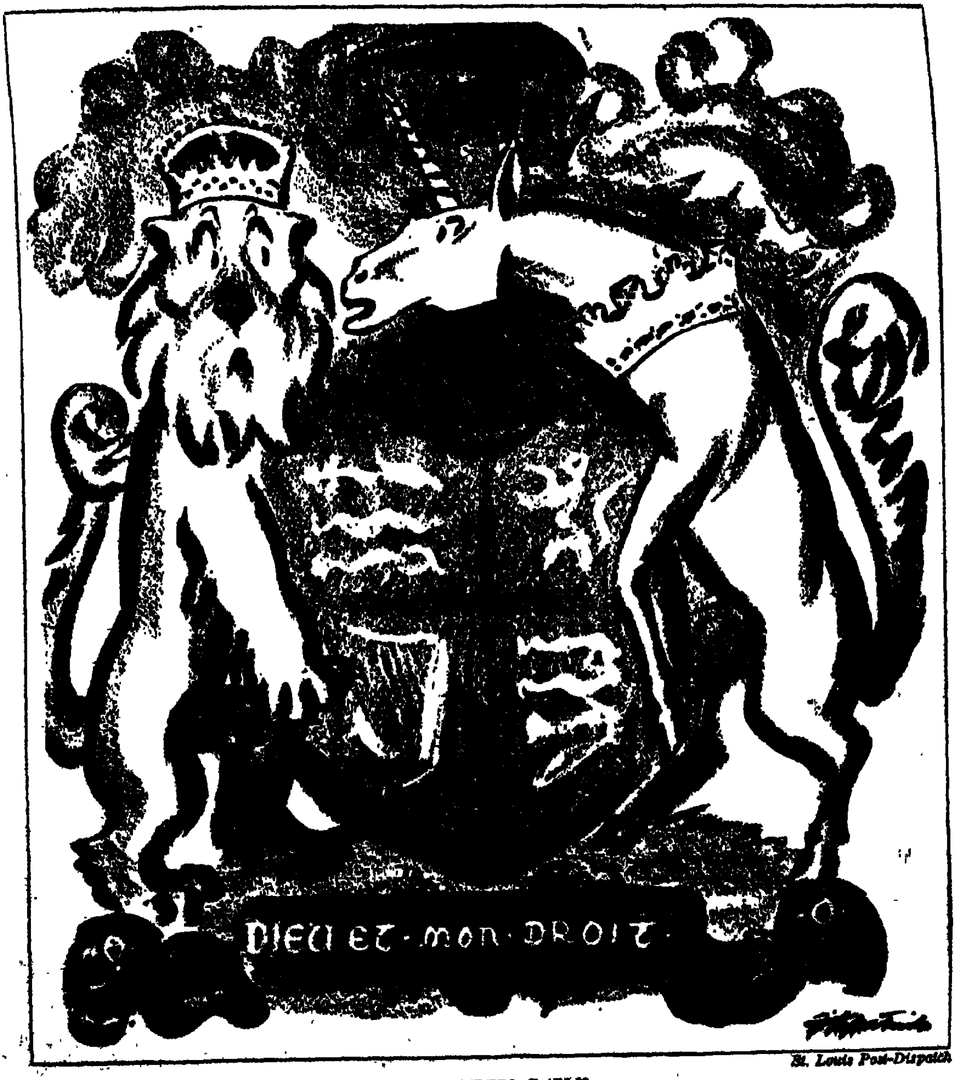
—*Danubian Review*

That synthetic State [Czechoslovakia] contains three and a half million Germans. Nazi racial principles claim them for Germany. Under false representations by the Czech delegates at the Peace Conference they were transferred from Austria to the new hybrid nation of Czechoslovakia created by various peace treaties. A million Hungarians were annexed in the same way.

These racial minorities have never been assimilated. Harsh treatment by the Czech Government makes them increasingly conscious of their captivity in a strange land. But for Czechoslovakia's associations with France and Russia it is doubtful whether they would have remained unliberated so long. Continuance in their present condition is manifestly impossible.

If the British Cabinet were disposed to make a practical contribution to the peace of Central Europe it would offer a discreet word of advice to the Czech Government. The speedy grant of local autonomy to its German and Hungarian populations is the only means of averting the critical situation which will otherwise soon confront Czechoslovakia.

—London *Daily Mail*



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"SO THEY SAY."



Il Travaso, Rome

RUPTURES OF PEACE IN PALESTINE
"Does this petrol yield well?"
"Yes, eight corpses to the gallon."

Shanghai Cabaret

During the past five years, Shanghai has seen a great boom in the cabaret business. Cabarets have sprung up just as fast as "the bamboo shoots after rainfalls," and thousands of Chinese taxi-dancers have been hastily trained up to meet the increasing demands. Young business men and college students have gone to cabarets even more regularly than they have attended to their offices or classes. Even many of our old people have thrown away their mask of morality and forget the pains of their stiff legs in trying to master modern American dancing steps. Thanks to the thoughtfulness of cabaret-owners, even the poor people can afford to enjoy this pastime, when the price of dancing has become so cheap that one can have ten or even fifteen dances at the mere cost of one dollar. Just think of it, one can dance with a girl * * * for a few minutes at ten cents or less. No wonder, on Saturdays and Sundays, cabarets are packed to the overflowing, for nowhere can you get back so much by spending so little.

—*China Weekly Review*

✦ ✦ ✦

Schuschnigg's Coup

The way in which Schuschnigg [Austria's Dictator] eliminated the Heimwehr and his rival Starhemberg is a measure of the difference between Austrian and German political methods. The Heimwehr made the same sort of a bid for supremacy in Austria that the Storm Troops under Roehm did in Germany. But whereas the destruction of the Storm Troops involved the blood-bath of June 30, 1934, and the murder of Roehm, in Austria the crushing of the Heimwehr has been at the expense of two or three street demonstrations and a few well-timed decrees.

Schuschnigg does not, however, now become a dictator: he was that before. For in the past few months it became plain that the Heimwehr was incapable of reversing the overthrow of Starhemberg and that its own disappearance was only a question of time.

But one mystery attaches to the series of events: How far Schuschnigg owes his supremacy to Hitler and what price will he ultimately have to pay for it? True, the Austro-German agreement which was concluded on July 11 seemed on paper to be all to the advantage of Austria, since the Nazis apparently abandoned thereby their ambition to absorb the country. * * * Presumably the Italians, who in 1934 constituted themselves the protectors of Austria against a German Nazi coup, approved of the agreement, because they trusted Schuschnigg not to yield too much in return. But there are those who think that Mussolini sold the pass to Germany. . . .

—From an Editorial in *Manchester Guardian*, October 12, 1936.

✦ ✦ ✦

Oil and Coal

Now a word about petroleum reserves and the recurring scares concerning exhaustion. To the best of this industry's knowledge and belief, proven reserves exceed twelve billion barrels. Their magnitude, and the extent of the added reserve that inevitably will be created as new discoveries are made, are such as to assure every consumer of petroleum products that there is not the slightest indication of any imminent danger of a petroleum shortage. The millions of users of internal-combustion engines likewise may be assured there are supplementary supplies of motor fuel of almost unlimited quantities which economically can be obtained from such substitutes for well oil as bituminous coal and oil shale. And the motorist should not be stampeded by the predictions of alarmists into believing he should trade his flivver for a horse and buggy for fear he cannot obtain sufficient fuel to keep the old bus rolling!

—W. R. Boyd, Jr., executive vice president, American Petroleum Institute, in an address on April 9, 1936, at the spring meeting of the southwestern district of the institute's division of production, Shreveport, La.

About one percent of the original coal reserves of the United States has been consumed, leaving an estimated 3½ trillion tons still in the earth, and making this country the repository for about half of the world's supply, Mr. [W. A.] Selvig [of the Bureau of Mines, Interior Department] said. However, the greater reserves consist of low rank bituminous coal, sub-bituminous coal, and lignite, while reserves of the higher rank coals are relatively small. As the bulk of coal mined consists of the high grade, high rank coals, the best naturally will be the first to be exhausted, he pointed out [in a talk before the Purchasing Agents Association at Hamilton, Ontario, Canada].

At the present rate of consumption of 900 million barrels per year, the known oil reserve in the United States will last only about 15 years, Mr. Selvig said. New oil reserves will be discovered, Selvig pointed out; nevertheless the frequency at which new fields are being found is declining and the necessity of supplementing oil with liquid fuel from coal may be required within the present generation. * * *

—Press Memorandum, U. S. Department of the Interior, June 17, 1936.

✦ ✦ ✦

Germany Explains

We have no desire to impose National Socialism upon other peoples. If it is their wish to combat bolshevism with democracy, it is all right with us. But we may be asked: "If you, in Germany, have really vanquished bolshevism, why do you still talk about it?" To which we can only answer: "It is because we are conscious Europeans. We know that Germany is not the only country in the world, that we are surrounded by neighbors with whom we have formed economic and cultural relations, and we wish to continue those relations."***

We witness turmoil, frightful fratricides. We listen to speeches: "The Red Army is the standing army of world revolution." We observe that in Karelia and in Ingermanland (Arctic Russia), village after village is being depopulated so that a thoroughfare may be created against Finland and the Baltic states. We watch the aggressive military activities on the Russo-Rumanian border, and we notice the aircraft which Russia continues building in ever-increasing numbers. And then there emerge before our eyes also the cities and towns and churches of venerable Europe.

Should it all go to ruin, like the churches of Barcelona, like the Alcazar of Toledo? No! we will let the gentlemen of Moscow manage their affairs as they please, but we want nothing of their anti-European teaching. We want the protection of Europe's sacred shrines. . . .

—Dr. Alfred Rosenberg before a group of foreign correspondents and representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, as reported by the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Berlin, October 16, 1936.

FRANCE DEBATES DEVALUATION

Following are excerpts from the debate on devaluation in the French Chamber of Deputies on Sept. 28, as taken from the Journal Officiel. *Speakers who are quoted may be identified as follows:*

The Rapporteur Général, M. Jammy Schmidt—Radical-Socialist, pro-Government.

M. Pierre Colomb—Radical Left group (center), has the reputation of being one of the comic personages of Parliament.

M. Louis Marin—Republican Federation (right), former minister.

M. Georges Bonnet—Radical-Socialist, against Front Populaire government, former minister.

M. Pierre Mendès-France—Radical-Socialist, pro-government, was youngest member of the Chamber when elected in 1932, is only 30 now.

M. Jacques Duclos—Communist, Vice-President of the Chamber.

The President, M. Edouard Herriot—Radical-Socialist, twice premier, and many times minister.

The Minister of Finance—M. Vincent Auriol, Socialist.

M. Paul Reynaud—Moderate Independent, former Minister of Finance and of the Colonies, has for two years favored devaluation.

The Rapporteur-Général: In reality what the currency of a country represents is the aggregate wealth of the nation. As old La Fontaine said in his fable of the Plowman and his Children, it is not any treasure hidden in the ground that makes the riches of a country but the labor of the peasant. It is because the working population creates a special living standard every day for a whole nation that it is possible at any given moment to compute the value of the currency on the basis of the total resources of the country. The currency is thus the reflection of the country's fortune.

M. Pierre Colomb: This franc which has withstood so many trials, which has survived the Empire and its disasters—two revolutions, the defeat of 1871, the economic crisis of the nineteenth century—has not been able to stand up, under a socialist administration. It has not been able to survive the systematic increase of public expenditures and the loss of confidence by capital resulting from social disorder (Applause on the benches of the center and of the right). It has not been able to withstand the occupation of factories and farms (Applause on the same benches), nor the menacing speeches of MM. Paul Faure [Socialist minister without portfolio] and Pivert and Zyromski [Socialist leaders] (Applause as before). It has not been able to withstand even the denials of M. Salengro [Socialist minister of the Interior] (Applause and laughter on same benches).

M. Louis Marin: What we have before us is not so much the devaluation of your party as its bankruptcy (Applause on the right and center benches, interruptions on the left).

The President: The Minister of Finance has the floor.

The Minister of Finance: I shall make the same answer to M. Marin as to M. Colomb. Our colleague holds it against us that we have sprung the situation upon you without preparing you for

I shall remind you of a precedent which M. Louis Marin has particular reasons for not forgetting. When we discussed the stabilization of the franc in 1928, M. Poincaré had M. Marin by his side. The debate began at 9 in the morning, upon a report passed round that very morning. And M. Poincaré pressed us to finish the discussion that same day, owing to the urgent nature of the question.

The President: M. Louis Marin has the floor.

M. Louis Marin: The question was not at all the same, you may well believe me (Exclamations and laughter on the extreme left; applause on the right). Let me tell you, you who laugh, that there is nothing like being completely ignorant for a hearty laugh (Applause on the right, exclamations on the left). At the time of M. Poincaré the condition of France was not what it is at present. The atmosphere required by M. Paul Reynaud for undertaking devaluation existed then; it does not exist today. France had no unemployed; her economy seemed prosperous; she was able to bear the burden. There is another difference—M. Colomb has alluded to it—France enjoyed internal peace. Her budget was balanced —and that is a matter of capital importance— while today you would hesitate to talk about equilibrium even with the profit you are going to get from theft and swindle. (Loud applause on the right and center. Interruptions on the extreme left.)

The President: These words, I am sure, exceed your meaning, M. Marin.

Several members on the right: No, no.

The President: I am speaking to M. Marin.

M. Louis Marin: There is still another considerable difference, of which M. Herriot is just reminding me. At that time, M. Poincaré had gathered round him the confidence of all France (Applause on the right and center). Can one truly claim that the Government which is on these benches has the confidence of all France? (Interruptions on the extreme left.)

M. Georges Bonnet: In truth—I have often said it in this Chamber—devaluation is not a policy; it is the condition precedent to a policy whose main lines I have often traced. I mean that it presupposes a balanced budget; it presupposes at the very least that the Government and the Parliament which upholds it is working for a balanced budget. Now, gentlemen, the experiment of this Government—which, I hope, is finished; that is the one problem with which we are confronted; for if the Government regards its first experiment as ended, we may take heart—one of the characteristics, I say, of this first experiment was an utter contempt for a balanced budget. That balance seems to you to be a business of bookkeepers, a prejudice of the past, which had no roots in anything unless it were in a narrow idea which, by preventing the generous distribution of the public funds, diminished the purchasing power of the mass of citizens and thus aggravated the depression. . . . If you want devaluation to succeed you will have to erect a tombstone on your policies of yesterday; you will have to change the atmosphere which for four months has prevailed over the country.

M. Mendès-France: To listen to certain orators, to read certain articles, one would think that the devaluation measure, which everybody today recognizes as inevitable, was something that resulted from the policies pursued these four months, from the policies of the Front Populaire. At this moment when we are about to sanction the step by our votes, it is our duty not to let such an assertion pass unchallenged. Before the Front Populaire we had, as a matter of fact, had the deflation period. We can not overlook today the posture in which the deflation policy left France.

M. Jacques Duclos: Our warnings have gone unheeded; and it is because we did not strike at the big fortunes, as we Communists demanded, that we are now driven to seek a solution in manipulating the currency. This operation—you gentlemen of the right would like to have it carried out without any sort of counterbalancing provision (Interruptions on the right benches). The truth is that on your side of this assembly you have worked for and desire devaluation. Your chief quarrel with the Government is that it wishes to carry out the operation in such a way as to obviate the inhuman and cruel consequences which are sought in big capitalist quarters (Applause on the extreme left). Your tactics are deceiving nobody. It is rather surprising to see M. Louis Marin attack the Government and play the defender of the franc, when everybody knows that he is the president of the Republican Federation, and that at Nice, on April 12, 1934, at the convention of his party, M. de Wendel [the well-known munitions manufacturer and until recently regent of the Bank of France] came out in favor of deflation, and, as it were, laid down the general lines of policy which M. Laval was to pursue. And, not satisfied with mere deflation, he recommended devaluation (Applause on the Communist benches).

M. Louis Marin: Will you permit me to answer you?

M. Jacques Duclos: In a moment (Protests on the right).

The President: M. Louis Marin's name has been involved, and he has an unquestionable right to reply. M. Duclos will, I think, permit him to interrupt him.

M. Jacques Duclos: Gladly.

The President: M. Marin, with the speaker's permission, has the floor.

M. Louis Marin: If I alone had been dragged in, I should not have replied. But my friend M. de Wendel's name has been mentioned, and I only wish to point out, now that a second devaluation is about to be effected, that I saw him stand up at

this rostrum all alone at the time M. Poincaré was going to devaluate the franc and, as a regent of the Bank of France, oppose the measure with great courage and great intelligence. On that day I conceived for him the highest esteem. He acted against his own interests and against those of his class. He set at that moment a great example of patriotism. . . . I reply to our colleague M. Duclos that if it were not he it was his colleague M. Berlioz who said that it was the representatives of the two hundred families who wanted devaluation. We are going to see about that when we get down to a vote. We shall see what parties give it their blessing (Applause and laughter on the right, interruptions on the extreme left). And what interests me most—for there is no law against having a bit of fun in this house—is to see how M. Duclos and his Communist colleagues, who have so ably demonstrated the dangers of devaluation and so often announced that they will never vote for it, are going to explain how they changed their doctrines with the same ease as the Government. (Applause on the right.)

The President: The incident is closed.

M. Jacques Duclos: There are certain parties and certain men who, I must say, have no right to stand up against devaluation. They are those who represented deflation as a great scheme of economic salvation.

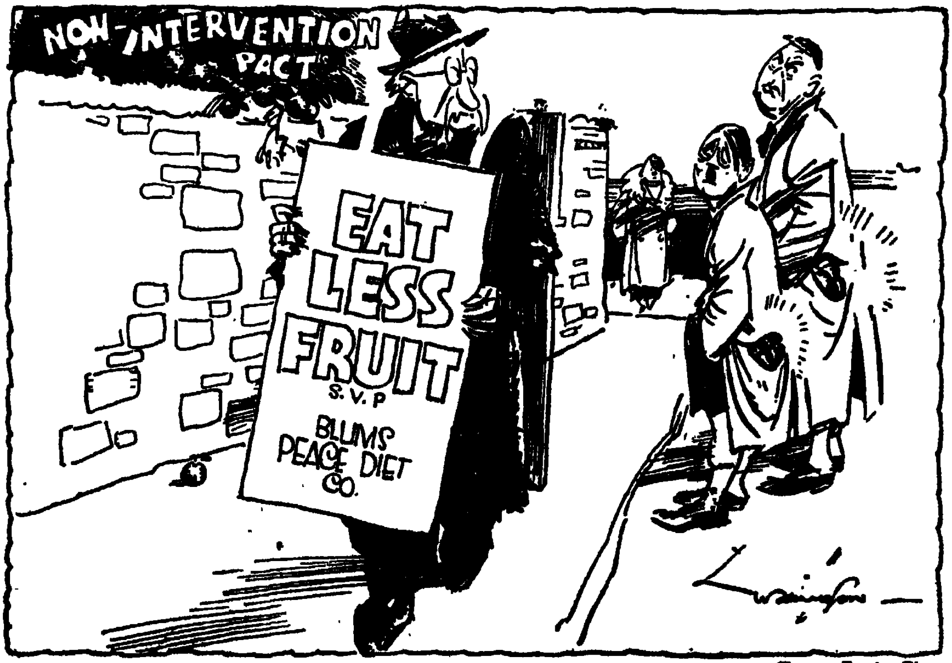
The Minister of Finance (addressing M. Paul Reynaud): You have said that since the present Government has been in office retail prices have risen faster than wholesale prices. Excuse me if I contradict you. I have before me the monthly statistics on wholesale prices. I suppose they are the same as yours (Smiles):

- General index: June, 372; July, 388; August, 395.
- Wholesale-price increase June to August, 23 points.
- Retail prices in Paris: average index (34 articles): June, 461; July, 461; August, 477.
- Difference between June and August: 16 points.

From September 1935 to May 1936—eight months—a rise of 40 points—that is about 10%. From June to August 1936, on the other hand, despite social legislation and strikes, rise of 16 points, that is 3.4%. Your higher figures are due to the error of including the month of May when the present Government was not yet in existence.

M. Paul Reynaud: The difference comes from the fact that I included the month of May. I did so because I consider M. Blum to have been during that month the Dauphin of France.

The Minister of Finance: There, gentlemen, is a witty interpretation of statistics. But you will have formed your own judgment. You have talked about the execution of the social laws. Yet they had hardly gone into effect in July. But I am as generous as you are in my consideration of prices, for I have included the months of June and July. The fact is that the rise in wholesale prices was greater than that of retail prices.



Glasgow Evening Times

FORBIDDEN FRUIT

The Premier: In his noteworthy speech M. Schuman told you: "You are debating, but in reality you are face to face with an accomplished fact." That is to a very great extent true. It is thus, and it is well-nigh inevitably thus, every time operations such as we are at this moment submitting to the French chambers are involved. No government, whatever may be its character, can do otherwise than to guard the secret jealously until such time as its decision may be made public. Once the matter is known it is already in force, as a result of the very fact that it is known. The moment a government talks of monetary alignment that alignment is a fact, almost irrevocably. That is inevitable; and no government, however respectful it might be toward the prerogatives and the sovereignty of parliament, could have acted other than we have acted. It would be very easy today for this sovereign chamber to overthrow us, for instance, if it found our explanations insufficient. But it would be very difficult for it, almost impossible, to undo what has been done.

✦ ✦ ✦

Questions on India

In answer to my question: "On the analogy of Ireland for the Irish, do you believe in India for the Indians and Ceylon for the Ceylonese?", he [George Bernard Shaw] said:

"You must not ask me whether 'I believe' in this or that. I recognize the existence of an emotion in men called nationalism which makes them dissatisfied unless they think they are governed by themselves and not by foreigners. They can think of nothing else until this instinct is satisfied, just as a wounded man can think of nothing but his wounds until he is well.



Daily Herald, London

ITS SPIRITUAL HOME

"Welcome, Golden Calf—we bin expectin' you here long fellow time!"

"The oldest men in India are forced to waste their time and energy on demand for self-government, which should be achieved at once and at any cost, to set them free for real service for their country."***

On the question of how self-government was to be obtained for India, Mr. Shaw was outspoken. One suspected, though, that there might have been a twinkle in his eye as he outlined his prescription for Indian Home Rule.

"There is no question," he said, "of 'granting' self-government. England cannot grant the separation of India. The Indians must take it. They must create a situation in which only by setting an English soldier with a rifle to stand over every Indian, which is numerically impossible, could British rule be maintained."

The subject of Empire Trade Preference then came up. I asked him whether an Indian could be expected to pay more for his clothes, for instance, just to help Empire cotton interests. . . .

"Why not?" he ejaculated. "If he won't make his own clothes, damn him!"

—An interview in the *Egyptian Gazette*, Cairo, August 25, 1936.

For more than fifty years the Indian National Congress has labored for the freedom of India, and ever, as its strength grew and it came to represent more and more the nationalist urge of the Indian people and their desire to put an end to exploitation by British Imperialism, it came into conflict with the ruling power. During recent years the Congress has led great movements for national freedom and has sought to develop sanctions whereby such freedom can be achieved by peaceful mass action and the disciplined sacrifice and suffering of the Indian people. To the lead of the Congress the Indian people have responded in abundant measure and thus confirmed their inherent right to freedom. That struggle for freedom still continues and must continue till India is free and independent.

These years have seen the development of an economic crisis in India and the world which has led to a progressive deterioration in the condition of all classes of our people. The poverty stricken masses are today in the grip of an even more abject poverty and destitution, and this growing disease urgently and insistently demands a radical remedy. Poverty and unemployment have long been the lot of our peasantry and industrial workers; today they cover and crush other classes also—the artisan, the trader, the small merchant, the middle class intelligentsia. For the vast millions of our countrymen the problem of achieving national independence has become an urgent one, for only independence can give us the power to solve our economic and social problems and end the exploitation of our masses.

The growth of the national movement and the economic crisis has resulted in the intense repres-

sion of the Indian people and the suppression of civil liberties, and the British Govt. has sought to strengthen the imperialist bonds that envelop India and to perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the Indian people by enacting the Government of India Act of 1935.

In the international sphere crisis follows crisis in an ever deepening degree and world war hangs over the horizon. The Lucknow Congress called the attention of the nation to this grave situation in India and the world, and declared its opposition to the participation of India in an imperialist war and its firm resolve to continue the struggle for the independence of India.

The Congress rejected in its entirety the constitution imposed upon India by the New Act and declared that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India, and does not recognise their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future, can be accepted. Such a constitution, in its opinion, must be based on the independence of India as a nation and it can only be framed by a Constituent Assembly.

—From the All India Congress Election manifesto.

✦ ✦ ✦

"Brown Sisters"

As reported from National-Socialist sources, there took place [in Germany] the consecration of the first Brown Sisterhood of Mercy. The reasons for the new muster were there and then given: first, there has been a steady retrogression in the number of Confessional (Catholic) sisterhoods; second, the need to prevent sisters from rendering service in connection with certain kinds of operations—sterilization, for instance. The more essential reason, however, was revealed in the admission that "the future is fraught with such problems as only those who behave in conformity with the Nazi *Weltanschaung* [world outlook] could cope with."

Asked whether it was permissible [for Brown Sisters] to believe in God, the Reich's Women's Leader suggested, in the first place, to abide by the terms of the oath; and in the second place, that a distinction should be made between undefined fear of God and those formulae, doctrines, and dogmas which people permit themselves to conjure up concerning God. . . .

—*Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, October 6, 1936.

✦ ✦ ✦

Germany's Morale

The barrage of words against Soviet Russia has not raised Germany's morale by an iota; it remains very low, and the disappointment in the [labor] management as regards any prospect of wage increase is very great.***

The question how nearly two thirds of the Reich's working families can get along on an



NEA Service

TO AVOID THE TIGHTENING OF BELTS

average of 27.80 Marks (about $11.20) a week is answered very simply: *they starve.****

How very nearly the living standard is approaching that of the famine years of the World War may also be judged from this: During the war, many furloughed proletarian soldiers, escaping the hellish front for a period of from eight to fourteen days, were obliged to work during their furloughs in the war industries, so that they could buy nourishment for their starving children. It is the same today, when many workers find themselves obliged to spend their short annual vacations, not in recreation, but in search of employment outside their own field, to augment their low insufficient wage***

The Nuremberg speeches were unable to conceal the fact that millions of German workers are placed on hunger rations. This fact is not altered by the unfoldment of military power, and the new four-year plan is likely to render the worker's menu still more proletarian. . .

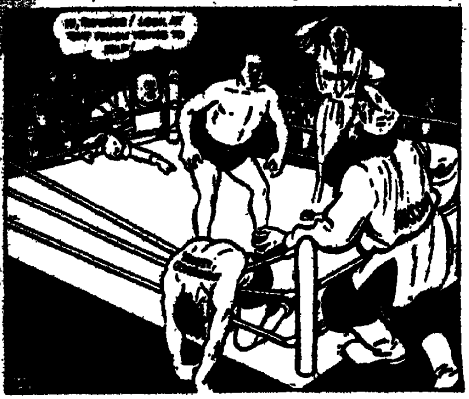
—*National Zeitung*, Basle, Switzerland, September 28, 1936.

✦ ✦ ✦

Notes on Radek

For me [Karl] Radek is the man who invited me on a visit to an enviable apartment at the top of a sort of skyscraper with a view on the Kremlin and said to me when we got on his terrace-roof, "Is there any country in the world where a journalist is so well treated?"

He is also the man whose chauffeur drove me through the streets of Moscow at 80 miles per hour while the vile people scattered [as the car sped on]. When Stalin decided to launch a "plot



Glasgow Record

THE SPANISH CHAMPIONSHIP

against Stalin's life", when Zinoviev, Kamenev and others were put up for judgment, their intimate friend Radek, in anxiety, published an article in *Izvestia* of extraordinary violence against "these cowards that deserved death."

Stalin, with a laugh, congratulated the good Radek who thought he had pulled his chestnuts out of the fire. Alas! He is now under arrest too. . . . But let's not be surprised at anything. . . .

—Anonymous writer in *Emancipation Nationale*, Paris, October 10, 1936.

✤ ✤ ✤

Thorez Speaks Out

Of course we are one with the workers, with the democrats who, under the leadership of the legal Government [of Spain], are resisting the fascist rebels, agents of Hitler and Mussolini. Yet it is true that, from the very beginning, we Communists have declared that it is not merely a question of sympathy and solidarity towards the Spanish people, but one where the interests of our country are at stake, the very future of our people. Nobody, then, amongst us, except traitors in the pay of Hitler, can deny the threat of encirclement of France, the aim pursued by the dictator of Berlin through the agencies of the Francos and the Molas. * * *

To explain the aims of Hitler I propose to read some extracts from the book which our central committee has chosen for study in all party schools: *Mein Kampf*, written by Hitler. He writes: "It must be clearly realized that the moral and inexorable enemy of the German people is, and continues to be, France." * * * Hitler goes on to declare that in our country "the invasion by the Negroes is making such rapid progress that one can speak of the birth of an African State on European soil."

I wish to repeat what I have already declared * * * in this very hall just after the coup of March 7: "We far prefer the honest Negro to a Hitler, who dishonors humanity." Is it in the name of the white races that Hitler advises Franco to bring over to Europe our Arab and Moroccan brothers to fight the Spaniards on their own soil?

The same hypocricy is revealed when, under the pretext of defending the Catholic religion, the Spanish rebels arm their Mohammedan soldiers against the Basque Catholics, who are fighting by the side of Democrats, Socialists, and Communists for the defense of the Spanish Republic. * * *

—From a speech by Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, reprinted and widely distributed throughout France.

Regarding German protests against the alleged insults inflicted on Mr. Hitler by French Communists, it is pointed out that Mr. Maxim Litvinov's presence in Paris adds a new element of mystery to the incident.

Mr. Litvinov came directly to Paris at the close of the League's session instead of going back directly to Moscow. The reason for this has not been disclosed, but it is believed in certain circles to be due to the Hitler-French Communist incidents.

Humanité, organ of the French Communists does not even mention Mr. Litvinov's presence in Paris.

Figaro [extreme Right] says: "Everybody knows that for the last few months the [Soviet] Comintern has been trying to awaken a belligerent spirit in the French Communists in the hope of precipitating a conflict between France and Germany."

—*Courrier des Etats Unis*, New York, October 17, 1936.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

ON THE OTHER HAND—

The plan of the [French] Communists is only too evident. They want to use the Popular Front to get rid of the forces hostile to their policies. Through the Popular Front, their plan is to destroy all centers of resistance. They demand heads and the imprisonment of the chiefs of all (French) nationalist parties, dissolution of these parties, purification of the police, army and administration. So they try to clear the road of all obstacles that prevent them from getting into power. . . .

It is only necessary to unmask their political and financial dealings with Moscow for the French nation to understand that it is being maneuvered by Moscow.

—J. Doriot, head of Parti Populaire Français, in *Emancipation Nationale*, Paris, October 10, 1936.



Jugend, Munich

THE BARBER OF SEVILLE
"People's Front or Nationalist, sir?

Ciano's Promotion

The Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, is slated for the office of Prime Minister, and the Fascist High Council that is to convene on November 18th will have the matter on its agenda.

This, however, will result in no noteworthy change in the Constitution itself. As is well known, Mussolini is the Leader of Fascism, and as such is, ipso facto, President of the Fascist Supreme Council, the head of the Government and *Primo Ministro.*

Even after bestowing the post of President upon his 33-year-old son-in-law, he still retains the prerogative which inheres in his position as head of the Government and Leader of Fascism, constituting him *The* Nation.

Count Ciano, whom Mussolini will have thus elevated to the highest rank ever achieved under Fascism, will retain his portfolio of Foreign Minister.

—*Hamburger Fremdenblatt,* Hamburg, Germany, October 8.

VOROSHILOV: A New Dictator?

TO THOSE who are fond of drawing historical parallels, the [Moscow] process and shooting of the Sixteen [Bolshevik leaders] furnishes abundant food. The Russian Revolution has produced its own Dantons, its own Desmoulins and Heberts. Comparisons, as they say, are very suggestive, and from them one easily goes over to predictions. If, as it is alleged. the Russian Revolution reproduces with such regularity the stages of the French Revolution, why will it not continue doing so in the future? The Terror, then, must be followed by the Thermidor [moderate stage], the Thermidor by a Directory * * *, the Directory by a Consulate, and from there—only a straight road to a Bonaparte.

In these days, such a one [a Bonaparte] may not actually be crowned Emperor, but, ideologically, our times have fully equipped him for it, and have even furnished him with models. * * * Potentially, Napoleon does exist, and it is only necessary to name him. * * *

Here the opinions are divided. There are those who incline to think that Stalin will soon declare himself the official dictator of Russia, meaning that he will simply make formal the position he is already occupying. Others, on the other hand, believe that Stalin has already finished his part, and that, if he will not actually turn Robespierre and suffer the latter's fate, he will be relegated to the position of some lifeless ikon * * * and placed, perhaps, in the Red Square alongside of Lenin. These people think that Voroshilov [Soviet Defense Commissar] will be the real dictator.

Klementy Yefimovitch Voroshilov was born to a worker's family on January 23, 1881, in the village Verkhnii, District of Yekaterinoslav [Ukraine]. His descent was unquestionably proletarian, his father then being employed as a railway watchman * * * while his mother hired out for such housework as she could get from day to day. * * *

Until the age of 12, the future Soviet Generalissimo remained absolutely illiterate, having begun to work virtually at seven, for ten kopeks per day. * * * Periodically, too, he assisted in pasturing the village herd, and now and then he even went begging with his little sister.

At the age of 12 he entered an agrarian lower school * * *, the only school the present candidate for dictator ever finished. In 1896 he joined the workers of a metallurgical plant * * * and almost at once threw himself headlong, first into the professional, and then into the political, struggle. * * * Towards the end of 1903, young Klim joined the Social-Democratic party.

In 1905 [during the abortive revolution], "Volodjka," as his comrades nicknamed him, found himself in the very thick of events, at Lugansk. But it was not in debating at meetings that he was chiefly interested; he was more interested in organizing fighting units among the workers of the Hartman Works where he himself was employed. He was soon elected President of the Soviet of Workers Deputies, a post which the factory management recognized—but the police did not, and they arrested him instead.

It was then that the memorable disorders in front of the jail and in the factory took place, accompanied by a threat to raze it, unless the "president" were freed. * * * Indeed, they let "Volodjka" go. But he did not remain much longer in Lugansk. He had shown his mettle by that time, and events soon summoned him to the "Center." In February, 1916, he left for St. Petersburg, and from there to Finland and Stockholm, for the Party Convention.

There is an *official* biography to every Bolshevik leader. We have no special grounds to doubt the recorded facts and dates as such, but we know very well how such documents are written in Soviet Russia. * * * The Bolsheviki do not print a single line without a definite tendency. And so, when we take this into consideration, it transpires that his [Voroshilov's] revolutionism was of an entirely different character than that of Lenin and Trotsky, and even of Stalin himself.

Lenin was the fanatic of his idea, its Apostle and Lawgiver, the Buddha of Bolshevism, as it were, for whom Russia served merely as an experimental field. Trotsky was a typical international revolutionary phrasemonger, who carried his effective philippics to the immigrant conferences, * * * who at the very outset of his revolutionary activity took flight abroad, engaging here

in polemizing his enemies and intriguing them. Stalin was nearer Voroshilov's mood than either, but even he was too much eaten up by the poison of his own fanaticism. There was in his [Stalin's] senseless courage something that spelled fanatical renunciation of life and of all its bliss, * * * whereas Voroshilov loved life passionately in all its manifestations. This pug-nosed reckless "Volodjka" resembled very little the morose conspirator who is preoccupied either with manufacturing bombs or with writing challenges to political enemies. He loved wine and women, and when drunk, he loved to hop furiously. * * *

The years preceding the war he spent partly in the Caucasus * * * and partly in confinement. The war found him working in an armor plant, at Tsaritsin. In the Spring of 1915 he left for St. Petersburg and joined the workers of the Surgailo factory. * * * When the Revolution began, Voroshilov * * * left St. Petersburg for his former city, Lugansk, where he first assumed the post of President of the Soviet of Workers Deputies, and afterwards that of Mayor. He returned to St. Petersburg in the fall, after the Bolshevik revolution had already taken place. Here he worked for some time in Dzerzhinski's Cheka. * * * Again he returned to Lugansk where he organized militia bands against the Germans. From this moment on there opened up before him the military career which subsequently elevated him to the post of chief of all the armed forces of the former Russian Empire.

The subsequent stages of this career are well known. First, there was the Civil War in which Voroshilov participated from beginning to end, and it is very possible that here is where the real present-day Voroshilov was born. * * *

We shall not form hasty conclusions and idealize that which does not lend itself to idealization. However the case may be, the "nationalism" of Voroshilov * * * may only impress us by comparison with the wild internationalism of his coworkers. After clamoring so much for a world revolution in the name of the happiness of the "world proletariat," the very word "motherland" [which Voroshilov invariably employs] sounds like an unheard of blessing. * * * So we predict nothing and we idealize no one. But Voroshilov's name has been closely bound up with the history of our motherland during the past several years, and who knows how long and in what role he will directly affect her future destiny?

—*Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, New York City. Russian-language newspaper, November 1.

AN INTERVIEW WITH BENES

PRESIDENT [Eduard] Benes [of Czechoslovakia], in an interview with the dean of Holland's Journalists, Dr. E. Van Raalte, published in the Holland newspapers, answered the correspondent's questions [as follows]:

Q. *"How do you, Mr. President, view the present international situation?"*

A. "I believe that every statesman today knows what dire tragic consequences any kind of international conflict is bound to lead to. This alone gives me hope that Europe will avoid war and will succeed in solving the present-day international difficulties. Opportunely enough, the problem of the money-standard is now coming to the forefront, which is a very pressing problem, destined to engage the mind of responsible world-leaders for a long time to come. * * * I believe that the issue involved will establish the basis for an enduring economic and political peace."

Q. *"What, Mr. President, is your attitude towards Germany's return to the League of Nations?"*

A. "There can be no doubting the fact that Germany's resignation from the League threw formidable obstacles in the path of international developments. I believe, though, that when, in connection with the new Locarno pact, the question of regulating the money-standard will be brought up, a mutual basis and a more favorable atmosphere for cooperation will result therefrom."

Q. *"How does Czechoslovakia stand on the question of regional pacts?"*

A. "In the regional pact idea Czechoslovakia always saw a most effective means of maintaining world peace, supplementary to the policy of the League of Nations itself. Is not the Little Entente, whose existence dates back to 1920, the best proof that the conception is a sound one? Similarly, the Balkan Entente, the Baltic Entente, and the Locarno Pact are proofs of the rightness of this thesis.

"Today, too, I see in the Regional Pact idea a unified means of preserving peace, and a contribution to the solution of the League of Nations' crisis."

Q. *"What is Czechoslovakia's relationship with the USSR?"*

A. "Please do not view it as something extraordinary or sensational. It is but the normal relationship of one state concluding a mutual assistance pact with another state with a view to preserving the peace of middle and eastern Europe. The Pact is part and parcel of the system of collective security underlying the policy of the League of Nations itself, and is linked with the Franco-Russian Mutual Assistance Pact.

"Europe's public opinion should not be misled by the false rumors that are circulated about this contract. The Czecho-Russian reciprocal agreement is an exclusively defensive treaty, aiming against no other State."

—The foregoing interview was published in Holland newspapers and later in the *Prager Presse*, semi-official Czechoslovakian organ, from which this translation was made.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Oct. 10–Nov. 10

DOMESTIC

OCTOBER 10—Four Black Legion "terrorists" sentenced; jail terms from ten to twenty years.

OCTOBER 11—Charles H. Herty, of Savannah, reports fat, containing properties as animal flesh, taken from Southern pine trees.

$24,000,000 fund allotted for Atlantic Coast waterway improvements during 1937.

OCTOBER 12—Supreme Court refuses rehearing of the New York State Minimum Wage Law for women; grants review of Washington State Minimum Wage Law, sustained by the State Supreme Court.

Harry L. Hopkins, WPA Administrator, reports total expenditures $1,772,756,795 up to September 1.

OCTOBER 14—Governor Landon at Grand Rapids declares Roosevelt Administration has retarded recovery.

West Coast maritime labor leaders ask members' authority for coast-wide shipping strike October 28.

OCTOBER 15—Local maritime unions reject proposal for strike vote proposed by representatives of waterfront unions; Federal Maritime Commission granted "absolute and unrestricted cooperation."

American Federation of Labor moves to split C. I. O. under John L. Lewis.

Navy Department announces development of protective mask against silicosis.

OCTOBER 16—Federal Judge John J. Gore at Nashville upholds suit of nineteen electric power companies against TVA.

OCTOBER 17—Vice President John N. Garner at Uvalde, Texas, denies President Roosevelt is communist; says Administration represents "highest type American conservatism."

OCTOBER 18—Republican National Committee demands re-broadcast of Senator Vandenberg's phonograph "debate"; Columbia Broadcasting Company rebates charges; prohibits recorded transcriptions.

OCTOBER 19—Governor Landon at Albuquerque, New Mexico, pledges Republican Party to restoration of foreign markets.

United States Supreme Court refuses to review J. Edward Jones case challenging constitutionality of the Social Security Act of 1933.

OCTOBER 20—Terre Haute, Indiana, citizens prevent Earl Browder, Communist Presidential candidate, from giving scheduled radio speech.

John W. Davis, Democratic candidate for Presidency in 1924, supports Landon.

Governor Landon at Los Angeles charges President Roosevelt and members of Administration with unsuccessful attempts to discredit Supreme Court; warns re-election would be endorsement of planned economy and abandonment of the free American system; solicits support of Townsendites.

OCTOBER 21—President Roosevelt at Worcester, Massachusetts, pictures tax program as weapon to preserve America's democracy; charges opponents seek power to reduce taxes on wealth.

OCTOBER 22—James Couzens, United States Senator from Michigan, dies.

Governor Landon charges President Roosevelt uses "the people's money directly and indirectly to secure his re-election."

W. Lloyd Aycock of Harvard Medical School reports internal gland defense against infantile paralysis.

OCTOBER 23—President Roosevelt broadcasts speech affirming allegiance to capitalistic system.

Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., promises balanced budget through increased government income.

Governor Landon, campaigning in Oklahoma, defends administration of Kansas schools.

Denver Zephyr travels 1,017 miles from Chicago to Denver in 12 hours and 12½ minutes for new record.

Joseph V. McKee, former Acting Mayor of New York, appointed national "coordinator" of music-publishing business.

OCTOBER 24—Alfred E. Smith, 1928 Democratic Presidential candidate, attacks New Deal in speech at Pittsburgh.

Governor Landon, at Indianapolis, outlines foreign policy: "We must mind our own business."

OCTOBER 25—Constable and fifteen thugs disrupt address of Earl Browder, Communist Presidential candidate, at Tampa, Florida; twelve persons injured.

Social Security Board denounces coercion of workers through misleading propaganda.

OCTOBER 26—American Newspaper Guild upheld as exclusive collective bargaining agency for editorial employees of Associated Press by National Labor Relations Board.

OCTOBER 28—Maritime strike called on Pacific Coast; shipowners notify unions further negotiations would be useless; seven ships reported delayed.

OCTOBER 29—Governor Landon, at Madison Square Garden, New York, demands Roosevelt state aims; charges President avoids real issues in campaign.

Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York charges Governor Landon with attempting to wreck social security structure.

John L. Lewis, C. I. O. chairman, refuses to speed action on A. F. of L. peace proposals.

Negotiations between maritime unions and shipowners deadlocked; unions demand preferential union hiring, cash for overtime, eight-hour day for cooks, stewards, and officers.

OCTOBER 30—Seven unions strike with 39,000 maritime workers; tie up 100 ships in Pacific ports; stoppage estimated 500,000 tons daily.

Atlantic Coast maritime strike threatened.

Governor Landon, at Charleston, W. Va., charges Roosevelt Administration with "waste and extravagance."

President Roosevelt, in Brooklyn, New York, declares intention to press national unity in next four years.

OCTOBER 31—President Roosevelt, at Madison Square Garden, New York, pledges to continue fight for New Deal aims; hits "organized money" foes.

"Rank-and-file" maritime strike holds eighteen vessels in Port of New York; 2,100 deckhands, stewards, and engine-room hands in walk-out.

Strike spreads to all American flag ships in Atlantic and Gulf ports.

Pacific Coast maritime strike extends to overland railroads refusing cargo for Western ports.

Alaskan food shortage threatened.

NOVEMBER 1—West Coast maritime strike affects seventy-seven American flag ships; Federal-owned Alaska Railroad prepares for shutdown.

Maritime strike negotiations deadlocked; shipowners may seek naval aid.

NOVEMBER 2—Pacific Coast maritime unions extend blockade order to all U. S. ports.

David Grange, third vice president of the International Seamen's Union, affiliate of A. F. of L., repudiates strike; charges Seamen's Defense Committee with communist activity.

Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith, self-styled "rabble-rouser", arrested in New Orleans; charged with disturbing the peace.

NOVEMBER 3—Franklin D. Roosevelt re-elected President in Democratic landslide, losing only Maine and Vermont; electoral vote, 523 for Roosevelt, 8 for Alfred M. Landon. Popular vote (early count), Roosevelt 26,484,229; Landon, 17,469,771. Democrats gain four seats in Senate, fourteen seats in House; elect twenty-six Governors. Republicans lose 8 seats in Senate, sixteen seats in House; elect five Governors.

NOVEMBER 4—John M. Franklin, président International Mercantile Marine Company, charges "reign of terror" in maritime strikes; asks authorities to intervene.

Wall Street hails stock rise as symptom of recovery.

Governor Landon resumes duties as Kansas Governor; President Roosevelt deluged with congratulations.

NOVEMBER 5—Maritime strike on Pacific Coast defies efforts for peace.

NOVEMBER 6—President Roosevelt broadcasts appeal to nation to share "increasing prosperity" with needy; asks support of 1936 Mobilization for Human Needs.

Steel employers announce wage increase averaging 10% for 450,000 employees.

Federal Grand Jury returns indictment charging twenty major oil companies, four subsidiaries, and forty-six individuals with violating Sherman Anti-Trust Act in gasoline business in ten Midwestern States.

NOVEMBER 7—Father Charles E. Coughlin, Union Party sponsor, announces withdrawal from radio "in best interests of all the people", as result of party's repudiation at polls.

Maritime strike delays sailing of delegation to Pan American Peace Conference.

President Roosevelt over international hook-up calls for peace; expresses hope Buenos Aires parley will set example to "war-weary" peoples.

NOVEMBER 8—United States Federal Reserve Board reports business highest since 1930.

Ship strike remains at impasse.

NOVEMBER 9—District of Columbia Court of Appeals upholds right of National Labor Relations Board to hold elections among employees.

Federal Labor Board certifies union for collective bargaining at R. C. A. Camden plant; rejects company union.

President Roosevelt announces Federal Government will supplement efforts of States in making labor standards effective "in cases involving interstate trade."

General Motors Corporation increases hourly wage five cents; promises ten million dollar Christmas bonus.

William Green charges John L. Lewis' refusal to discuss issues dividing A. F. of L. and C. I. O. is deliberate attempt to set up rival union.

INTERNATIONAL

OCTOBER 11—Russian press stands behind ultimatum on intervention.

OCTOBER 12—United States, Great Britain, and France enter agreement for purchase and sale of gold to reduce fluctuations of currencies.

Germany objects to Anglo-Soviet naval treaty, which permits Russia to catch up with modern navies of other powers and gives her free hand in Far East.

OCTOBER 13—German Colonial League, intended to speak for Nazi drive for colonies, dissolved.

Russia offers new method to prevent intervention in Spain; if not accepted she will openly aid Madrid.

OCTOBER 14—Belgium rejects alliances, returns to neutrality.

Russia demands blockade of Portugal; her request for meeting of London Committee refused.

OCTOBER 15—France queries Belgium concerning her attitude on military pacts, Locarno, and League of Nations; Geneva sees return to 1914 situation.

Chairman of non-intervention committee refuses to call meeting, holding that Portugal has not supplied information regarding Russian charges.

OCTOBER 16—Germany hails Belgian neutrality move as breach in French system.

Soviet officials deny that armed aid to Madrid is contemplated.

OCTOBER 17—French officials fear that Belgian

reassurances regarding military aid only good until meeting of Locarno powers.

Russia deplores break-up of French system; threatens to quit non-intervention committee.

OCTOBER 19—Italy approves agenda for Locarno conference, indicating willingness to drop isolation policy.

OCTOBER 20—Spain charges Italy with landing tanks and flamethrowers at Cadiz, Germany with landing war materials at Algeciras; Russia expected to heed Madrid's appeal for help.

OCTOBER 21—Italo-German pact expected; agreement reached as to western security, reorganization of League, and Spain; differences remain over anti-communist front.

OCTOBER 23—Russia announces that she cannot feel bound by non-intervention pact.

League of Nations Armaments Year Book shows world expenditures on arms of $9,295,000,000 in 1935, as compared with $7,436,000,000 in 1934.

Portugal severs diplomatic relations with Madrid.

OCTOBER 24—Mussolini offers world "olive branch" on "forest of 8,000,000 bayonets."

British note cites four cases of intervention; three charged to Russia, one to Italy.

OCTOBER 25—German-Italian agreement includes: cooperation in Danube Basin; anti-bolshevist front; agreement to respect Spain's territorial and colonial integrity.

OCTOBER 26—Belgium considers building forts on French as well as German border.

Italy insists that German tie does not preclude four-power pact; seeks British friendship.

England rebukes Spanish Government for not exchanging hostages.

OCTOBER 28—Neutrality committee absolves Portugal and Italy of aiding rebels.

OCTOBER 30—France to fortify Belgian frontier, extending Maginot line to sea.

NOVEMBER 1—Mussolini bids for English and French friendship; claims Mediterranean rights and demands change in French attitude.

NOVEMBER 5—Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, announces unwillingness to exclude Russia from any European settlement, warns Mussolini Mediterranean is vital British route.

NOVEMBER 8—General Franco reputed to have promised Riff autonomy in Spanish Morocco.

NOVEMBER 10—Sir Samuel Hoare, First Lord of British Admiralty, denies Great Britain is committed to send troops to Europe in case of war.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

OCTOBER 10—Loyalists check rebel advance at San Juan Pass; rebels press attack from North, South and West.

OCTOBER 11—Rebel forces capture Cebreros; key to Madrid's electric power.

OCTOBER 17—Madrid cut off by rail from sea; rebels advance to Castillejas from Toledo district.

OCTOBER 19—Rebels approach Madrid; force loyalists back.

Madrid loyalists mobilize "taxicab army."

OCTOBER 20—Loyalists counter-attack rebel column approaching Madrid from Toledo; heavy losses reported.

Rebels capture Escorial, key defense town west of Madrid; advance on Aranjuez, railroad city south of capital.

OCTOBER 21—Rebels capture Navalcarnero, important loyalist stronghold.

OCTOBER 22—Loyalist troops repulse rebel advance from Toledo thirteen miles south of Madrid.

OCTOBER 23—Rebel planes bomb Madrid as loyalists rush all able men to front.

OCTOBER 25—Loyalists check rebels before Madrid; heavy fighting continues.

OCTOBER 26—Rebels repulse loyalist counter-attack on Navalcarnero.

OCTOBER 28—Rebels continue advance on Madrid; Loyalists bomb rebel airport at Seville.

OCTOBER 29—Loyalists recapture three towns south of Madrid; repulsed near Chapineria, twenty-five miles west of Madrid.

OCTOBER 30—Rebel planes bomb Madrid and suburbs; 135 killed, including women and children; seventy children killed in Getafe by rebel bombs.

OCTOBER 31—Rebel planes again bomb Getafe; fall of Madrid imminent.

NOVEMBER 1—Rebels capture Brunete; Getafe ordered evacuated as loyalists plan new offensive.

NOVEMBER 2—Rebel forces nine miles south of Madrid.

Loyalists bomb rebel troop train and airport.

NOVEMBER 3—Rebels advance on Getafe; capture Mostoles.

NOVEMBER 4—Rebels capture loyalists' airport at Getafe; center of Madrid in flames.

NOVEMBER 5—Rebel artillery shells Madrid; two rebel planes shot down over Madrid; loyalists erect street barricades.

NOVEMBER 6—Heavy fighting in Madrid suburbs; rebels capture Madrid radio station at Campamento; occupy Cuatro Vientos airport.

NOVEMBER 7—Loyalist cabinet moves from Madrid to Valencia as rebels press capital.

NOVEMBER 8—Rebels capture bridges leading toward the Royal Palace; hand to hand fighting on outskirts of capital.

NOVEMBER 9—Rebels bombard Madrid; 80 killed and 400 wounded.

FOREIGN

Austria

OCTOBER 17—Chancellor Schuschnigg gives guarded encouragement to monarchists.

OCTOBER 18—Funds for fighting forces to be raised through sale of stamps.

NOVEMBER 3—Cabinet reshuffle strengthens clericals, dismisses last of *Heimwehr* elements, but admits no Pan-Germans.

NOVEMBER 5—Industrial militia formed to take place of disbanded private armies.

NOVEMBER 10—Restoration issue reported barred in Vienna.

Belgium

OCTOBER 22—Government decides to forbid Rexist demonstrations, declaring state of martial law.

OCTOBER 25—Leon Degrelle, leader of Rexist Party, arrested after violent scenes in Brussels.

Bulgaria

OCTOBER 22—King Boris refuses to call upon Gregori Tsankoff, Fascist leader, to form government; Fascist clubs suppressed.

Canada

OCTOBER 21—New defense policy to be national, stressing defense of coasts and enlargement of air force; annual arms budget to be increased from $20,000,000 to $50,000,000.

OCTOBER 25 — Provisional most-favored-nation agreement signed with Germany, with subsidiary barter arrangement to overcome German exchange restrictions.

OCTOBER 26—Premier Aberhart of Alberta appeals to Ottawa for Federal assistance in meeting Alberta bond issue of $1,250,000 due November 1.

Danzig

OCTOBER 14—Nazis dissolve Socialist Party, thus gaining two-thirds majority of Diet necessary to change constitution of "free city."

OCTOBER 17—Poland decides not to take action to halt Nazis, regarding matter as Danzig's own internal affair.

OCTOBER 28—Arthur Greiser, Nazi President of Senate, leaves Danzig following Polish warning; negotiations with Poland suspended.

NOVEMBER 10—Danzig Nazis reported to have lost support of Germany.

Ethiopia

OCTOBER 19—Thirty Italian bombing and transport planes, carrying 500 troops, avenge killing of 13 Italian aviators by Ethiopians last July.

OCTOBER 20—Italians rout Ethiopian force southwest of Addis Ababa, killing 300-400.

OCTOBER 23—Ethiopia appeals to League of Nations for help against Italian "war of extermination."

France

OCTOBER 11—Police prevent rightists from breaking up Communist meetings in Alsace-Lorraine.

Communist, Socialist, and Radical Socialist leaders reaffirm loyalty to Popular Front.

OCTOBER 16—Air Minister Pierre Cot announces that airplane factories will be run as government enterprises.

OCTOBER 18—Premier Leon Blum tells Radical-Socialists new elections are only alternative to a unified Popular Front; Communists urge Radical-Socialists to support Government.

OCTOBER 22—At opening of annual conference, Radical Socialists stand by Popular Front, but warn Government to maintain order, respect private property, and pass satisfactory budget; opposition to Communists manifested.

OCTOBER 27—Cabinet and Ministerial Council enact program for 5,000,000 franc expenditure upon air force.

OCTOBER 28—Budget to be divided between ordinary and emergency expenditures.

OCTOBER 31—Maurice Thorez, Communist leader, launches attack on Government's non-intervention policy.

NOVEMBER 4—Edouard Daladier, Defense Minister, urges arming of Belgian and Swiss borders.

NOVEMBER 5—Parliament opens with Popular Front in strong position; new strike epidemic threatened.

NOVEMBER 8—Speaking before Socialist National Council, Premier Blum assured of complete party support, despite disagreement over non-intervention.

Germany

OCTOBER 12—Rudolph Hess, deputy Nazi party leader, stresses Germany's determination to follow policy of economic isolation; demands colonies.

OCTOBER 15—Tension between Catholics and Nazis over education issue increases.

OCTOBER 17—Dr. Franz Guertner, Minister of Justice, instructs judges to join police in war upon "food profiteers."

German export surplus for September higher than for any month since October 1933; food imports up.

OCTOBER 19—Colonel General Hermann Goering placed in supreme charge of four-year plan.

OCTOBER 20—Terms of Goering's appointment indicate that he is in effect Vice Chancellor, second only to Hitler.

OCTOBER 25—Hans Johst, President of Reich Chamber of Literature, announces that Germans are to be compelled with "loving force" to read only books by National Socialist authors.

OCTOBER 29—Rev. Martin Niemoller, leader of Protestants against Nazism, admits Church now entirely in hands of State.

OCTOBER 31—Decree rules that all Germans must wear 16% wood fiber in underwear and stockings.

NOVEMBER 8—Youth program to train 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 youths between ages of 10 and 18 to form Nazi governing class.

NOVEMBER 9—Official wage scale pegged at depression levels.

Great Britain

OCTOBER 11—Royal Commission on Private Manufacture of Arms to recommend government supervision of arms contracts; firms should be regarded as public utilities but not nationalized.

OCTOBER 15—Sir John Simon, Minister for Home Affairs, and Sir Samuel Hoare, First Lord of Admiralty, promise labor that Fascist excesses will be checked.

OCTOBER 21—England to purchase airplanes from U. S. A.

Premier Stanley Baldwin denies labor request for emergency session of Parliament to discuss non-intervention in Spain.

OCTOBER 22—Air Ministry orders 300 planes from Canadian branch of Boeing firm.

OCTOBER 28—British Labor Party and Trades Union Council demand that Great Britain take lead in restoring to Spanish Government right to purchase arms from abroad.

OCTOBER 29—Four changes in British Cabinet; Major Walter Elliott, Minister of Agriculture and an economic nationalist, replaced by William S. Morrison, Financial Secretary of Treasury.

OCTOBER 30—Government fears threatened strike may hinder rearmament plans; admits considering purchase of supplies abroad.

NOVEMBER 10—Bill framed to curb Sir Oswald Mosley's Black Shirts forbids wearing of political uniforms and formation of semi-military groups under penalty of drastic fines or imprisonment.

India

OCTOBER 16—Thirty-five killed and 314 injured in Hindu-Moslem riots in Bombay; government ready to call out troops.

OCTOBER 18—Troops called out to quell riots; 50 killed and 490 injured during last four days; Hindu-Moslem peace negotiations fruitless.

Iraq

OCTOBER 30—Bakr Sidky Pasha, leader of Pan-Arabic movement, becomes power behind King Ghazi, following military coup.

Irish Free State

NOVEMBER 3—New constitution provides for popularly elected chief executive, responsible to two-chamber legislature; Senate constituted on functional basis; relationship with Great Britain ignored.

Little Entente

OCTOBER 11—Victor Antonescu, Rumanian Foreign Minister, to arrange Rumanian-Yugoslavian anti-communist front in support of Spanish rebels; Czechoslovakia still favors loyalists.

OCTOBER 21—Premier George Tatarescu of Rumania in Belgrade; reported seeking Yugoslav support against Russia.

OCTOBER 22—Dr. Kamil Krofta, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, reaffirms ties with Russia and France.

NOVEMBER 5—Fascist Iron Guard of Rumania threatens life of King Carol as protest against "bolshevist and Semitic" policies of Little Entente.

Palestine

OCTOBER 12—End of Arab strike permits British Royal Commission actively to proceed with investigation of grievances.

OCTOBER 14—Trade activities resumed in atmosphere of distrust.

NOVEMBER 5—British Government announces reduced schedule of Palestine labor immigration permits for period ending April 1937.

Peru

OCTOBER 23—Military cabinet takes office during elections, rightists fearing menace from left wing during electoral period.

Puerto Rico

NOVEMBER 4—Coalition party sweeps elections, indicating lack of desire for independence from U. S. A.

Russia

OCTOBER 20—Nikolai Bukharin, former associate of Lenin, resumes active direction of *Izvestia.*

NOVEMBER 6—In first public appearance in Moscow since July 6, Stalin appears in good health at celebration of revolutionary anniversary.

Far East

OCTOBER 11—Japan prepares for world trade conference; will not depreciate yen further.

Great Britain, anxious over interests in Yangtse valley, makes representations to Japan.

OCTOBER 14—Japanese and Chinese representatives fail to reach agreement; Japan worried over announcement of British commercial credits for China.

OCTOBER 17—General Chiang Kai-Shek discusses Sino-Japanese situation with Governors of Northern Provinces of Hopei, Shansi, and Shantung.

OCTOBER 19—Premier Hirota, pledged to avert war, checks military demand for reorganization of cabinet; renewed hope seen for Sino-Japanese negotiations.

OCTOBER 22—Conference between Chinese Foreign Minister Chang Chun and Japanese Ambassador Shigeru Kawagoe reaches impasse with Japanese insistence upon united front against communism in China.

North China authorities rushing defenses in Suiyan and Chahar.

OCTOBER 25—Prominent aide of Chiang Kai-Shek killed for being pro-Japanese.

OCTOBER 30—Chinese protest against Japanese military maneuvers in Tientsin and Peiping areas.

OCTOBER 31—Fifty airplanes presented to Chiang Kai-Shek as birthday present.

NOVEMBER 5 — Manchukuoan and Mongolian troops reported invading Chinese Suiyan province.

Japanese citizen stabbed by Chinese "terrorists" in Shanghai.

NOVEMBER 6—Japanese War Minister opposes plan to limit powers of Parliament.

Speaking of Travel

TO THE strategist a map is not a map at all; it is a complex web of lines crossing and re-crossing to compose triangles, rectangles, and circles, all mysteriously collated to the range of heavy guns and the power of marine engines; in essence, the mobility of destructive weapons. With assurance these men who see what escapes the ordinary traveler's eye, can place an index finger on some insignificant point and advise that the army controlling this, controls the rest.

The veteran Spanish traveler introduced to this new game by the world press finds it a depressing one indeed. Too often the heated dispatches reporting the movements of armies implies destruction and a rough handling for the peasants who have had an overdose of similar stuff already. This Spanish civil war is something to be studied morbidly and with regret. Romantic settings, long the cardinal charm of the Iberian peninsula, have been recklessly invaded by the machinery of war; "Castles in Spain" have unexpectedly fulfilled the ancient purpose of the builder, although in a somewhat different manner—artillerymen, riflemen, and machine gunners have intruded into the redoubts reserved for archers, stone-heavers and swordsmen.

Castles in Spain

Unfortunately for the romanticist, whatever the outcome of the war, antiquities are destined for even more rapid ruin and decay. The peasant, liberated or repressed, can hardly be expected to treasure objects that have been the focal point of his discontent for long centuries. Those dramatic castles, builded by the Moor or arrogant Castile, have ever reared upward to the sun among picturesque and terrible hovels of the poor. Through the years, the low caste Spaniard has given life itself that absentee landlords and kings might live in luxury. Often enough the "keepers of the flocks" have dreamed of "Castles in Spain" and in their dreams have stirred fretfully.

But few trippers, well heeled and well fed, have viewed this squalor except as a disparity enhancing and making more incredible the beauty of the great stone piles. Always they have feasted upon the past and let the present go; they have flitted from castle to castle, from landmark to landmark, seeking the fabulous, the age-old places where history was made so many years ago.

Unfortunately the good people making the grand tour are cleverly insulated against the world in which they travel. Hospitable governments see to it that these restless, avid, curious, and sometimes despised creatures contact nothing that will excite them, except in a well-mannered conventional way. They are passed along from place to place, subtly administered innocuous doses of scenic charm, and then returned to the homeland in one piece and with their sensibilities intact. Nor do governments condone the traveler whose vocabulary comprises something more than ejaculations for the mere scenic and picturesque. Precautions are always taken to divert the attention of the intellectually nosey; anomalies along the line of march are cleverly camouflaged and well-coached "stooges" are concealed in key positions.

History's Down-Stroke

Occasionally, however, the tourist engages history in a head-on collision. Americans literally lifted by the nape of the neck from the Spanish locale can testify to this. Of course, such encounters are a gratifying experience for those thrill-seekers who roam the world looking for the trouble spots, anxious to jam their heads between the hammer and the anvil, and quite surprised if they get squashed on history's down-stroke. But the average tripper is seldom so lucky. Events transpire in his wake or occur before his coming. However, he need not despair. Although war, wholly destructive, may be the most dramatic form of human history, the reasonably sharp-eyed traveler will find in peaceful valleys the constructive work that is, in fact, more historically portentous than any bloody battle in the upward march of man from the morass. To achieve this insight the traveler must repudiate the history book that glorifies the fifteen greatest battles of the world. It is no longer enough to seek out the historical place-name and exclaim in chorus: "Here, at this point, amidst terrible carnage the tide of history ebbed!" More relevantly

the traveler might appraise the foliage on these ancient battlefields and remark the relative insignificance of human fertilizer in nature's scheme of things.

However, the World War taught the traveler much; latterly he has seen more than quaintness in the scenes through which he casually passed. Only recently, the thousands who toured peaceful Spain awoke to find in the morning paper a vindication for their long-time personal prophecies of impending violence. But even so, it startled them a little to realize in that quiet Galician Inn where they had passed the night Spaniard had murdered Spaniard. And in the San Sebastian ring where they had seen a bull impaled on a sword, not bulls but men this time were being spitted.

Spanish Disunity

No doubt the casual traveler will remember the artistry of Toledo, Spain's religious capital, and the modernity of Madrid, and the sweep of Spanish terrain with its seven mountain walls, broad river valleys and endless tablelands. But such independent cities and broken topography hardly conduce to unity, and the tripper comes away with an incomplete and fragmentary memory of Spain. Galicians in the northwest, Basques with their anachronous speech in the north, and on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, the Catalans—all proud of an individual culture, and yet all Spaniards. The visitor might speculate as to the reason for this division and he might draw some generalized conclusions. The realist might point to Barcelona, indicate the industrial life so alien to the majority of Spain, and then claim that this indeed is the reason for the Catalans' fanatical desire to unyoke themselves from the agrarian medievalism of their fatherland. On the other hand the romanticist will speak ecstatically of the warmth of Spanish life, forgetting the bleak tablelands, the racy mountain climate and the chill of the north. In turn the realist will complain of the Spaniard's liver, of dietary deficiencies and the promiscuous intermingling of blood. And yet there are still those who have peered closely into the faces along the route and who believe the natives of this legendary land have long carried the flames of a violent reckoning with fate in their eyes.

However, all agree that once free of the seductive rhythm of Spanish life they saw many shadowy sights, not the least of which were the bands of beggars and the haggard faces of the poor. For that reason they have read the reports of weird happenings that flooded the world's press. And they have remembered the man Cervantes who once modeled a tragic countenance behind a comic mask, an old precursor them that Spain was not always fiesta and tango. Once La Argentina, a clever Spanish dancer, remarked: "One Spaniard and we have a bullfighter. Two Spaniards and we have a tango. Three Spaniards and we have a revolution." Unfortunately, for the moment, at least, the latter would seem to be true. Don Quixote's progeny have revolted, to strike each other down muttering strange curses: "Fascist Pig!" "Marxist Dog!"

Madrilenos

Recently while the world watched, Madrid, the capital of Spain, went under siege and assault; not a new experience for the city of the plain. Though Madrid is new—or so the rest of Spain considers it—having a history of scarcely one thousand years going back no further than the Moorish Majrit, it was in this city that the bravest date in Spanish history was forged. Here, the Madrilenos armed with knives and stones and sticks defended against the invading forces of Murat who, though he won, appraised the Spanish temperament as a thing near madness. All one day the unequal battle raged, and on the night of the Dos de Mayo—May 2, 1808—noncombatants and warriors and the children of Madrid were butchered by murderous squads lusting for conquest and revenge. The indomitable Goya survived the night of horror to etch in acid for succeeding generations a record of Madrid's worst hour.

Since that day Madrid has changed considerably, although the temper of people seems much the same. For years the city has incurred the enmity of Catalan, Galician and Basque. To them it is the blood-sucking spider in the far-flung Spanish web. And to make it more detestable, the Madrileno flaunts his personal prosperity and creature comforts before the envious goatherd and agrarian. Within his city he enjoys the pleasures of the modern world while his compatriots in the hills and on the wind-swept plains live like medieval serfs. With such a parasitic reputation it is not strange that many a peasant marching with Franco in the direction of Madrid thought only of humbling this proud city for the imagined and real wrongs of the past.

Reports conflict concerning the real welfare of the city. Some say Madrid has gained more than it has lost. At least, under the early Azana regime some important artistic changes had been made. Inaccessible paintings, the former property of Madrid's innumerable aristocrats were hauled from the private palaces to the Prado, and hung in the principal hall which is so long

"Don't worry about me—it's just a Cold"



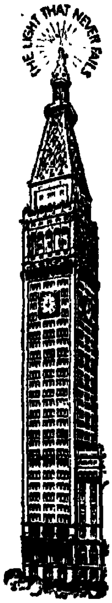
Just a cold now—but it may lead to influenza or pneumonia which, on an average, cause 125,000 deaths each year in the United States. About half of these deaths occur in December, January, February and March.

THE common cold is bad enough in itself. But the real danger is that it may blaze the trail for more serious diseases or reduce your resistance to their attacks.

Before you realize it, what you think is just a "cold" may develop into influenza or even pneumonia. Pneumonia may start suddenly, even without a cold.

The first symptoms of pneumonia are usually chilliness or a severe chill, pain in the chest or side, headache, cough, and fever. Such symptoms mean that not a second should be lost. Go to bed and send for your doctor. Remember that pneumonia is a communicable disease. Proper nursing, complete rest and reasonable isolation are absolutely essential.

Lobar pneumonia is caused by many different types of the pneumonia germ—but each type is specific and can be identified. Should anyone in your family have pneumonia, your doctor will probably arrange for an immediate laboratory examination of the sputum to determine which type of pneumonia is present.



Serums are available which are highly effective in treating certain of the types. Not all cases of pneumonia should have serum treatment. Your doctor will decide.

During the next four months it will do the most damage to those who are not on guard. If your physical resistance is lowered by overwork or unusual fatigue, too little sleep, overindulgence in food or drink, or exposure to cold and wet, pneumonia germs may gain quick headway.

At this time of the year it is a wise precaution to have your doctor look you over very carefully to see whether or not you have diseased tonsils, sinuses, adenoids, teeth or other physical impairments which may lower resistance.

You will be safer during the coming winter months if you keep your vitality high.

Send for the Metropolitan's booklet, "Colds, Influenza, Pneumonia," which contains valuable information about the prevention and care of these diseases. Address Booklet Department 1236-K.

Keep Healthy—Be Examined Regularly

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

FREDERICK H. ECKER — ONE MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. — LEROY A. LINCOLN
Chairman of the Board — President

you can almost see the curvature of the earth along its floor. In the future it will be worth anyone's time to see what the confiscations have added to the magnificent Prado collection of the Spanish masters Zurbaran, Ribera, Murillo, El Greco, Velasquez and Goya. And for the moment, it is reported that the business of bull-fighting has undergone a change. Citizen militia now stroll about the Plaza de Toros where tradition holds that no matter what the provincial fame of a bullfighter he must be first presented to the *aficionados* before winning a real reputation. But even tradition is suspended: bulls die in a different manner—the people eat them.

Passage at Arms

A tragic highlight, the siege of the Alcazar added another paragraph to the long history of the Spaniard under arms. For an instant the eyes of the entire world were turned to the beetling buttress dominating Toledo. While angry Spaniards hammered the redoubts with heavy guns and sapped the walls with dynamite, equally good Spaniards defended. Tales reached the outside world of women and children, relatives of the beleaguered, suffering slow starvation in the dungeons, of tainted horseflesh for the only sustenance, of childbirth, of prayers, of divine intervention, of heroism. Good stories; for the most part fiction. Men died there, of course, but men die anyway. Heroes perished, but already the grave is too full of the brave "who died because they were." With arms and the man, history insists upon a repetition. This, however, will not deter the tripper or historian; in the future the curious will travel far to gape at the scarred walls of the Alcazar; and the historian will dig up many logical facts to prove that Spanish history pivoted at this fortress.

In Barcelona for the first time in modern history anarchism put away its "bombs", trimmed its beard and went to work. Unprecedented are these free souls who, while professing to abandon all authority, nevertheless created a government. If it lasts it will be a good place for first-hand examination of this much-abused policy in action —at a later date, of course.

Official Hospitality

Nor have the beautiful Balearic Islands been neglected in the quarrel. Majorca, a famous repository for American escapists, witnessed bitter fighting during the earlier stages of the revolt. In the past, how little did the tourists realize, not having the trained eye of the strategist, that many nations tensely watched and openly coveted these triple jewels of the Mediterranean. The climate

(*Continued on page 126*)

WHERE-TO-GO

HOTEL - RESORT AND TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

Established 1906

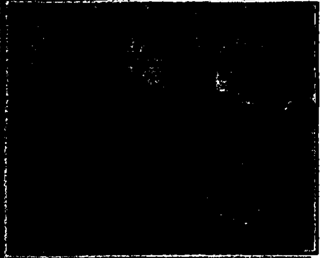
FEATURED EVERY MONTH IN EIGHT PUBLICATIONS

OUR GROUP OF QUALITY MAGAZINES

Atlantic Monthly, Current History, The Forum, Harpers Magazine, Mid-Week Pictorial (2 issues), Nature Magazine, Review of Reviews and Scribner's Magazine

For space and rates in our departments write to

THE WHERE-TO-GO BUREAU Inc. 8 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.



The early receipt of copy is requested

The eight magazines The Where-to-go Bureau uses regularly are all quality publications, that welcome visitors monthly in our best homes and influence quality people everywhere

TRAVEL

INDIA

Kashmir

WAS A PRIVATE PARADISE

Until recently, only 200 visitors a year were allowed in Kashmir. Now you may live in a cool house-boat on the Jhelum ... camp in solitude near Kalahoi Peak . . . or enjoy golf, tennis, polo, and hunts at Gulmarg. Costs are so low for a vacation in Kashmir! Your English-speaking servants cost less than $1.25 a day. Come to India via Europe or the Orient. Get full details from Delhi House, 38 E. 57th St., New York . . . or the better travel agents.

INDIA STATE RAILWAYS

TRAVEL

SWITZERLAND THE



To a

DELIGHTFUL HEALTHFUL WINTER

RAIL FARES AND HOTEL RATES REDUCED TO MEET THE DOLLAR

Variety is the Spice of Life!!

Switzerland holds plenty in store for you. Take your pick — it's practically yours for the asking.

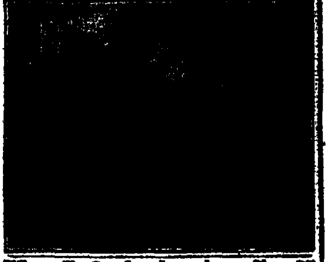
- SKI-ING
- TOBOGGANING
- HOCKEY
- CURLING
- BOBSLEIGHING
- SKATING
- SKIKJORING
- HORSE RACING

No Visa *No Formalities*

Ask your Travel Agent for more information or write to us direct

SWISS FEDERAL RAILROADS

475 Fifth Avenue - - New York



Where-To-Go for Jan. closes Nov. 27

The Where-To-Go system influences the people comprising the cream of all Travel prospects. Our advertisers waste no money in presenting their invitations to people who cannot accept.

TRAVEL



JAPAN

is doubly enjoyable

when you go by N·Y·K·

If you forget the swift, beautiful motor liners, it's because you'll be living in modern Japan, enjoying her gracious, smiling hospitality and allure, all the way. • Movies, orchestras? Of course.

JAPAN, CHINA, PHILIPPINES

Minimum Round-Trip Fares from Pacific Coast to Japan

First Class $551 Cabin Class $437

Second Class $332 Tourist Cabin $227

Regular sailings from San Francisco and Los Angeles via Honolulu. Also direct departures from Seattle and Vancouver.

Write to Department 22, New York, 25 Broadway; San Francisco, 551 Market Street; Seattle, 1404 Fourth Avenue; Chicago, 40 North Dearborn Street; Los Angeles, 518 West Sixth Street, or any Cunard White Star Limited office. Consult your local tourist agent. He knows.

N·Y·K· (JAPAN MAIL)

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933

of Current History, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1936.

State of New York } ss.
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared John C. Casman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the General Manager of Current History and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit: 1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, M. E. Tracy, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y.; Editor, M. E. Tracy, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, John C. Casman, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) Current History, Inc., 63 Park Row, New York N. Y., Frances W. Casman, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y., John C. Casman, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y., Harriet B. Tracy, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y., M. E. Tracy, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. 4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him. Signed, John C. Casman, Business Manager. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September, 1936. (Seal) David L. Thompson, Notary Public. (My commission expires March 30, 1937.)

(Continued from page 223)

delightful, the natives are hospitable, yet none of the covetous glances were turned in the direction of the islands for those or any similar reasons.

Perhaps the future tripper to Majorca setting forth to photograph a donkey or a picturesque native will discover some sections of the island have become strangely inaccessible. As has happened elsewhere zones will be delimited and instructions will be issued couched in sugary terms and bidding the tripper welcome but (always the *but*) advising him to confine himself within the scope of official hospitality. The wise traveler, perhaps experienced with suspicious bureaucracy, will do well to discipline his curiosity.

Timeless Currents

Because of man's inquietude, or in spite of it, the Mediterranean littoral offers an interesting feast for sharp eyes in focus for something more than scenery and sunshine. Excluding Spain, of course, there is nothing to fear. Men with guns and angry grimaces will certainly be about although hardly within the tourist's range. Without fear of bandits or bullets the rheumatic and curious may again revisit the fabulous towns and cities bordering the sun-drenched sea. Since the day before yesterday the timeless currents of the people have scarcely changed—natives are still picturesque, fruits still lush, the wine still heady, and the mosquitoes have not as yet formed a "popular front" or succumbed to a racial pogrom. This last information for the realist, and as for the romanticist, it is also reported that, though Europe quivers and armed men wait upon each other with indrawn breath, the ruins of the ancients are undisturbed; for Mare Nostrum has known the keels of warships long before this hectic day; and the men, light-skinned or swart, who pass along this way will also have their works one day leveled into ruins.

In Spain the Castile makes history and for the sake of elbow room turns the traveler away. But he need not complain. When the storm passes, when the Spanish Marxist plucks his oranges on the five-year plan; or when the Spanish Fascist makes the trains run on time, then the traveler may return again to re-examine the ancient grounds of the Moor, of Castile and Navarre, remembering, perhaps, that history is the trifle of today recounted by some lying tongue on the morrow.

Marbles and Men

The Sydney Bulletin reports that at the Badu Island, off the northernmost tip of Australia, it has been found necessary to forbid the islanders to play marbles, their enthusiasm for that recently imported pastime having led to neglect of the fishing and the shell-gathering on which their livelihood depends. A similar ban had to be laid on cricket some years ago in Tonga. Having learnt the game when at school in Maoriland, the late King Tubou II introduced it among his subjects, and found cause for regret. Very soon he had to restrict play to one day a week to ward off the famine threatened by neglect of the plantations.

Happy Hunting Ground

All hunters dream of a happy hunting ground, teeming with game, unposted and unpatrolled by hard-hearted wardens. Few of them know that such a dream exists as a reality in the U.S.S.R., where one sixth of the earth's surface is almost wholly free of "No Hunting! No Trespassing!" signs. In the northern regions of the Soviet, polar bear, reindeer, walrus, moose, seal, Siberian tiger and snow leopard are plentiful; while further south may be found the boar, elk, mountain sheep and goat, the bob-cat, Caucasian deer and the European bison of the Caspian and Black Sea region. Peculiarly enough visiting hunters are welcome without licenses, and travel agencies will arrange the itinerary to suit the huntsman.

The World in Books

(Continued from page 9)

spectable or able to hold the confidence of its own people."

Whether Mr. Baker has had the final word is doubtful. The question of war guilt has been "settled" countless times in the past just as it will be equally well settled with diverse explanations in years to come. It would seem, however, that if there were any least common denominator of the reasons for United States participation in the World War, it is that we should not take part in another one.

Civil War in Spain

It might be appropriate at this point to consider events which have led up to the present Spanish crisis, a potential, if not probable, threat to another European conflict. In *The Spanish Tragedy* (Oxford, $2.50), which fills an almost distressing need for an objective and authoritative history of Spain during the last six years, E. Allison Peers gives the reader the benefit of his many years of experiences and close observations on the Peninsula.

Mr. Peers deplores the popular tendency to regard civil war in Spain as the inevitable clash between fascists and communists. It is true, of course, that the issue can be broadly defined as between Left and Right, but it is inexact to use the labels of fascist and communist, merely "because everyone in this modern world has to be labeled something." The rebels, Mr. Peers points out, are fighting for one form or another of the *ancien regime*: for the Church, nobility, military dictatorship—perhaps for the King. The aims of the loyalists are somewhat more diverse. Some are fighting for the reforms already started by the Left; some are fighting for the right of the people to a government of their own choice; and still others are fighting for the proletarian revolution.

Whatever the immediate outcome in Spain, Mr. Peers believes that the ultimate fate of the nation will be determined in the best interests of the majority of its millions of citizens. Spain, he predicts, will rise above vacillating governments, tyrannical rulers, and party strife to emerge a unified, re-united, and prosperous land.

A Second Landslide

The year 1936 will go down in history as the year of the two great landslides—the other one being the avalanche of journalistic memoirs. From Gunther down a long, but not weary, list which includes Farson, Slocombe, and a nest of others, the public has been given a generous share of books "by those who were there when it happened." Three new titles lent added weight and sheen to the list last month. They were *Covering the Far East* by Miles Vaughn (Covici Friede, $3.00); *I Found No Peace* by Webb Miller (Simon and Schuster, $3.00); and *And Fear Came* by John T. Whitaker (Macmillan, $2.50).

Vaughn and Miller have had almost parallel careers; in fact, both established reputations as top-notch foreign correspondents with the same news agency. Whitaker, youngest of the trio, is also in the front line of foreign correspondents, having excelled in his coverage of the League of Nations.

The criticism of certain categories of books—that, having read one, the reader has read them all—is not valid for any of the three books listed above. Each is as individualistic as its author, and, as any statesman will agree, foreign correspondents are a very individualistic lot. In the present trio, for example, one learns that Vaughn was genial, good-natured, extremely likeable. Miller was shy, reticent, and fainted at the sight of blood. Whitaker had a good sense of humor, possessed a wealth of intellectual ambition, and

an equally large endowment of determination.

Considering the books separately, *Covering the Far East* is a week of evening entertainment (and education) of the highest order. As a work of historical importance, it will be of particular significance to students of Sino-Japanese relations, particularly in Mr. Vaughn's interpretation and observation of the events of 1931. From the standpoint of pure reading interest, it has not a garrulous page; anecdote cascades through the text with refreshing sparkle and vigor.

I Found No Peace takes one to a greater number of places, perhaps, than Mr. Vaughn's book. Webb Miller covered most of the great international stories of the last twenty years—more than a few of them "beats." Miller was at the wires during the World War; scuttled from country to country in the post-war peace; and then made off for Ethiopia when it became certain that Mussolini was determined to make the domain of Haile Selassie part of Italy's place in the sun. Little wonder, then, that in his career as foreign correspondent the sensitive, shy Miller "found no peace." Not the least significant aspect of *I Found No Peace* is a chapter in which Roy W. Howard, president of the United Press, explains the circumstances under which he communicated to the world news of a premature armistice on November 8, 1918. To dismiss the book as "interesting" would be to damn it with faint praise. Yet, take that word and assign to it its richest meaning—fuse it with vitality and life, and you have *I Found No Peace.*

The somewhat puzzling title of Mr. Whitaker's book will be recognized as the first words of the quotation: "And fear came upon every soul; and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles."

It is because of this fear, he writes, that European democracies threw off their heritage of liberty and are heading back in the direction of gun-fire and cannon-shot. The object lesson to Americans, he says, is that a capitulation to "fear" will bring the downfall of democracy in this country. Democracy has a price; unless we are willing to pay that price we must be ready to "exchange our hats for gas masks and cut our clothes to the pattern of the militarists."

These are Whitaker's conclusions after personal observations at meetings of the League of Nations; after experiences as a war correspondent in Ethiopia; after talks with Europe's leading statesmen; and after constant contact with the peoples of the Continent. His story is written with a facile and talented pen. It is as much a chronicle of human ambition and determination as it is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of present-day governmental, economic, and social trends.

The French in Indochina

French colonial policy has always been extremely realistic. There has been little cant about the "white man's burden", and when the French start up a colony they usually have a lucid idea about just exactly what they are after. Thomas E. Ennis' *French Policy and Developments in Indochina* (University of Chicago Press, $3.00) is a comprehensive analysis of the record of the French in that Southeastern corner of Asia. It deals with the problem since its inception in 1625, reviewing not only trade and settlement, but also general social, economic, and administrative issues which arose. Particular emphasis is laid upon the clash between the French industrial ("fratriarchal") way of life and the native agricultural ("patriarchal") philosophy. This problem is by no means confined to French Indochina today; it is a problem, approaching a crisis, which is complicating the relations between all imperial powers and their colonial possessions—not to mention its repercussions upon the relations between the oriental and occidental great powers. In explaining the methods in which the French handle this problem, Mr. Ennis has provided a timely and instructive work.

The Future of Politics

Distinctly worthy of comment is the new edition to *The Promise of American Politics* by T. V. Smith (University of Chicago Press, $2.50). Politics to Mr. Smith holds a little different meaning than it does for the average politician. A politician himself (State Senator, Illinois), Mr. Smith is convinced that public office is something more than an opportunity to get paid for sitting in the shade.

Accordingly, as he points out in a new preface to his book, politics is not a "game for petulant children; its cause is America, and its stakes the welfare of all classes of the oldest effective republic in the world—America rich in variety, as it is substantial with the sameness of a deep feeling on the part of all for a common fatherland."

This is more than an exposition of the constructive part to be played by politics in the future of America. It is a prescription for those whose minds have been sorely tried by the constant pounding of various social theory and who once and for all want something solid on which to base their own estimations of communism, fascism, and the legion of other labels that have been attached to designs for living.